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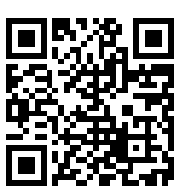

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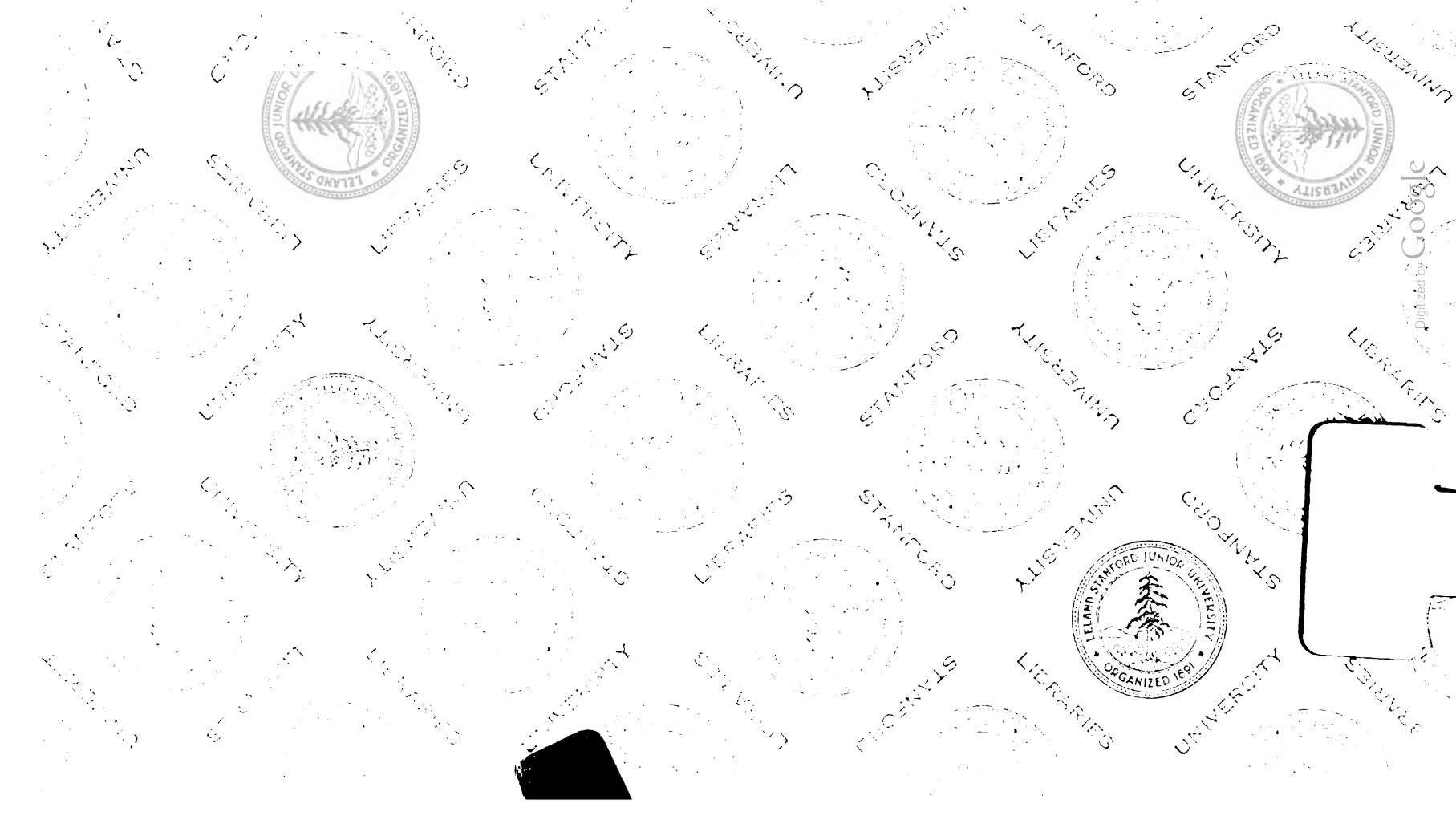

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THE RELATION OF WAR

TO THE

ORIGIN OF THE STATE

BY

RUDOLF HOLSTI

HELSINKI 1913

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CHAPTER I

MODERN THEORIES OF THE STATE

The greatest obstacle to an investigation into the relation between the State and war arises from the confusion of opinions and theories with regard to the character of the State and therefore also of its origin, while, broadly speaking, only the process of destruction in war has undergone changes during the development of civilization but not the essence of war itself. [1]

Of the various theories of the State, the philosophical, political, juristic and sociological, the two last-mentioned seem lately to have attained predominance. The philosophical theories appear nowadays to hold a secondary position only, *i. e.* as Jellinek observes, instead of giving ideas to the political sciences they obtain views from them. [2] As regards the political

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[1] *Letourneau*, La guerre, pref.

[2] *Jellinek*, Allgemeine Staatslehre, p. 65. — Cf. *Paulsen*, System der Ethik, vol. II, p. 544 n.

See, however, also *Bosanquet*, The Philosophical Theory of the State, chap. I; — *Steinmetz*, Die Philosophie des Krieges, p. 190 sqq. and passim.

As for juristic theories moulded by earlier philosophical doctrines see *e. g.* on the influence of Hegel on modern German Jurisprudence, *Duguit*, L'Etat, p. 106; and on the hold of German thinking over »la jeune école française», *Duguit*, Op. cit. p. 20. See also *Heimweh*, Droit de conquête, p. 38. — Regarding the connection between Hobbes and Austin, see *e. g. Spencer*, Man *versus* the State, p. 372; on the relation of English Jurisprudence to Hegel *Wilson*, The Province of the State, p. 211 sqq

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doctrines, it is by no means an easy task clearly to distinguish them on the one hand from the juristic [1] and on the other hand from the sociological theories. Thus, many political treatises based on an inquiry into the gradual development of political organization may be, and indeed are, classified as sociological investigations as well. [2] It is thus above all to modern juristic and sociological theories of the State that we have to pay attention.

Of the juristic theories it is admitted, even among modern Jurists themselves, that the great number of different views, which are often in radical opposition to each other, in regard to the character of the State, causes much harm not merely to political philosophy (Staatslehre) itself, but at the same time to all the other branches of political science [3] (Staatswissen-

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[1] *E. g. Schmidt*, Allgemeine Staatslehre, vol. I, p. 26 sq. See also p. 98 on the relation of Treitschke's theory to Jurisprudence; — *Rehm*, Politik als Wissenschaft; in Handbuch der Politik, vol. I, p. 8 sqq.

[2] *Gumplowicz*, Rechtstaat und Socialismus; — *Idem*, Rassenkampf; — *Ratzenhofer*, Politik; — *Jähns*, Krieg, Frieden und Kultur.

[3] Seidler freely declares: — »Der unbefriedigende Zustand der Lehre vom juristischen Kriterium des Staates wird allerseits schwer empfunden. Die grosse Menge einander widerstreitender Ansichten, die offenbar nur dadurch möglich geworden ist, dass keine sich als die richtige durchzusetzen vermochte, wirkt bei der *zentralen* (italics by Seidler) Stellung der Lehre im System des Staatsrechts wie niederdrückender Ballast auf jeden weitern, wissenschaftlichen Fortschritt . . . Die Ursachen des geschilderten Zustandes sind nicht auf Rechnung unzureichender Beherrschung der juristischen Methode zu setzen, . . sondern auf Rechnung unzureichender Ausbildung einer Naturlehre des Staates welche uns über das reale Wesen desselben Aufschluss zu geben hätte». — Op. cit. pp. V., 2—15, 56 n, 60, 90 n, and 95. —

Cf. *Duguit*, L'Etat, pp. 2, 241 sq. and passim; — *Jellinek*, Allgemeine Staatslehre, p. 24 sq.; — *Idem*, System der subjektiven öffentlichen Rechte, p. 12; — v. *Frisch*, Die Aufgaben des Staates; in Handbuch der Politik, vol. I, pp. 47, 62.

Ratzel observes: — »In der Naturgeschichte hat man die bezeichnenden Namen Museumszoologie und Herbariumsbotanik; das ist in der Lehre vom Staat die Methode, vom Horror vitae diktiert den Staat erst von seiner

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schaft). This confusion in regard to the nature of the State is to a considerable extent at any rate due to the view that it would devolve primarily upon Jurisprudence to throw light upon the character of the State. [1] It is against these tendencies that Duguit justly observes: — »L'Etat est ce qu'il est et tout ce qu'il est; et il ne peut pas être pour le juriste différent de ce qu'il est dans la réalité, pour l'homme politique, le sociologue ou l'historien. En vérité, elle est étrange, cette prétention des juristes de se créer un Etat à eux». [2] The juristic doctrines must as a rule be restricted merely to a consideration of constitutional structure [3] and cannot deal with the entire question of the origin and gradual development of that form of the general social life of man which is called political. On the other hand, if it is true that sociology must try to provide the special

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Grundlage zu lösen und ihn zu studieren, nachdem man ihm so das Leben ausgetrieben hat». — Der Staat, p. 6. — Cf. also *Dock*, Der Souveränitätsbegriff, p. 67.

[1] *E. g. Loening*, Staat; in Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften, vol. VII, p. 694.

»Das An-sich des Staates zu bestimmen, die jene praktische Welt transcendirende Realität desselben zu erfassen, ist nicht Aufgabe der Jurisprudenz sondern einer die natürlichen und ethischen Grundlagen des menschlichen Gemeinlebens erforschenden Staatslehre». — *Jellinek*, System der subjectiven öffentlichen Rechte, p. 20.

[2] *Duguit*, L'Etat, p. 242. See — also *Mayer*, in Festschrift für Laband, vol. I, p. 46 sqq.; quoted by *Menzel*, Begriff und Wesen des Staates; in Handbuch der Politik, vol. I., p. 41.

[3] »Die juristische Theorie des Staates sucht sein Wesen in der Weise zu erfassen, dass er als Rechtsbegriff erscheint». — *Menzel*, Op. cit. p. 40.

»Man kann die Betrachtung der geltenden oder in Geltung gewesenen Staatsverfassungen de lege lata als *juristische*, die Beurteilung derselben auf ihre wünschenswerten Veränderungen de lege ferenda als *politische* Betrachtungsweise bezeichnen». — *Schmidt*, Allgemeine Staatslehre, vol. I, p. 27. Cf. p. 6 sq.

»Die Verfassung (ist) nichts anderes, als ihr Name besagt: die Struktur des Staates in *juristischer* Prägung». — *Seidler*, Op. cit. p. 70. — See also *Brie*, Entstehung und Untergang des Staates; in Handbuch der Politik. vol. I, p. 67.

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social sciences with those leading principles which all of them require both as a basis for their own development and for their practical application,[1] it follows that it is the duty primarily of sociology to find answers to the two questions, What is the State?, and What is its origin? »Sociology», says Spencer, »has . . to describe and explain the rise and development of that political organization which in several ways regulates affairs».[2]

Though, perhaps, most of the juristic writers[3] following the view of Jellinek admit[4] that along with the more limited juristic view of the State, there must be a »social theory» as well, whose scope is larger, nevertheless juristic writers refuse to accept sociology as the science on which it devolves to bring forward these »social theories».[5] This opposition seems, however, mainly to be due to a wrong idea of the sociological theories of the State. Comparatively little attention is paid to the theories of Spencer, and Westermarck, Giddings, and others are passed over in entire silence, while the criticism advanced against the sociological treatment of the subject is directed chiefly against the sociological school of Gumplowicz and his followers, above all, Ratzenhofer and Oppenheimer.[6]

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[1] *Spencer*, Principles of Sociology, vol. I, chap. XXVII; — *Westermarck*, History of Human Marriage, Introduction; — *Giddings*, Principles of Sociology, p. 33; — *Ratzenhofer*, Politik, vol. III, p. 444; — *Idem*, Soziologie, p. 183 sqq.; — *Duguit*, L'Etat, p. 259.

[2] *Spencer*, Principles of Sociology, vol. I, p. 427; — *Giddings*, Principles of Sociology, p. 36.

[3] *Menzel*, Op. cit. p. 40.

[4] *Jellinek*, Allgemeine Staatslehre, p. 61.

[5] Op. cit. p. 65; see also pp. 67, 167 sqq.; — *Schmidt*, Allgemeine Staatslehre, vol. I, pp. 6 sqq, 25 sqq, 92, 107 sq.; — *Seidler*, Op. cit. p. 17 sqq.

Against this view see *e. g. Gumplowicz*, Die Geschichte der Staatstheorien, pp. 523, 571 sqq., passim; — *Idem*, Die soziologische Staatsidee, p. 26 sqq.

[6] *E. g. Berolzheimer*, Methodik und Abgrenzung der Politik; in Handbuch der Politik, vol. I, p. 16; — *Menzel*, Op. cit. p. 37 sq. — See also *Seidler*, Op. cit. p. 20 n.

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As however these Sociologists by no means represent *the* sociological view, the opposition of juristic writers towards a sociological exposition of the subject is hardly to the point.

Jurists [1] and Sociologists [2] are, generally speaking, unanimous, in ascribing to the State these two chief characteristics: The group of men which constitutes a State, must be organized under the rule of a government which is independent of other governments and it must also occupy a territory of its own.

It is obvious that the first of these features is of the greater importance. Men form groups and establish within them some form of government and these political bodies occupy and maintain certain territories. Thus the starting point in the investigation into the origin of the State is political organization and not territorial occupation.

We must consequently analyse more closely the origin of such a form of social organization as may on good grounds be considered to constitute the very origin of the State. On this point the views of Sociologists seem at first sight widely divergent. Brinton sees in the social life of bees, ants, and beavers such characteristics as lead him to speak of »little states». [3] Similarly Letourneau begins his record of political evolution from

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[1] *Jellinek*, Allgemeine Staatslehre, p. 173; — *Loening*, Staat; in Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften, vol. VII, p. 708; — *Seidler*, Das juristische Kriterium des Staates, pp. 37, 71, 74; — *Duguit*, L'Etat, p. 9. — *Wilson*, The Province of the State, chap. I.; cf. p. 219 sqq.; — *Nys*, Le Droit international, vol. I, p. 336; — *Oppenheim*, International Law, vol. I, pp. 100, 264.

[2] *Spencer*, Principles of Ethics, vol. II, chap. XXIV; — *Giddings*, Principles of Sociology, pp. 37, 174; — *Novicow*, Les luttes entre sociétés humaines et leurs phases successives, p. 238 sq; — *Gumplowicz*, Die sociologische Staatsidee, p. 99 sqq.; — *Ratzenhofer*, Politik, vol. I, pp. 130, 195; vol. II, p. 20 sq.; — see, however, vol. I., p. 159; — *Idem*, Soziologie, p. 139 sq. — See also *Ratzel*, Der Staat, pp. 6, 18, 25, 62 sq, passim.

[3] *Brinton*, The Basis of Social Relations, p. 7.

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ants and bees. [1] Kropotkin [2] justly points out that many higher animals also acknowledge a certain leadership, and Vaccaro,[3] before proceeding to deal with the origin of political authority within human societies, refers to the same facts. So, too, Huxley [4] observes that the social life of man is merely a part of social life in general. [5]

In early Greek thought no clearly marked difference was made between the notion of a town and a State. [6] According to Plato,[7] their origin is the same, and the most primitive State can consist of four or five men only. [8]

Many later authors[9] derive the origin of the State ultimately from the same sources as social integration in general *i. e.* from the primitive family or clan and according to this

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[1] *Letourneau*, Evolution politique, chap. I.

[2] *Kropotkin*, Mutual Aid, chap. I and II, passim.

[3] *Vaccaro*, Les bases sociologiques du Droit et de l'Etat, p. 222 sq.

[4] *Huxley*, Essays, Ethical and Political, p. 30.

[5] Speaking of the dogs in Constantinople Meyer remarks: — »Sie haben sich in scharf gegen einander abgegrenzten Quartieren organisiert, in die sie keinen fremden Hund hineinlassen und jeden Abend halten sämtliche Hunde eines jeden Quartiers auf einem öden Platz eine ... Versamlung ab ... Hier kann man also geradezu von räumlich umgrenzten Hundestaaten reden». — Geschichte des Altertums, vol. I, p. 7.

[6] See *e. g. Hegel*, Die Philosophie der Geschichte, p. 264.

[7] *Plato*, Opera, vol. II, p. 30.

[8] See also *Aristotle*, Politics, I, 2, 3.; — *Seidler*, Das juristische Kriterium des Staates, p. 19 sqq.; — *Gumplowicz*, Geschichte der Staatstheorien, p. 42 sqq.

[9] *Westermarck*, The History of Human Marriage, passim, especially chapters III, VI, XX, XXII; — *Idem*, The Moral Ideas, vol. II, pp. 213 sq., 222 sq.; — *Giddings*, Principles of Sociology, pp. 174, 264; — *Höffding*, Etik, pp. 511, 537.

Duguit remarks with respect to the early Aryan and Semitic family that the father »est le gouvernement de ce petit Etat». — L'Etat, p. 248.

Hearn points out the clan as the origin of Aryan States. — Aryan Household, pp. 321, 335. — See also *Hegel*, Die Philosophie der Geschichte, p. 119; — *Seidler*, Das juristische Kriterium des Staates, p. 19 sqq.; — *Martensen*, Den Kristliga Etiken, vol. II, p. 83.

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view the paternal authority may be said to constitute the earliest form of governmental authority.

It is therefore that so many travellers, when speaking of the political life of rude savage units, ascribe to them the rank of a State. Thus Professor Lenz [1] calls certain Negro societies in West Africa — which have their own language and customs — States, although their population does not exceed two hundred individuals. Dr. Steinmetz [2] and Messrs. Hanoteau and Letourneux [3] likewise speak of small sovereign groups. »Each village is a separate State», says Mr. Shakespear,[4] of the Kuki communities. According to Dr. Broda,[5] all small communistic units are *per se* States. In a certain sense, Professor Bosanquet observes, it would be true to say that »wherever men have lived there has always been a 'State'. That is to say, there has been some association or corporation, larger than the family, and acknowledging no power superior to itself».[6]

All these various views agree as least so far that the origin of the State is traced back to very primitive forms of social integration and that the leading part in this process, as well as in the origin of political authority, is not necessarily ascribed to war.

A distinctly opposite view is held by authors to whom the origin of the State seems to be in closest relationship to war. Among these theories we have to distinguish, broadly speaking, two different views. Firstly, certain Sociologists agree with the writers above-mentioned in so far that they, too, trace the origin

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[1] *Lenz*, Skizzen aus Westafrika p. 273.

[2] *Steinmetz*, Studien zur ersten Entwicklung der Strafe, vol. I, p. 365; cf. p. 382.

[3] *Hanoteau* and *Letourneux*, La Kabylie, vol. II, p. 8.

[4] *Shakespear*, Lushei Kuki Clans, p. 43.

[5] *Broda*, Primitive Communism; in The International, vol. IV, 1909, p. 147. — See also *Rochas*, La Nouvelle Calédonie, p. 241; — *Krieger*, Neu Guinea, p. 192.

[6] *Bosanquet*. The Philosophical Theory of the State, p. 3.

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of the State to the rudimentary forms of early integration in general, though on the other hand they argue, that the coherence of the different groups was caused primarily through warlike co-operation and that consequently the most primitive forms of leadership and government were warlike. Foremost among these is Herbert Spencer. Although he does not clearly distinguish between the origin and early development of social integration and the origin and growth of an essentially political organization [1] he at the same time, in accordance with his militant conception of primitive ages, concludes that primitive societies are formed through wars. [2] »Headship of the society», he goes on, »commonly beginning with the influence gained by the warriors of greatest power, boldness and capacity, becomes established where activity in war gives opportunity for his superiority to show itself and to generate subordination». [3] Similarly Bagehot maintains that man in early times was extremely warlike. Consequently he remarks that »despotism grows in the first societies, just as democracy in modern societies; it is the government answering the primary need and congenial to the whole spirit of the time». [4] According to Jähns the most primitive social unit was a society of warriors, and the State originated in the election of the most successful warrior to its chief. [5] »A l'origine de l'humanité, alors que les guerres sont continuelles», says Vaccaro, »c'est la classe militaire qui commande et elle n'admet pas que d'autres classes participent au gouvernment». [6] — »L'autorité des chefs cesse ordinairement en même temps que la guerre; cependant, ils conservent toujours quelque ascendant sur les membres de la tribu, et ces

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[1] *Gumplowicz*, Geschichte der Staatstheorien, pp. 399, 402.

[2] Principles of Sociology, vol. II, p. 278.

[3] Op. cit. p. vol. II, p. 338. — Cf. vol. I, pp. 12, 545 sqq, 508, 583; vol. II, p. 266; — *Idem*, Principles of Ethics, vol. II, p. 202 sqq.

[4] Physics and Politics, p. 65; cf. pp. 25, 77, 81, passim.

[5] *Jähns*, Krieg, Frieden und Kultur, pp. 65, 97 sq.

[6] *Vaccaro*, Les bases sociologiques du Droit et de l'État, p. 468.

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derniers reconnaissant en eux la force, le courage et la prudence, écoutent avec déférence leurs conseils». [1]

Dr. Mc Dougall,[2] Topinard,[3] and a great number of other authors,[4] who deal with the social life of primitive man, put forward theories more or less fully in conformity with those just quoted, while Dr. Steinmetz, in spite of his view in a previous work [5] concerning the origin of the State, emphatically stresses in »Die Philosophie des Krieges» that there is no State without war. [6]

On the other hand Gumplowicz and his school maintain that the State by no means originates in so simple a way as through the natural growth of a primitive community in internal organization and submission to a government more or less voluntarily established. According to the views of Gumplowicz, [7] Ratzenhofer,[8] Lester Ward,[9] Oppenheimer [10] and others [11] the origin

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[1] Op. cit. p. 224.

[2] Social Psychology, p. 287.

[3] L'Anthropologie et science sociale, p. 166.

[4] *E. g. Maine*, Village Communities, p. 145; — *Green*, English People, vol. I, p. 14; cf. p. 17; — *Lamprecht*, Deutsche Geschichte, vol. I, 165 sq.; — *Dahn*, *e. g.* Die Germanen, p. 11 sqq.; — *Guyot*, La démocratie individualiste, p. 6 sq.; — *Krauss*, Krieg und Kultur, p. 1.

[5] See *supra*, and *infra* p. 279.

[6] Die Philosophie des Krieges, pp. 34, 190 sqq., passim.

[7] »In der sociologischen Staatsidee», says Gumplowicz, »erscheint die Entstehung des Staates als ein durch die Uebermacht einer kriegerisch organisirten, gegenüber einer unkriegerischen Menschengruppe herbeigeführtes historisches Ereignis». — *Gumplowicz*, Die sociologische Staatsidee, p. 55; cf. also pp. 65—71 Gumplowicz' eulogy of Macchiavelli and Ferguson, who held, broadly speaking, similar views as Gumplowicz himself; — *Idem*, Der Rassenkampf, pp. 181, 205 sqq.

[8] »Die Unterwerfung bereits sesshafter Stämme durch wandernde, womit sich diese den Grundbesitz und zugleich Arbeiter eroberten, schuf die complicirte Gesellschaft und den Staat». — Politik, vol. I, p. 130; cf. p. 13.

»Staat und Gewalt sind ursprünglich aus der absoluten Feindseligkeit eines Volkstammes gegen einen andern hervorgegangen. Der siegreiche

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of a State does not take place until one community — as a rule a peaceful one — has been subjugated by a warlike group. Similarly, Treitschke, although he partly admits that the beginning of the State can also be traced back to the most simple social origins, [1] none the less lays special stress upon war and conquest. The State, he concludes, in conformity with the theory of Gumplowicz, is in most cases the political power of the stronger tribes over the weaker ones. [2]

We have thus, generally speaking, three different theories of the origin of the State. On the one hand, many authors derive it from the same rudimentary sources as social integration in general, thereby not necessarily attributing to war any primary part. On the other hand, a certain school of modern Sociologists argue that the State does not originate until wars have called forth permanent subjugations of peaceful units under conquering races. And between these two opposite theories is the view, that the State originates indeed simultaneously with early social integration, but that this is called forth through co-operation in wars, so that primitive government also consists mainly in the leadership of the ablest warriors.

Which of these theories regarding the origin of the State from the particular point of view of the origin of political authority, is best in agreement with ethnographical facts? Is war the normal condition of a savage society? And are the origin and development of primitive integration and submission to chieftainship to be ascribed mainly to the influence of savage warfare?

Stamm schuf die Gewalt und übte die Regierung aus». — Op. cit. vol. I, p. 193; — *Idem*, Soziologie, pp. 14, 147.

[9] Pure Sociology, p. 205 sqq.; cf. p. 203 sq.

[10] Der Staat, p. 40, passim.

[11] *E. g. Lilienfeld*, Zur Vertheidigung der organischen Methode in der Sociologie, p. 50 sq.

[1] Politik, vol. I, pp. 13 sq., 113 sq.

[2] Op. cit. vol. I, p. 113 sqq.

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In the following chapters we shall try to answer these questions. When it has been done, an answer can subsequently be sought for the question of the relation of war to the origin of the State.

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CHAPTER II

THE CHARACTER OF PRIMITIVE WARFARE

Before proceeding to investigate if war is the normal condition of savage society, we must define what is meant by war. One of the best known military authors during the last century, General Clausewitz [1] gives the following definition: — »War is not merely a political act, but a real political instrument, a continuation of political commerce, a carrying out of the same by other means.» General von der Goltz [2] writes: — »War is the continuation of policy with weapons in hand». [3] According to General Sir Ian Hamilton [4], »War is the pursuit of State policy over the boundary of law and logic into the domain of force.» From the point of view of International Law, Professor Oppenheim [5] describes war as »the contention between two or more States through their armed forces for the purpose of overpowering each other and imposing such conditions of peace as the victor pleases.» According to Professor Dahn, [6] war is armed

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[1] *Clausewitz*, On War, vol. I, p. 23.

[2] *Von der Goltz*, The Nation in Arms, p. 137.

[3] Colonel Max Hübner repeats that war is »das letzte Mittel der Politik». — Militärpolitik, p. 1.

[4] *Hamilton*, Compulsory Service, p. 46.

[5] *Oppenheim*, International Law, vol. II., p. 56; cf. p. 73.

[6] *Dahn*, Das Kriegsrecht, p. 1.

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self-help of one State against another State. Bara [1] says: — »La guerre est une manière de vider les differents survenus entre deux ou plusieurs États.«

None of these definitions, however, can be regarded as satisfactory. For they postulate, whether directly or indirectly, the existence of the State before that of war, and war is only made out to be one of the characteristic functions of the State. This is not admissible from the sociological point of view, since, as we have already noticed, many Sociologists argue that, on the contrary, war is the main source from which the State has sprung. A sociological definition must therefore take a broader view.

According to Spencer,[2] war is »a state in which life is occupied in conflict with other beings, brute or human — energies spent in destruction instead of energies spent in production.« Letourneau [3] describes war as »la lutte sauvage pour la vie ou pour la mort, entre des groupes d'individus, animaux ou hommes, appartenant à une même espèce.« Ratzenhofer [4] sees in war merely an application of force on a great scale. Lagorgette, [5] who has collected more than 150 definitions of war, only agrees with those which see in war »l'état de luttes violentes issu, entre deux ou plusieurs groupements d'êtres appartenant à la même espèce, du conflit de leurs désirs ou de leurs volontés.« [6]

From the sociological point of view these latter definitions are essentially correct. Yet to preclude any possibility of misapprehension, some further attention must be paid to such

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[1] *Bara*, La science de la paix, p. 5.

[2] *Spencer*, Principles of Sociology, vol. I, p. 675.

[3] *Letourneau*, La guerre, p. 528. — See *Lagorgette*, Le rôle de la guerre, p. 9.

[4] *Ratzenhofer*, Soziologie, pp. 107, 138 sq.

[5] *Lagorgette*, Op. cit. p. 10.

[6] In substantial agreement with these definitions, though having reference only to human beings, General Foch says of war that it has been »le moyen violent que les peuples emploient pour se faire une place dans le monde en tant que nations«. — Des principes de la guerre, p. 33.

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phrases as »energies spent in destruction» and »pour la vie et pour la mort» and »pour se faire une place dans le monde.» For these words imply, more or less, the idea of loss of life, and this is hardly an indispensable characteristic of all kinds of warfare. As we shall soon find, there are among savages combats in which killing is not directly aimed at. Similarly we shall see that savages do not carry on war simply by means of physical force; they avail themselves comparatively often of superstitious means, too. Moreover, since this study has reference merely to the relation of war to the origin of the human State, it seems proper to limit the definition correspondingly. War may therefore fittingly be defined as a state of hostility between human groups in which use is made of physical force, and not infrequently of superstitious means as well, with or without killing, capture, plunder, or conquest.

If war is defined in this way, how far can primitive conditions be regarded as warlike? The theory according to which the State owes its origin to war presupposes that war is prevalent in a high degree at early stages of civilization. Characteristic of Spencer [1] is his conception of the militancy of savage societies, which survives even among peoples of modern culture. According to Bagehot [2], the early age of man was the true fighting age, when »all nations were destructible, and the further we go back the more incessant was the work of destruction». Huxley [3] maintains that in primitive times »life was a continual free fight, and beyond the limited and temporary relations of the family, the Hobbesian war of each against all was the normal state of existence». Although Vaccaro admits that »aux premiers âges de l'humanité, lorsque les hommes, encore sans armes, avaient à lutter contre une foule d'obstacles naturels et d'espèces ennemies, il est probable qu'ils vivaient, jusqu'à un certain

[1] *Spencer*, Principles of Sociology, vol. II, pp. 341 sq., 351 sq., 367, 387 sq.

[2] *Bagehot*, Physics and Politics, p. 77; cf. p. 81.

[3] *Huxley*, Essays Ethical and Political, p. 8.

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point. en paix», [1] yet he concludes that »la guerre... est l'état naturel et ordinaire des premiers groupes humaines»; [2] and in another place: — »A l'origine de humanité ... les guerres sont continuelles». [3] Jähns [4] is of the same opinion, and so is apparently Dr. McDougall. [5] According to Dr. Steinmetz, [6] man in the most remote ages was aggressive and blood-thirsty, since otherwise he would for ever have remained a mere brute. The best point of support for this hypothesis Steinmetz finds in the assumption that man has always been omnivorous. [7] Basing himself on the statements of various authors M. Lagorgette [8] expresses a similar opinion as regards the warlike character of primitive times.

More cautious are Lester Ward and Ratzenhofer. The former [9] believes that during the most remote times a general differentiation had taken place, implying the possibility of struggles on a relatively small scale between the different social units. So also Ratzenhofer argues, that the existence and the increase of mankind involved in the beginning no collisions worth speaking of between hordes and tribes, owing to there being unoccupied tracts for settlement. The struggle for life was carried on only with the climate and wild beasts. [10] In

[1] *Vaccaro*, Les bases sociologiques du Droit et de l'État, p. 81.

[2] Op. cit. p. 222.

[3] Op. cit. p. 468.

[4] *Jähns*, Krieg, Frieden und Kultur p. 92 sqq.

[5] *McDougall*, Social Psychology, chap. XI.

[6] *Steinmetz*, Die Philosophie des Krieges, chap. II. He remarks that a little more »consciousness of kind» would have resulted in the disappearing of ferocity and consequently held back the intellectual development of man. — Philosophie des Krieges, p. 21. — Cf. *Giddings*, Principles of Sociology, p. 117 sq.; cf. also pp. 71, 225.

[7] Op. cit. p. 19.— See *Westermarck*, The Moral Ideas, vol. II, p. 195.

[8] *Lagorgette*, Le rôle de la guerre, p. 35 sq.

[9] *Ward*, Pure Sociology, p. 200 sq.

[10] »Die Ernährung und Vermehrung der Menschen vollzog sich anfangs infolge der vorhandenen unbesetzten Wohnräume ohne wesentliche Kollisionen der Horden und Stämme. Das Daseinkampf wurde nur mit dem Klima und wilden Tieren geführt». — *Ratzenhofer*, Soziologie, p. 13.

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another place he writes that our sociological knowledge shows that at the beginning foreign racial elements shun one another; it is civilization that teaches men to seek to come into touch with one another; [1] man like the beast is as shy of fighting as he is of working. [2] Later on, however, the pugnaciousness of man greatly increased until finally, as Ratzenhofer puts it, a state of »absolute hostility» was reached. [3]

All these views, however, are more or less opposed to what we know of still existing savages. Firstly, it seems doubtful whether writers dealing with savage warfare have always fully realized its true character. Above all, from our point of view, primitive men are indiscriminately spoken of as savages, but it is not true that all of them are on the same level and that their modes of warfare are everywhere alike. On the contrary, the causes for which savages carry on war change, at least to a certain extent, *pari passu*, with their general social development, and its methods vary likewise. Letourneau [4] considers wars among the Australian aborigines generally to have a juridical character. In his description of their warfare, Wheeler, [5] following Letourneau, points out that they carry on warfare proper mainly for reasons of revenge, while plunder and conquest are not directly aimed at. Among the Waga-

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[1] »Die soziologische Erkenntnis zeigt dass sich fremde Rassenelemente bei der Begegnung ursprünglich fliehen; erst die Kultur lehrt die Menschen sich gegenseitig aufzusuchen». — *Ratzenhofer*, Op. cit. p. 74. — Steinmetz strongly opposes such a view: the differentiation is on the contrary caused by wars. — Die Philosophie des Krieges, p. 36.

[2] »Der Mensch ist wie das Tier an und für sich ebenso kampfscheu, wie er arbeitscheu ist». — *Ratzenhofer*, Op. cit. p. 105.

[3] *Ratzenhofer*, Politik, vol. I, p. 60; — *Idem*, Soziologie, p. 12.

[4] *Letourneau*, La guerre, p. 32. — Cf. also *Spencer* and *Gillen*, The Native Tribes of Central Australia, p. 245 sqq.; — *Iidem*, The Northern Tribes of Central Australia, p. 139 sq., passim. — *Iidem*, Across Australia, vol. II, pp. 292 sqq., 299, passim. — Reports of the Cambridge Expedition to Torres Straits, vol. V, p. 298.

[5] *Wheeler*, The Tribe and Intertribal Relations in Australia, p. 148 sq.

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waga and Tubetube in New Guinea wars arise above all for revenge; »in nine cases out of ten this was the cause of war in the south-eastern district», says Dr. Seligmann, [1] and this seems to be the case, at least to a certain extent, in other parts of the island also. [2] Speaking of the wars among the Maori, Polack remarks that their causes »are too frivolous to name, as a pig passing over a cemetery is as legitimate a cause for hostilities as the death and eventual mastication of a chief». [3] On the whole, however, the earlier causes, before the wars of conquest and mutual destruction, were mainly of a revengeful character. [4] The only form of combat that occurs among the very primitive Toala in Celebes is the driving away of thieves. [5] Among the Nootka wars of retaliation were the most common ones. A serious offence against an individual, says Bancroft, although nominally pardoned in view of presents, can never »really be atoned, hence private, family, and tribal feuds continue from generation to generation.» [6] Wars for revenge are similarly the most common among many other primitive peoples. [7]

A special form of wars carried on by savages for the sake of revenge are those caused by disputes arising from the relation

[1] *Seligmann*, The Melanesians, p. 453.

[2] *Krieger*, Neu Guinea, pp. 199, 318, 406, 414, 416.

[3] *Polack*, Manners and Customs of the New Zealanders, vol. II, p. 17

[4] *Best*, Notes on the Art of War; in Journ. Polyn. Soc., vol. XIII, p. 4; cf. pp. 76, 80; and vol. XI, p. 28. As for the Moriori, their chief causes of quarrel were »curses and insulting and derisive songs at one another's women.» — *Shand*, Early History of Morioris; in Trans. New Zealand Institute, vol. XXXVII, p. 151.

[5] *Sarasin*, Celebes, vol. II, p. 277.

[6] *Bancroft*, The Native Races of the Pacific States, vol. I, p. 207.

[7] *Nelson*, Eskimo about Bering Strait; in 18:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 328; — *Coxe*, Account of the Russian Discoveries, p. 198; cf. p. 216; — *Bancroft*, The Native Races of the Pacific States, vol. I, p. 723; — *Carver*, Travels through the Interior Parts of North America p. 298; — *Rochefort*, Iles Antilles, p. 411; — *Thomson*, The Fijians, p. 88; — *Polack*. Op. cit. vol. I, p. 230 sqq.; — *Williamson*, The Mafulu, p. 180; cf. p. 183; — *Kolff*, Voyages of »Dourga», p. 253; — *Stewart*, Notes on the Northern Cachar; in Journ. As. Soc. Bengal, 1855, vol. XXIV, p. 610.

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between the sexes. Thus, »intrigue with the wives of men of other tribes is one of the commonest causes of quarrel among the Indians» says Mayne. [1] So the faithlessness of husbands could also call forth acts of revenge. [2] Indeed, a host of causes connected with the rights of marriage have been *casus belli* among the Indians of North America [3] as well as among other primitive peoples. [4] So also, considering the great importance of the food question to savages, it is bound to cause a good deal of trouble between neighbouring communities if there is any trespassing on the hunting grounds, fishing places, and so forth, which some of them may look upon as belonging to themselves alone. Indeed, according to Spencer [5] and many other authors, [6] wars about food have undoubtedly been the earliest waged between

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[1] *Mayne*, Four Years in British Columbia and Vancouver Island, p. 276.

[2] *Cox*, Adventures on the Columbia River, vol. II, p. 149 sqq.

[3] *Bancroft*, Op. cit. vol. I, pp. 235, 343, 380; — *Franchère*, Voyage through the North-West Coast of America, p. 251; — *Cox*, Op. cit. vol. I. p. 322; — *Ross*, Fur Hunters, vol. II, p. 169; — *Dorsey*, Omaha Sociology; in 3:rd Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 312.

[4] *Best*, Notes on the Art of War; in Journ. Polyn. Soc. vol. XI, p. 13; — *S. Percy Smith*, Wars of the Northern against the Southern Tribes; in Journ. Polyn. Soc. vol. VIII, pp., 148, 201 sq., 213 sq.; vol. IX, p. 164; — *Spencer* and *Gillen*, The Native Tribes of Central Australia, p. 556 sq.; — *Krieger*, Neu Guinea, pp. 199, 320 sq., 406, 416; — *Codrington*, The Melanesians, p. 245, passim; — *Thomson*, The Fijians, p. 88; — *Sarasin*, Celebes, vol. I, p. 267; — *Poutrin*, Notes Ethnographiques sur les . . M'Baka; in L'Anthropologie, 1910, p. 461; — *Torday* and *Joyce*, Ethnography of the Ba-Yaka; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1906, p. 49; — *d'Orbigny*, L'Homme Americain, vol. I, p. 229.

[5] *Spencer*, Principles of Sociology, vol. II, p. 267.

[6] *Darwin* The Descent of Man, vol. I, p. 134; — *Ratzenhofer*, Die soziologische Erkenntniss, p. 245; — *Lagorgette*, Le rôle de la guerre, p. 114 sqq.; — Novicow maintains in »Les luttes entre sociétés humaines et leurs phases successives», p. 64 sqq. that the food wars have been the very earliest, while in his last study, »La critique du darwinisme social» he seems to oppose this view. — Op. cit. pp. 162, 208 sqq., 259, 264, passim.

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human groups. On the other hand, however, as far as the conditions of savages fully known to us throw light upon the question, we seem fairly justified in inferring that we have mainly to look upon these wars as a special form of wars of retaliation. Among the natives of Cape York hostilities arise between the various groups as soon as »incursions are made into each others' territories». [1] It is for similar reasons that wars are waged among the Veddas, [2] the Fuegians, [3] the Chicuitos and Araucanians, [4] as well as among the Indians of North America. The Ojibway, [5] Sioux, Kickapoo, Kansas, Osage, and Omaha [6] make war upon each other for the »infringing of the hunting grounds of one another», and this holds good of many other primitive peoples also. [7] Of the Punans Mr. Furness observes that they have »no enemies, for they desire nothing that other peoples have». [8]

The common feature in these instances has been that wars have been carried on for revenge, as acts of retaliation for injustice suffered, whether real or imagined. Thus, as it was observed of the Australian aborigines, in the same way races as low as the Veddas, the Fuegians, the Eskimo, etc., are not

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[1] *Mcgillivray*, Voyage of »Rattlesnake», vol. II, p. 4 sq.

[2] *Sarasin*, Ergebnisse naturwissenschaftlicher Forschungen auf Ceylon, vol. III., pp. 480 sq., 488.

[3] *King* and *Fitzroy*, Voyages of the »Adventure» and »Beagle, vol. II, p. 131.

[4] *d'Orbigny*, L'Homme Americain, vol. I., p. 229.

[5] *Jones*, The Ojebway Indians, pp. 129, 185, 187.

[6] *Dorsey*, Omaha Sociology; in 3:rd Ann. Rept. Ethnol. p. 312.

[7] *Mooney*, Myths of the Cherokee; in 19:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 14; — *Coxe*, Op. cit. vol. II, p. 143; — *Bancroft*, Op. cit. vol. I, pp. 344, 562, 579, 628, passim; — *Cox*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 237; — *Fremont* and *Emory*, Notes of Travel in California, p. 34 sq.; — *Kane*, Wanderings of an Artist, p. 230; — *Nordenskjöld*, Indianlif, p. 119; — *Turner*, Nineteen Years in Polynesia, p. 298; cf. p. 304 sq.; — *Thomson*, The Fijians, p. 88; — *Ratzel*, Völkerkunde, vol. I, p. 161 sq.; vol. II, p. 390. — See also Kalevala, runo XXXI; — *Wallin*, Kuv. Suomen Kansan Esihistoriasta, p. 169 sq.

[8] *Furness*, Home-Life of Borneo Head-Hunters, p. 184.

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said to aim at plunder or conquest in their wars. Likewise we found of the North American Indians that their wars were called forth above all through revenge; »their accumulations were not so great as to be tempting», says Powell; »accordingly battle for plunder, tribute, and conquest was almost unknown». [1]

From these features it is to be inferred that in earlier ages, and in still more primitive conditions, when man had even less accumulated property, revenge must in still higher degree have been the chief cause of war. On the other hand, when we come to savages who have reached a higher level of settled life and who have already begun to accumulate valuable property, we find that wars tend to a considerable extent to arise from new reasons. Among the Papuans of New Guinea a thirst for booty is to be observed, [2] and this holds good of the Melanesians, too. [3] We read of the Fijian that »he likes to take another's property without asking for it, and hence goes to war». [4] War expeditions aiming at plunder and conquest were frequent in New Caledonia, [5] Tonga, [6] and New Zeeland, [7] as well as among the ancient natives of Central America. [8] As for the Indians of North America, there are abundant statements to the effect that as soon as these peoples came into contact with the Whites, obtained horses, weapons, and other implements, and learned the value of furs and other trade goods, thefts, which previously had been a comparatively rare trait among them,[9] gradually increased and took the shape of pri-

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[1] *Powell*, Indian Linguistic Families of America; in 7:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 39.

[2] *Abel*, Savage Life, p. 134.

[3] *Seligmann*, The Melanesians, p. 541.

[4] *Williams* and *Calwert*, Fiji and the Fijians, vol. I, p. 59.

[5] *Rochas*, La Nouvelle Calédonie, p. 245.

[6] *Mariner*, The Natives of the Tonga Islands, vol. I, p. 75.

[7] *Manning*, Old New Zealand, pp. 92, 185.

[8] *Bancroft*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 764; vol. II, p. 746.

[9] *Westermarck*, The Moral Ideas, vol. II, p. 4 sqq.

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vate expeditions for plunder, I. nay even, as among the Iroquois, »to enforce the payment of tribute.» [2] In Africa cattle raids and wars for procuring slaves are a frequent occurrence. Describing the wars among the Nandi, Sir H. H. Johnston observes: — »After a successful raid the elders of the clan divide the spoil (which is of course cattle, sheep, and goats), and the warriors so far respect the old men that they allow them to take what they require from out of the loot, while at least seven of the captured cattle are sent to the medicine man. When this has been done, the rest of the loot . . . is left to be snatched at by the warriors». [3] Or, again, the native despots have organized similar expeditions in order to procure booty. [4] In short,

[1] *Mooney*, Siouan Tribes, p. 54 sq.; — *Dorsey*, War Customs; in American Naturalist, vol. XVIII, p. 132; — *Idem*, Omaha Sociology; in 3:rd Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol, p. 326; — *Kane*, Op. cit. pp. 126, 404, 436, passim; — *Speck*, Ethnology of the Yuchi Indians, p. 84; — *Fletcher* and *La Flesche*, The Omaha Tribe; in 27:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 404 sq.; cf. p. 408 sq. Wars of revenge were looked upon as more honourable than wars for mere booty. Op. cit. p. 409.

[2] *McKenney* and *Hall*, History of the Indian Tribes of North America, vol. III, p. 81.

[3] *Johnston*, The Uganda Protectorate, vol. II., p. 879.

[4] *Hecquard*, Voyages sur la côte de l'Afrique Occidentale, p. 118 passim. — *Lichtenstein*, Travels in Southern Africa, vol. I, p. 278; — *Von der Decken*, Reisen, vol. II, p. 37; — *Merker*, Die Masai, p. 117, passim; — *Baumann*, Durch Massailand, p. 236 sq., passim; — *Munzinger*, Ostafrikanische Studien, p. 496; — Bulletin de la Société de Géographie, 1852, vol. II, p. 417 sq.; — *Speke*, The Discovery of the Source of the Nile, pp. 211 sq., 285 sq , 289, 301, 311, passim; — *Schweinfurth*, The Heart of Africa, vol. I, pp. 163, 226 sq., passim; — *Casati*, Ten Years in Equatoria, vol. I, p. 279, vol. II, pp. 54, 63 sq., 299 sq., passim; — *Livingstone*, Missionary Travels, p. 213; — *Johnston*, Op. cit. vol. II, p. 795, passim; — *Hobley*, Kavirondo; in Geographical Journal, 1898, vol. XII., p. 371. — *Featherman*, Social History of the Races of Mankind, vol. I, pp. 35, 307, passim; — *Ratzel*, Völkerkunde, vol. II, pp. 27 sq., 100 sq., 175, 313, 452, passim; — *Ferrero*, Militarism, p. 64. — »L'esprit de conquête n'existant pas . . . . les Kabyles ne se battent entre eux que pour des questions d'amour propre»; in these wars spoil is procured. — *Hanoteau* and *Letourneux*, La Kabylie, vol. II, p. 76. — As for primitive peoples in general, see *e. g. Letourneau*, La guerre, p. 51.

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statements to this effect are given from almost all parts of Africa where the natives have reached a higher standard of economic progress. — It is hardly necessary to allude to the fact that, largely through the influence of the Whites, wars have been waged in Africa to procure slaves. Thus, speaking of the native monarchies in Africa, Ratzel observes that their wars have had reference mainly to peoples, not so much to territorial conquests; [2] and he seems to be inclined to include the so-called ancient culture States in Asia in the same class. Their leading aim was plunder. Permanent occupation seems to have been of minor importance. [3] As William James observes, the career of Alexander the Great was »piracy pure and simple, nothing but an orgy of power and plunder, made romantic by the character of the hero». [4] Long before the Saxons and Angles, says Freeman, actually settled, they plundered and laid waste, and later on the Danes in Britain followed in the same course. »We first find a period in which the object of the invaders seems to be simple plunder», [5] until later, »instead of sailing away every winter with their plunder, they effect permanent settlements in a considerable part of the country». And finally came the most decided step leading to »altogether a new character», complete conquest. [6] Thus, speaking of the expeditions of the Vikings in general, Strinnholm points out that at first these

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[1] *Beecham*, Ashantee, p. 119; — *Livingstone*, Op. cit. p. 213; — *Casati*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 279; — *Ratzel*, Op. cit. vol. II, pp. 313, 350, passim; — *Lenz*, Wanderungen in Afrika, p. 125 sqq.; — *Ferrero*, Militarism, p. 64; — *Post*, Afrikanische Jurisprudenz, vol. I, p. 87 sqq.

[2] *Ratzel*, Der Staat, p. 86.

[3] Op. cit. p. 87. — Cf. *Ragozin*, Chaldea, p. 69.

[4] *James*, The Moral Equivalent of War: in McClure's Magazine, 1910, p. 464. — Professor Lester Ward observes: — »In olden times no secret was made of the fact that the object of military expeditions was the acquisition of the wealth of the conquered people. Such was the nature of Alexander's conquest, of Caesar's wars.» — Dynamic Sociology, vol. I, p. 584.

[5] *Freeman*, Norman Conquest, vol. I, p. 44.

[6] Op. cit. vol. I, p. 45.

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were of an unimportant character, and comparatively little booty was taken; but gradually they were extended beyond the shores of the home countries to foreign lands, until at last complete conquests were made. [1] Similarly General Clausewitz states of most of the wars during the Middle Ages: — »they were comparatively rapidly carried out. There was little time spent idly in camps, but the object was generally only punishment, not subduing the enemy. They carried off his cattle, burnt his towns, and then returned home again». [2]

To sum up, as far as the instances quoted throw light upon the matter, it would seem that we may lay down the rule that savages in a low state of civilization comparatively seldom regard war as a means of looting, and still less do they aim at permanent conquests. They wage war above all in order to settle their disputes, to take revenge for wrongs — real or imagined — inflicted upon them. On the other hand it was noticed that peoples who have attained a somewhat higher level of culture have at the same time got into the habit of organizing special war parties for getting booty. Gradually increasing in strength and efforts, these parties become with time great war expeditions, which aim above all at plunder on a large scale and more or less lasting conquests. It may be also added that very rude savages seem comparatively seldom to make use of sudden attacks for taking the enemy by surprise; whereas among uncivilized peoples of a higher type such a mode of warfare is far more common. [3] Now it is evident that when an inquiry

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[1] *Strinnholm*, Wikingszüge, vol. I, pp., 58 sq., 109 sq., 146 sq., 199 sq., 256 sq., 246 sq., 336 sq. — See also *Freeman*, Op. cit. vol. IV, p. 80 and passim.

[2] *Clausewitz*, On War, vol. III, p. 92. With regard to the Asiatic States of modern times, see *Hamilton*, A Staff-Officer's Scrap-Book, vol. I, p. 12.

[3] The illustration of this feature must be left to the following volume, where the question of tactics in savage warfare will be discussed. See, however, *Wheeler*, The Tribe and Intertribal Relations in Australia, chapter IX.

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is to be made into the warlike character of primitive peoples, instances having reference to one or other of the different kinds of savage warfare just mentioned, must not be left undiscriminated.

Looking, accordingly, at the more primitive forms of savage warfare, with which we are here more particularly concerned, it must be borne in mind that very often it is conducted in the same manner as hunting. The ruder the people, the greater is the resemblance between the two. In his description of the natives of New Guinea, Dr. Seligmann [1] calls attention to this resemblance; war and hunting expeditions are both begun with the same ceremonies, and the forms of purification following them are the same. Among the Kukis in Bengal [2] no difference is made between warfare proper and the chase. With reference to the Bushmans, Letourneau, quoting Moffat, remarks: — »Pour la stratégie, les Bochimans ne distinguent pas entre la guerre et la chasse, en réalité, ils guerroient surtout pour se procurer le bétail d'autrui». [3] As to Hottentots, the same author adds that they »distinguaient mal encore entre la guerre et la chasse». [4] Among the Kafirs, war is likewise accompanied by the same ceremonies as is the chase, [5] and this is also the case with another of the more advanced warrior races in Africa, namely the Fans. [6] Of the M'Baka Negro, Mr. Poutrin affirms: — »la guerre . . n'est qu'une sorte de chasse». [7]

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[1] *Seligmann*, The Melanesians, pp. 293, 296 sq., 333.

[2] *Stewart*, Notes on the Northern Cachar; in Journ. Asiatic Soc. of Bengal, 1855, vol. XXIV, p. 632; — *Macrae*, Account of the Kookies, in Asiatic Researches, vol. VII, pp. 185, 195.

[3] *Moffat*, Missionary Labours and Scenes in Southern Africa, p. 143; quoted by *Letourneau*, La guerre, p. 56.

[4] *Letourneau*, Op. cit. p. 58.

[5] *Lichtenstein*, Travels in Southern Africa, vol. I, p. 269.

[6] *Lenz*, Skizzen aus Westafrika, p. 82.

[7] *Poutrin*, Notes ethnographiques sur les M'Baka du Congo; in L'Anthropologie, 1910, p. 45.

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With regard to the Patagonians [1] and the Indians of Paraguay [2] and Central Brazil, [3] we have statements to the same effect. So also the North American Indians, as for example the Yuchi, [4] Californians in general, [5] Flatheads, [6] Creeks, [7] Iroquois, [8] Seri, [9] Sia, [10] and others, [11] did not recognize any real difference between war and hunting excursions. [12]

Two factors are, perhaps, more than anything else responsible for this close connection between war and the chase. Firstly, the weapons with which savage war is carried on are, generally speaking, used in the chase as well. [13] With the same axe, spear

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[1] *King* and *Fitzroy*, Voyages of the »Adventure» and »Beagle», vol. II, p. 164 sq.

[2] *Grubb*, The Indians of Paraguayan Chaco, p. 87.

[3] *Steinen*, Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Braziliens, p. 214.

[4] *Speck*, Ethnology of the Yuchi Indians, p. 84.

[5] *Bancroft*, The Native Races of the Pacific States, vol. I, p. 565.

[6] *Dunn*, History of Oregon, p. 312.

[7] *Gatschet*, The Creek Indians, p. 158.

[8] *Morgan*, League of the Iroquois, p. 345.

[9] *McGee*, The Seri Indians; in 17:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 273.

[10] *Coxe Stevenson*, The Sia; in 11:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. pp. 16, 19.

[11] Cf. *e. g. Dunn*, History of Oregon, p. 93.

[12] Cf. *Deniker*, Races et peuples de la Terre, p. 305; — *Vaccaro*, Les bases sociologiques du Droit et de l'État, pp. 82, 90 sq.; — *Lagorgette*, Le rôle de la guerre, p. 61; — *Letourneau*, Evolution politique, p. 492; — *Yule*, Marco Polo, vol. II, p. 252.

[13] Deniker writes: — »Aussi les armes offensives sont-elles presque toujours les mêmes pour la chasse que pour la guerre. Chez les demi-civilisés, on voit apparaître cependant en même temps que les armées plus ou moins permanentes, des engins specialement destinés à la guerre, ainsi que les travaux de défense: murailles, palissades, chausse-trapes, fosses de protection, parfois remplies d'eau, etc.» — *Deniker*, Races et peuples de la Terre, p. 305. — See also *Pinkerton*, Collection of Voyages, vol. IX, p. 501; — *Steinen*, Op. cit. p. 214; — *Grubb*, Op. cit. p. 87; — *Speck*, Op. cit. p. 84. — According to Mr. Stewart, the spears are used among the Meekirs in Northern Cachar as tools since the people ceased to carry on wars. — *Stewart*, Notes on Northern Cachar; in Journ. Asiatic Soc. Bengal, vol. XXIV, 1855, p. 605. — With reference to the aborigines in New Guinea Mr. Krieger observes: — »Oft sind die Waffen nur Schmuckgegenstände. Sehr häufig

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and arrow which the savage makes use of in striking down animals, he also rushes upon or treacherously kills his human enemy. Secondly, the resemblance between the chase and war among savages is connected with the belief that there does not exist any essential difference between animals and man himself. An old Blackfeet chief, Brings-down-the-Sun, made the remark: — »At one time animals and we were able to understand each other. We can still talk to the animals, just as we do to the people, but they now seldom reply, excepting in dreams. We are then obedient to them and do whatever they tell us. Whenever we are in danger, or distress, we pray to them, and they often help us. Many of the animals are friendly to man. They are able to read the future and give us warning of what will happen». [1] The best illustration as to the alleged relations in general between men and animals is given by Westermarck: — »He (the savage) regards all animals as practically on a footing of equality with man. He believes that they are endowed with feelings and intelligence like men, .. that they have various languages like human tribes, that they possess souls which survive the death of the bodies just as is the case with human souls. He tells of animals that have been the ancestors of men, of men that have become animals, of marriages that take place between men and beasts. He also believes that he who slays an animal will be exposed to the vengeance either of its disembodied spirit, or

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sieht man in den Dörfern schöne mit Federn geschmückte Freundschaftsspeere und auf Bilibili hat man Schwerter aus Palmenholz auch wohl mehr zum Schmuck als zum Streit». *Krieger*, Neu Guinea, p. 202. — In his careful Inquiry into primitive warfare Lane Fox points out that this employment of implements for peaceful and warlike ends at the same time is not limited to mere savages; on the contrary, as late as in the general rising of the Tyrolese against Bonaparte, the Polish revolts and other similar occasions, axes and agricultural tools have been largely employed. — *Lane Fox*, Primitive Warfare; in Journ. United Service Inst. vol. XII, p. 406 sq. — See also for example *Hume*, History of England, vol. V, p. 479, as to naval warfare.

[1] *McClintock*, Old North Trail, p. 476; cf. p. 167.

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of all the other animals of the same species which, quite after human fashion, are bound to resent the injury done to one of their number». [1] An immediate result of this belief [2] is the conviction of the primitive man that he must avoid killing animals needlessly, and even when engaged in »lawful» hunting he feels it necessary to try to appease his victims and their kinsfolk; this has fully been illustrated by Westermarck [3] and Frazer. [4] Considering then that savages do not find any essential difference between men and animals, and therefore look upon war and the chase as more or less identical, and considering further the restrictions on the killing of animals, we have every reason to expect the existence of restrictions on savage warfare also. And in fact, there are abundant statements bearing testimony to this effect, and disproving that state of incessant warfare and meaningless bloodshed between primitive communities which is so often assumed to be universally prevalent among savages. Leaving a closer examination of primitive tactics to a later stage in our inquiry, [5] we have now first of all to devote some attention to the question of the cruelty and real seriousness of savage contests.

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[1] *Westermarck*, The Moral Ideas, vol. I, p. 258. For further particulars see vol. I, pp. 249 sqq., 264, 308, and vol. II, chap. XLIV.

[2] In their interesting description of the Omaha, Miss Fletcher and Mr. La Flesche observe: — »Accustomed as we are to classify animals as domesticated or wild, and to regard them as beneath man and subservient to him, it requires an effort to bring the mind to the position in which, when contemplating nature, man is viewed as no longer the master but as one of the many which are endowed with kindred powers, physical and psychical». — *Fletcher* and *La Flesche*, The Omaha Tribe; in 27:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 599. — Cf. also *Spencer* and *Gillen*, Across Australia, vol. I, p. 90, passim; — Kalevala, runo IV, 371—434; XV, 393—537; XLVI, 107—144.

[3] *Westermarck*, The Moral Ideas, vol. I, pp. 252; vol. II, chap. XLIV.

[4] *Frazer*, The Golden Bough, vol. II, p. 396.

[5] See *supra*, p. 23 n. 3.

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One of the most common forms of hostility between savage units is blood-revenge[1]. The duty of it is not, however, generally vested in the whole social unit [2] to which the offended person belonged; hence it does not necessarily give rise to great war expeditions and destructive battles. Among the Australian aborigines [3] blood-revenge is the duty of the nearest relatives. Among the Veddas, according to Messrs. Sarasin, [4] similar customs prevail, while Dr. Seligmann states that killing of people who belonged to another unit in order to obtain their liver »gave rise neither to warfare nor to vendettas». [5] In Celebes, [6] as observed by Padt-Brugge, the Governor there in 1680, it was on the relatives that the duty of performing blood-revenge devolved. As to the Hawains, [7] the Fijians, [8] the Kukies, [9] and the Kurds, [10] similar facts have been collected. Among the

[1] Dr. Steinmetz observes in this connection: — »Nennen wir die Blutrache einfach Krieg und vergleichen wir sie mit unseren Kriegen statt mit unseren Verbrechen und Racheübungen, resp. Strafen, so ist das ganze Rätzel ihrer Erscheinung gelöst». Ethnologische Studien, vol. I, p. 365. — See *supra* p. 16 sqq.; and also *Wheeler*, The Tribe and Intertribal Relations in Australia, p. 149. — *Grosse*, Die Formen der Familie, p. 62.

[2] Steinmetz remarks: — »Sie wurde nicht durch einen ganzen Stamm, resp. ein ganzes Geschlecht ausgeübt, sondern nur durch nächste Verwandten». Ethnologische Studien, vol. I, p. 369 and passim. — See also *Westermarck*, The Moral Ideas, vol. I, chap. XX.

[3] *Spencer* and *Gillen*, The Northern Tribes, p. 557 and passim; — *Iidem*, The Native Tribes, passim; — *Siebert*, Sagen und Sitten der Dieri, in Globus, vol. XCVII, 1910, p. 54; — *Dawson*, Australian Aborigines, p. 71; — *Wheeler*, Op. cit. pp. 138, 149; — *Steinmetz*, Die Philosophie des Krieges, p. 52.

[4] *Sarasin*, Ergebnisse naturwissenschaftlicher Forschungen auf Ceylon, vol. III, p. 490.

[5] *Seligmann*, The Veddas, pp. 34, 62. See also chapter VIII.

[6] *Sarasin*, Celebes, vol. I, p. 43.

[7] *Ellis*, Hawaii, p. 400.

[8] *Seeman*, Viti, p. 31.

[9] *Lewin*, Chittagong, p. 110.

[10] *von Stenin*, Die Kurden; in Globus, vol. LXX, 1896, p. 224.

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Eskimo around Behring Strait [1] blood-revenge is a sacred duty, which »belongs to the nearest relative». Turner [2] gives the same information as regards the Eskimo of Hudson Bay, and Mr. Boas [3] with respect to the Central Eskimo. Speaking of the Indians in the region of the Grand Lakes, Carver [4] states: — »If a violence is committed or blood is shed, the right of revenging these misdemeanours is left to the family of the injured; the Chiefs assume neither the power of inflicting nor moderating the punishment». According to Lewis Morgan [5] blood-revenge among the Iroquois was merely a concern of relatives; this holds good of the Omaha [6] and the Ponka [7] also. Of the Kickapoo, Kansas and Osage Indians, Hunter [8] informs us that blood-revenge was incumbent on the nearest relative. Similar is also the case among the tribes in Columbia, [9] and Southern California [10] and among the Apaches and Comanches. [11] Kane [12] states that this custom was universal amongst the Indians. As to the aborigines of Brazil, von Martius [13] observes that blood-revenge is a matter which above all concerns the injured family.

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[1] *Nelson*, Eskimo about Bering Strait; in 18:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 293.

[2] *Turner*, Ethnol, of Ungava District, Hudson Bay Territory; in 11:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 186.

[3] *Boas*, The Central Eskimo; in 6:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 582.

[4] *Carver*, Travels in the Interior of North America, p. 259.

[5] *Morgan*, League of the Iroquois, p. 332.

[6] *Fletcher* and *La Flesche*, The Omaha Tribe; in 27:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. pp. 213, 399.

[7] Op. cit. p. 216.

[8] *Hunter*, Manners and Customs of Several Indian Tribes, p. 305.

[9] *Ross*, Adventures, p. 327.

[10] *Bancroft*, The Native Races of the Pacific States, vol. I, pp. 409 sq., 417.

[11] Op. cit. vol. I, p. 509.

[12] *Kane*, Wanderings among the Indians, p. 115. See for further particulars as to Indians and Eskimo, *Hooper*, Tuski, pp. 273 sq., 357 sq., 367 sq.; and *Maine*, Four Years in British Columbia, p. 292.

[13] *Martius*, Unter den Ureinwohnern Brasiliens, p. 73.

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Similarly, Dobrizhoffer writes: — »Whenever an Abipon dies by the hand of an enemy, the nearest relation of the deceased takes it upon himself to avenge his death». [1]

Among the Barea and Kunama tribes in North-Eastern Africa the relatives of the murdered man are entitled without any interference on the part of the relatives of the culprit to avenge the crime. [2] In his study of the customs of the warlike Masai, Merker [3] states that blood-revenge is a concern of the nearest relatives. Among the Kabyles [4] of Algeria we meet with similar customs as well as in early times among the Aryan population in India, in Greece, [5] among the old Vikings, [6] the early Germans [7], the pagan Irish [8] and Finns [9].

Moreover, it is not only in the case of blood-revenge [10] that savage warfare is restricted to smaller groups within the entire unit. According to Wheeler, [11] attacks among the Australian aborigines are carried out only by the particular local group offended, not by the tribal whole to which it belongs. Describing the Central Eskimo, Mr. Boas writes: — »Real wars or fights between settlements, I believe, have never happened, but contests have always been confined to single families». [12] Among

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[1] *Dobrizhoffer*, The Abipones, vol. II, p. 368.

[2] *Munzinger*, Ostafrikanische Studien, p. 498 sq.

[3] *Merker*, Die Masai, p. 206 sq. — For further particulars with regard to the natives in Africa see *e. g. Post*, Afrikanische Jurisprudenz, vol. I, p. 57 sqq.

[4] *Hanoteau* and *Letourneux*, La Kabylie, vol. III, p. 61.

[5] *Westermarck*, The Moral Ideas, vol. I, p. 478. — As for the Albanians see *Leake*, Travels in Northern Greece, vol. I, 84 sq.; — *Robert*, Les Slaves de Turquie, vol. II, p. 134.

[6] *Strinnholm*, Wikingszüge, vol. II, p. 67 sq.

[7] *Dahn*, Die Germanen, p. 40 sqq.

[8] Ancient Laws of Ireland, vol. III, p. 89.

[9] *Yrjö-Koskinen*, Suom. heimojen yhteisk.-järjestyksestä, p. 171.

[10] For further part. *Westermarck*, The Moral Ideas, vol. I, chap. XX.

[11] *Wheeler*, The Tribe and Intertribal Relations in Australia, p. 120; cf. pp. 117, 153.

[12] *Boas*, The Central Eskimo; in 6:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 465.

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such a warlike race as the North American Indians, early wars had an essentially private character. Thus, speaking of the Indian tribes in general, Mr. Dorsey states: — »They had no wars of long duration; in fact wars between one Indian tribe and another scarcely ever occurred, but there were occasional battles, perhaps one or two in the course of a season». [1] A natural consequence of this character of their wars was that it was not compulsory on the warriors of the community to join the war party.[2]

In Western Africa one of the most warlike nations are the Fans. Nevertheless, according to Mr. Lenz, it is not battles in our meaning of the word that these peoples fight. Their warfare really consists in no more than one family letting another know that for such and such a reason there will be hostility from that day forth between the two parties. It is now only a matter of each side trying to capture and kill single members of the other side who may happen to be in the forest far from their abodes while hunting or for any other purpose. It is seldom that two big bodies of Negroes are ranged against one another to fight; and, if this happens, fighting comes to an end as soon as one or more persons have been put out of fighting. The beaten side then flees as quickly as possible into its forests and fortified places, there to await an opportunity for revenge.[3] Similar customs have prevailed among the warlike Ilongotes in Luzon. [4] So also if a Mafulu community in New Guinea was attacked by the Ambo or Kuni natives »there would apparently be no thought of other Mafulu-speaking communities, as such, coming to assist in repelling the attack.»[5]

Savage warfare seems to be no more serious in many of the cases where entire communities wage war upon each other.

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[1] *Dorsey*, Omaha Sociology; in 3:rd Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 312.

[2] *Fletcher* and *La Flesche*, Op. cit. p. 408; — *Dorsey*, Op. cit. p. 312 sq.; — *Idem*, War Customs; in American Naturalist, vol. XVIII, pp. 115, 132; — *Mc Kenney* and *Hall*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 116; — *Sproat*, Op. cit. p. 153.

[3] *Lenz*, Skizzen aus Westafrika, p. 91.

[4] *Ratzel*, Völkerkunde, vol. I, p. 409.

[5] *Williamson*, The Mafulu Mountain People, p. 82 sq.

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Speaking of the Marquesas Islanders, Dr. Toutain remarks: — »Les guerres étaient en général peu meurtrières, car il y avait rarement de véritables batailles. Elles consistaient en un état d'hostilité se traduisant par des embuscades, des surprises d'une case, l'enlèvement d'un isolé, d'une pirogue qui s'écartait». [1] In New Caledonia the battle ceases very soon, because it »devient complète pour la troisième ou quatrième victime qu'un parti est obligé d'enlever et de défendre dans la fuite.» [2] With reference to the Hawaiians, Ellis states that once the chief was killed his people immediately ran away,[3] and similar statements are made by Abel[4] and Guise in their descriptions of some tribes of New Guinea. Guise[5] observes that the contests are »of but short duration, as a man or two wounded on one side it is considered sufficient excuse for that side to run away». Dr. Loria [6] similarly states of these natives that when the assailants succeed in capturing or killing one person, they do not care to run the risk of losing any of their men, and »gladly listen to the voice of any one of them who says, 'Let us go back and eat him', and return to their canoes carrying with them the slain or captured person». [7] According to Captain Cook and the missionary John Williams, the aborigines of Niue were most ferocious warriors; but Mr. Basil Thomson [8] substantially modifies this statement and remarks that even their weapons were of a rather harmless

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[1] *Toutain*, Dépopulation de l'Archipel des Marquises; in L'Anthropologie, vol. IX, 1898, p. 426.

[2] *Rochas*, La Nouvelle Calédonie, p. 205.

[3] *Ellis*, Hawaii, p. 115.

[4] *Abel*, Savage Life, p. 134.

[5] *Guise*, Tribes Inhabiting the Mouth of the Wanigela; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1898, p. 213.

[6] *Seligmann*, The Melanesians, p. 543.

[7] So also Mr. Williamson points out that »the primary object of an attack has usually been accomplished when the attacking party has killed one of their opponents». — The Mafulu Mountain People of British New Guinea, p. 180.

[8] *Thomson*, Savage Island, pp. 121 sq., 127 sq.

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quality. [1] Meinicke [2] does not give a favourable account of the character of the Melanesians in general. They are rude, warlike, and excitable. Nevertheless, Dr. Codrington [3] testifies that the slaughter in their wars is insignificant. With regard to a really fierce warrior race, the Maori, Mr. Taylor [4] gives an account to the effect that »before firearms were introduced the battle was chiefly a trial of skill and strength between the principal chiefs, and the fall of one was often the signal of flight of his people»; and even in the case of a general fight the slaughter was inconsiderable. [5] In his careful inquiry into the intertribal relations in Australia, Wheeler shows that »warfare proper is exceptional», [6] and that in regulated or juridical fights in general once a man falls wounded the fight is over and both sides unite in caring for him. In these fights deaths seldom occur. [7] Accordingly, he declares, »nothing is further from the truth than the state of hostility described in the average accounts». [8] As further evidence for Mr. Wheeler's conclusions the following statements may be added. Messrs. Spencer and Gillen observe that the fighting of the natives is »not, usually, a very serious matter, at all events within the tribe», while with regard to intertribal combats they state that such actions »except in very small scale, do not take place». [9] The aborigines in Cape York select an equal number of men to take part in their regulated fighting, and as soon as some one is wounded the combat ceases. [10] As to the juridical fighting in general among the

1 *Thomson*, Savage Island, p. 131.

2 *Meinicke*, Die Inseln des Stillen Ozeans, vol. I, p. 59.

3 *Codrington*, The Melanesians, p. 305 sq.

4 *Taylor*, Te Ika a Maui, p. 258.

5 *Gudgeon*, The Whence of the Maori; in Journ. Polynesian Soc. vol. XII, p. 174.

6 *Wheeler*, Op. cit. p. 154. »There are no examples of regularly organized warfare in Australia», p. 59.

7 Op. cit. pp. 140, 147, 155.

8 Op. cit. p. 74.

9 *Spencer* and *Gillen*, Across Australia, vol. I, p. 199.

10 *Macgillivray*, The Voyage of »Rattlesnake», vol. I, p. 314.

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Australians, Mr. Mathews writes that the belligerents take care not to give a mortal blow, because they are fully aware of the »consequences at another time». [1] Speaking of the Lushei Thangluah and Sailo, Shakespear remarks that in a war between these peoples, which lasted »from about 1833 to 1850 about six villages were destroyed on each side, but except on one occasion, but few lives were lost.» [2] Similarly the Naga tribes aim in their battles more at blows than actual killing. [3]

Among the Oakinacken Indians, »the moment a chief . . . falls, fighting gives place to mourning; they get discouraged and instantly fly without disgrace, and the battle is ended». [4] Of the Columbian Indians, Franchère states that in their wars both parties collect partisans, and if, before the commencing of hostilities, the negotiations fail, the combat begins and is continued for some time »with fury on both sides; but as soon as one or two men are killed, the party which has lost these owns itself beaten and the battle ceases». The chief reason for the comparative harmlessness of their combats is the inefficiency of their offensive weapons and the excellence of their defensive arms. [5] Among the Chinooks, if the efforts for peace were not successful, fighting took place, »but the battles were of a short duration and accompanied by little bloodshed; the fall of a few warriors decided the victory; the victors gained their point in the original dispute, the vanquished paid some damages, and the affair ended». [6] Among the Californian Indians, battles though frequent were not attended with much loss of life. »Each

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[1] *Mathews*, Australian Tribes; in Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, vol. XXXVIII, 1906, p. 945.

[2] *Shakespear*, Lushei Kuki Clans, p. 56.

[3] *Hodson*, The Naga Tribes, p. 113 sqq.

[4] *Ross*, Adventures, p. 390.

[5] *Franchère*, Op. cit. p. 252.

[6] *Bancroft*, The Native Races, vol. I. p. 236. — *Ross*, Fur Hunters, vol. I, pp. 88, 105 sq.; — *Cox*, Adventures, vol. I. p. 322 sq.; — *Dunn* History of Oregon, p. 124.

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side was anxious for the fight to be over, and the first blood would often terminate the contest». [1] The fighting of the Apaches had »more the character of assassination and murder than warfare». [2] The military ambition of the Blackfeet was satisfied when the war party had succeeded in killing one adversary, and great festivities were arranged on account of a single scalp. [3] Speaking of the Iroquois, Hennepin says: — »They count him a good warrior, that is cunning at surprising his Enemies. If they can escape handsomely, after they have given their blow, from their Enemies, they are reckon'd incomparable Fellows.» [4] »Protracted warfare», Mr. Dorsey remarks, »or fighting for several days in succession, has not been the Omaha custom». [5] On the contrary, careful inquiries have made clear that among this people »war was secondary»; its true function was protective, whereas aggressive warfare was discouraged, as »any gains made by it were more than offset by the troubles entailed». [6] Hence the restriction was laid on predatory warfare, that all who went on the war-path should secure permission. [7] If a man who organized a war party secretly stole away to carry out his designs for revenge or the acquiring of spoil, and in the fighting lost a member of his party, he was punished as a murderer. [8] Accordingly, the war parties were as a rule small, [9] and it could often happen that when one single adversary was killed the war party returned home. [10] Similar customs were prevalent among the Ponca, Padousa, and Osages. Thus, according to an old tradition,

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[1] *Bancroft*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 379.
[2] Op. cit. vol. I, p. 496.
[3] *McClintock*, Old North Trail, p. 420.
[4] *Hennepin*, Discovery of a Vast Country in America, vol. II, p. 96.
[5] *Dorsey*, Omaha Sociology; in 3:rd Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 327.
[6] *Fletcher* and *La Flesche*, The Omaha Tribe; in 27:th Ann Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 211.
[7] Op. cit. p. 210 sq.
[8] Op. cit. pp. 211, 404 sq.
[9] Op. cit. p. 408, passim.
[10] Op. cit. pp. 408, 431, sqq.

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the Ponca and Padousa tribes once »had a great battle. The people fought all day long. Sometimes the Ponca were driven, sometimes the Padousa, until at last a Ponca shot a Padousa in the eye. Then the battle ceased». [1] And Dr. Dorsey states of the Osages that even large war parties acquiesced in the fall of one of the enemy as deciding the conflict. [2] The Apalachites in the Antilles carried on their wars very humanely. [3] According to Clavigero, [4] the bravery of the Mexican soldiers in the 13th century was not estimated by the number of enemies who were slain, but of those who were made prisoners. The same author adds that »when the standard of the army was taken by the enemy or their general fell, they all fled, nor was it possible then by any human art to rally or recall them». [5] Similarly »the Nigaraguans fought desperately until their leaders fell, but then they always ran away». [6]

Of the very warlike Abipones, Dobrizhoffer states [7] that »they always desire to conquer, but are never willing to die. They will curse a victory obtained at the expense of one of their countrymen's lives. They abhor triumphal hymns if mingled with funeral lamentations, and would reject a victory accompanied by the sighs of one mourning widow or orphan». [8] If it comes to an open combat, it is commenced with the shooting of arrows, and subsequently they will come to close fighting with a spear. »Neither then, however, will the plain be inundated with human blood. The savages have indeed great power in dealing blows, but they have still greater swiftness in eluding them. The whole combat is often confined to threats and vociferations . . . Terri-

[1] Op. cit. p. 79.

[2] *Dorsey*, War Customs; in American Naturalist, vol. XVIII, pp. 116, 126 sq.

[3] *Rochefort*, Iles Antilles, p. 411.

[4] *Clavigero*, The History of Mexico, vol. I, p. 120.

[5] Op. cit. vol. I, p. 372.

[6] *Bancroft*, Op. cit. vol. II, p. 746.

[7] *Dobrizhoffer*, The Abipones, vol. II, p. 347.

[8] Op. cit. vol. II, p. 348.

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fied at the slaughter of a very few of their fellow soldiers, they desert their leader and escape how they can». [1] As regards the battles of the Araucanians, Molina says that »they are generally unaccompanied with the fusion of blood», and are confined to pillage alone. [2] Among the Patagonians and the Fuegians, wars do not last long. [3] Warfare is desultory and on a very small scale. [4]

Passing over to Africa, we meet with similar facts. Of the warfare of the Waganda, Casati writes: — »They are fierce in battle, but only as long as reserves are in the rear ready to strengthen the weak and threatened position, for should they be unsupported or hard pressed they quickly take to flight. The death of a chief also has a discouraging effect upon them». [5] Describing a war between »the great Chief of Nunda» and a petty chief, Speke [6] observes that during the whole of the two years' warfare the loss was only three men on each side; and this remark seems to hold good of many other wars among the natives of East Africa. [7] Thus even the Masai, who consider themselves the true warrior race by divine grace, and the true owners of the cattle of the neighbouring tribes, by no means always wage very destructive wars. After a cattle raid, as Thomson observes, there may be »more warriors killed over the division of the spoil than in the original capturing of it». [8] The warfare of their neighbours is of a similar kind. Among the Wataturu, the fighting ceases when a few men are slain. [9] Of the Wafiumi, [10] we are

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[1] *Dobrizhoffer*, Op. cit. vol. II, p. 420 sq.

[2] *Molina*, History of Chili, vol. II, p. 67.

[3] *King* and *Fitzroy*, Voyages of the »Adventure» and »Beagle», vol. II, p. 159.

[4] Op. cit. vol. II, p. 179.

[5] *Casati*, Ten Years in Equatoria, vol. II, p. 79.

[6] *Speke*, Discovery of the Source of the Nile, p. 100.

[7] *Baumann*, Durch Massailand, pp. 126 sq.

[8] *Thomson*, Through Masai Land, p. 255.

[9] *Baumann*, Op. cit. p. 173.

[10] Op. cit. p. 179.

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told that the inhabitants of the neighbouring districts do not make war upon each other, but only beat each other with their long sticks. In the wars of the Wambugwe, there is said to be little bloodshed; they do not even take goats or cattle as spoil, only fowl and household utensils. [1] But all this does not refer to wars with the Masai, who are bitterly hated and to whom no mercy is shown. Of the Kabyles of Algeria, we are told that their wars are never very murderous. »Tout se borne, en général, à des combats de tirailleurs à longue distance. Chaque homme se glisse en rampant dans les ravins et les broussailles et, profitant de tous les accidents du terrain, des arbres, des rochers, s'embusque et tire à couvert. Lorsque la fusillade a duré un temps raisonnable, les deux partis se retirent . . . Les hostilités ne continuent . . . que pour arriver à une égalité de pertes». [2] The battles of the Mameluks were often decided by the death of two or three persons. [3]

While savage combats are thus often little else than comparatively harmless skirmishes, we indeed hear from many authorities that squabbles often play the most important part in their wars. In New Guinea the combat was begun [4] by means of insulting words, and in Savage Island combats consisted mainly of vociferations. [5] Of the Maori, Mr. Polack [6] states that in their fighting there was more noise than anything else. As to the Samoans, [7] when two war parties meet, before beginning to fight they sometimes pause to abuse each other systematically

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[1] *Baumann*, Op. cit. p. 188.

[2] *Hanoteau* and *Letourneux*, La Kabylie, vol. II, 73 sq.

[3] *Chasseboeuf de Volney*, Voyages en Syrie et en Egypte, vol. I, p. 106.

[4] *Guise*, Tribes Inhabiting the Mouth of Wanigela River, New Guinea; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1898, p. 213.

[5] *Thomson*, Savage Island, p. 131 sq.

[6] *Polack*, New Zealand, vol. II, p. 43.

[7] *Pritchard*, Polynesian Reminiscences, p. 56; — *Turner*, Polynesia, pp. 303, 353.

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and to deliver speeches of defiance and challenge. This seems to have been universal in Polynesia. Thus Ratzel observes that everywhere in Polynesia there is much wordy warfare and little of fighting; even in serious warfare words play the leading part; [1] and the long experience of Ellis confirms this conclusion. [2] In the fights of the Australian [3] natives it often happens that there is more vociferation than bloodshed. In Africa the Ba-Huana [4] begin their battles with vehement abuse; indeed, owing to the inclination for diplomacy, as Ratzel [5] observes, the natives of Africa in general combat each other more by means of words than by active contests. The Indians of North America seem likewise to have been addicted to similar customs, [6] and so also among the Abipones vociferations predominated in their wars. [7] Speaking of primitive warfare in general, Deniker [8] affirms that it consists more of shouting and terrifying than of serious fighting, and that, consequently, there are few slain.

That too much stress has often been laid on the horrors of primitive warfare is also apparent from the customs which aim at preventing, or at least mitigating, the destructive effects of war. Of the Australian aborigines, Wheeler [9] observes that, instead of a fierce state of constant warfare, the intra- and inter-tribal relations are strictly regulated, and actual war rela-

[1] »Ueberall in Polynesia hört man viel Wortgefechte und sieht wenig Streit; auch im ernsthaftem Kriege spielen Worte eine Hauptrolle» — Völkerkunde, vol. I, p. 176.

[2] *Ellis*, Polynesian Researches, vol. II, p. 486 sq.

[3] *Wheeler*, The Tribe and Intertribal Relations in Australia, p. 79. — *Spencer* and *Gillen*, The Native Tribes in Central Australia, p. 490.

[4] *Torday* and *Joyce*, Ba-Huana; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1906, p. 289. — This is the case of the Bayaka also. — *Torday*, Camp and Tramp in African Wilds, p. 136.

[5] »Streit mit Worten stat mit Thaten». — Op. cit. vol II, p. 31.

[6] *Thevet*, La France Antartique, p. 73. — *Bancroft*, Op. cit. vol. I, 379, passim.

[7] *Dobrizhoffer*, The Abipones, vol. II, p. 420 sq.

[8] *Deniker*, Les races et peuples de la Terre, p. 305 sq.

[9] *Wheeler*, Op. cit. chap. VIII and IX.

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tively seldom occurs; strifes are usually settled by means of juridical fighting, and notice is given to the enemy many weeks before. [1] Among the aborigines of New Guinea, according to Mr. Krieger, [2] due notice is given before commencing hostilities. In the Fiji Islands »when war is decided upon between two powers, a formal message to that effect is interchanged». [3] According to Mr. Thomson [4], the Fijians, when they were preparing for war, aimed at obtaining allies. Meanwhile, »the other side were kept fully informed of these preliminary negotiations and had made similar preparations. No formal declaration of war was therefore necessary, though there were instances of it». Among the aborigines of Formosa [5] no hostilities occurred before actual warning had been given. Even the cruel head-hunters of Borneo [6] did not hesitate to render their undertakings more difficult by sending similar messages. The peaceful Tenae [7] in Bengal, when punishing marauders, »declare hostilities and march openly to attack their enemies». So also the rapacious Masai [8] in East Africa send due notice before starting for their cattle raids. The Californian tribes challenge their enemies by placing three little sticks notched in the middle and at both ends on a mount which marked the boundary between the two tribes. »If the adversaries accept, they tie a string round the middle notch. Heralds then meet, and the battle comes off as appointed». [9] The Columbian Indians give notice before starting

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[1] *Macgillivray*, The Voyage of »Rattlesnake», vol. II, p. 7.

[2] *Krieger*, Neu Guinea, p. 200.

[3] *Williams* and *Calvert*, Fiji and the Fijians, vol. I, p. 44.

[4] *Thomson*, The Fijians, p. 89.

[5] *Hulsius*, Beschreibung der zweyen Insulen Formosa und Japan, p. 36.

[6] *Ratzel*, Völkerkunde, vol. I, p. 411.

[7] *Dalton*, Ethnology of Bengal, p. 35. — In the wars of the Naga tribes the time and place for battle is arranged beforehand. — *Hodson*, The Naga Tribes, p. 113 sqq.

[8] *Hinde*, The Last of the Masai, p. 65.

[9] *Bancroft*, The Native Tribes of the Pacific States, vol. I, p. 379.

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hostilities; nay they do all they can to terminate the affair amicably: sometimes a third party becomes mediator. »If those who seek justice do not obtain it to their satisfaction, they retire to some distance and the combat begins . . . But as soon as one or two men are killed, the party which has lost these owns itself beaten and the battle ceases». [1] Cox [2] affirms that this holds good especially of the Chinook Indians. According to Morgan, [3] not even the Iroquois neglected to inform their enemies of the commencement of war. In Northern Mexico »sometimes the day fixed for the battle is announced to the enemy, and a spot on which the fight is to take place selected.» [4] — Among all the ancient Mexican nations »it was a breach of international etiquette to proceed to war without giving due notice to the enemy, and military law prescribed that three embassies should be despatched before commencing hostilities». [5] In Honduras. ambassadors were sent to challenge the enemy to a pitched battle. [6] — Similar customs prevailed among the early Romans. [7]

Not merely is the enemy thus in many cases duly warned beforehand, but also during the fighting itself certain rules are observed which tend to mitigate the destructive harshness of war. There are instances of savages deciding to confine the battle to a simple duel. As a matter of fact, with primitive weapons, even a general engagement is made up, as a rule, of a series of single combats. [8] Yet, *e. g.* among the Maori, the duel »was a great institution», says Best. »Not only on the battle

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[1] *Franchère*, Op. cit. p. 251.

[2] *Cox*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 322.

[3] *Morgan*, League of the Iroquois, p. 339.

[4] *Bancroft*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 581.

[5] Op. cit. vol. II, p. 420. — Cf. *Clavigero*, The History of Mexico vol. I, p. 370.

[6] *Bancroft*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 723.

[7] See *e. g. Plutarch*, Publicola 16; — *Jähns*, Krieg, Frieden und Kultur, p. 128.

[8] See *e. g. Hodson*, The Naga Tribes, p. 113; — *Ratzel*, Völkerkunde, vol. I, p. 198.

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fields did such encounters occur, but during quarrels concerning women, land, etc». [1] Duels as a mode of settling disputes are to be observed also among other savages. [2]

Relatives have often a particularly restraining influence upon hostilities. Dr. Rivers [3] states with reference to the aborigines of Torres Strait, that if two men were fighting, certain relatives of either of them had the power of stopping the fight. The relation who possessed this power in the highest degree was the *wadwam*. [4] The *wadwam* of a man could make him desist from fighting immediately by a mere word or by simply holding up his hand. »This power was so pronounced that even tribal fights would be stopped if a man on one side saw his *wadwam* on the opposite side». Other relatives also were entitled to stop the intertribal combat. [5] In Murray Islands [6] a similar custom was prevalent. Among the Roro-speaking tribes and also among the Mekeo the chiefs of clans had, as Dr. Seligmann [7] observes, the right of stopping a fight. [8] Of the Maori, Mr. Best states

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[1] *Best*, Notes on the Art of War; in Journ. Polyn. Soc. vol. XII, p. 37.

[2] *Spencer* and *Gillen*, Across Australia, vol. I, p. 199; — *Wheeler*, Op. cit. p. 29; — and above all, *Westermarck*, The Moral Ideas, vol. I, chap. XXI.

[3] Reports of the Cambridge Expedition to Torres Straits, vol. V., p. 144.

[4] *Wadwam* = mothers' brother and sister's child. — *Babat* = name of brother for sister and of sister for brother. *Ngaibat* or *kutapu* = father's sister and brother's child. Reports of the Exp. to Torres Straits, vol. V, p. 129. — »This term (*Wadwam*) was applied by both men and women to all those whom the mother would call *babat*» Op. cit. p. 134. — »The husband of a *ngaibat* was also called *wadwam*» Op. cit. p. 135.

[5] Op. cit. vol. V, p. 145.

[6] Op. cit. vol. VI, p. 100.

[7] *Seligmann*, The Melanesians, pp. 216, 345.

[8] Of the natives in Micronesia we read: — »Nun haben sich die Bewohner der einzelnen Inseln häufig zu selbstständigen politischen Einheiten zusammengeschlossen, die sich gelegentlich untereinandern bekämpfen. In solchem Kriegen stehen demnach in den feindlichen Lagern Angehörige derselben Sippen. Allein das Gefühl der Blutbrüderschaft erweist sich stärker als die politische Feindschaft; sobald sich zwei Krieger

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that a person related to both sides in war was often spared although living with the enemy and probably caught in arms against the tribe that spared him. »A *taharua*, or person related to two tribes, would often pass to and fro between the opposing camps when those tribes were at war». [1] Among the Eskimo in Alaska [2] relatives were neutral when their communities happened to be at war with each other. — Important restrictions are also incumbent on the members of different clans having the same totem. Thus in New Guinea, according to Dr. Chalmers, [3] fighting between members of the same totem clan was strictly forbidden. In Kiwai Island it was a fixed law in battle that no man should attack or slay another who bore the same totemic crest as himself. Strangers even from hostile tribes could safely visit villages where there were clans with the same totems as their own. [4] The Kutchin Indians are divided into three metronymic exogamous totem »castes», says Bancroft. »This system operates strongly against war between tribes; as in war it is caste against caste, and not tribe against tribe. As the father is never of the same caste as the son, who receives caste from his mother, there can never be intertribal war without ranging fathers and sons against each other». [5] Very extensive among the Haidah Indians also were the duties of members of the same totem, although otherwise these might be enemies to each other. Moreover »in war it was not tribe against tribe, but division against division, and as the children were never of the same caste as the father, the children would be against the father and

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als '*puipui*', d. h. als Sippenverwandte erkannt haben, dürfen sie sich nichts zu Leide thun, sondern sie müssen sich im Kampfe ausweichen.» — *Kubary*, in Mittheilungen der Geogr. Gesellschaft, Hamburg 1878—9; quoted by *Grosse*, Die Formen der Familie, p. 147 sq.

[1] *Best*, Notes on the Art of War, in Journ. Polyn. Soc. vol. XI, p. 220.

[2] *Nelson*, The Eskimo about Bering Strait; in 18:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 329.

[3] *Chalmers*, New Guinea; in Journ. Anthrop. Inst. 1903, pp. 144, 161, 188.

[4] *Frazer*, Totemism and Exogamy, vol. II, p. 37.

[5] *Bancroft*, Op. cit. vol. I., p. 132. — See also vol. I. p. 109.

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the father against the children, part of one tribe against part of another, and part against itself, so that there would have been a pretty general confusion». [1]

Moreover, this restriction of killing is in many cases extended also so as to include all the adversaries who are not carrying arms, or at any rate have ceased to offer further resistance. Among the aborigines of Torres Strait, *Padaugarka* was the name given to a peaceful man who would not fight even when the rest of the men were engaged in fighting. The enemy noticed the fact, and when they returned home they mentioned it, and in future they would not attack him nor his family. [2] Among all the Australian aborigines, even in the most cruel form of their warfare — nightly surprises — women and children, as a rule, are not slain. [3] According to Seeman, [4] the Fijians display a certain leniency towards women, and Turner [5] states that among the Samoans only cowards would kill women. The Masai [6] never attack nor kill women; the Wafiumi carry on their wars very humanely. »Even in the case of victory they do not penetrate into the interior of the enemy's country. Male prisoners of war are not killed, but kept for ransom». [7] With reference to the Kabyles, Messrs. Hanoteau and Letourneux observe that when in war an enemy has been made prisoner and, accordingly, ought to be tortured, »un des combattants peut le souver en le couvrant de son burnous ou en échangeant son fusil avec lui». [8] Moreover, »les femmes, qui

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[1] *Frazer*, Op. cit. vol. III, p. 356 sq. — See also *Flescher* and *la Flesche* the Omaha Tribe; in 27:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 56.

[2] Reports of the Cambridge Expedition to Torres Straits, vol. V, p. 302.

[3] *Wheeler*, The Tribe and Intertribal Relations in Australia, p. 154.

[4] *Seeman*, Viti, p. 180.

[5] *Turner*, Polynesian Researches, vol. I, p. 318.

[6] *Hinde*, The Last of the Masai, pp. 6, 64; — *Thomson*. Through Masai Land, pp. 90, 177.

[7] *Baumann*, Durch Massailand, p. 179.

[8] *Hanoteau* and *Letourneux*, La Kabylie, vol. III, p. 79.

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dans la vie civile, tiennent si peu de place, . . . par leur présence seule, éloignent la mort et donnent l'ànaia» [1] . . . »Au milieu de cette société, rude jusqu'à la férocité la femme apporte, dans les plis de sa robe, la pitié et miséricorde». [2]

As to the Indians, there are instances showing that women and children were spared, [3] and prisoners were not always tortured, but were well treated and adopted or interchanged. This is the case at least with the Iroquois, [4] Omaha, Ponka, [5] Wyandots, [6] and the Californian tribes. [7] The Abipones [8] as a rule spared the unwarlike. The Tenae in Bengal »make war only on men, inflicting no injury whatever on non-combatants». [9] According to the old Chinese [10] custom of warfare, it was not considered right »to rush on those who were willing to surrender». With reference to the early Germans, Tacitus states: — »To a German mind the idea of a woman led into captivity is unsupportable». [11]

The tendency of sparing enemies is extended especially to those who have taken refuge in such places as are recognized as asylums. This custom is generally prevalent among the Australian aborigines. [12] In Nissan Island, the hut of the chief served as an asylum. [13] The tombs of dead chiefs gave shelter to refugees in Tonga. [14] Hence, »if the most inveterate

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[1] Op. cit. vol. III, p. 80.

[2] Op. cit. vol. III, p. 81.

[3] *Fletcher* and La *Flesche*, The Omaha Tribe; in 27:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 703; cf. p. 426.

[4] *Morgan*, League of the Iroquois, p. 344.

[5] *Dorsey*, Omaha Sociology, in 3:rd Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 332.

[6] *Powell*, Wyandot Government; in 1:st Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 68.

[7] *Bancroft*, The Native Races of the Pacific States, vol. I, p. 381.

[8] *Dobrizhoffer*, The Abipones, vol. II, p. 141.

[9] *Dalton*, Ethnology of Bengal, p. 35.

[10] *Medhurst*, Ancient China, p. 192.

[11] *Tacitus*, Germania, 8.

[12] *Wheeler*, Op. cit. p. 106 sq.

[13] *Steinmetz*, Rechtsverhältnisse, p. 420.

[14] *Meinicke*, Die Inseln des Stillen Ozeans, vol. II, p. 81.

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enemies meet upon this ground they must look upon each other as friends under penalty of the displeasure of the gods».[1] In Hawaii, as observed by Mr. Ellis,[2] two cities were recognized as asylums, both of which afforded during war complete safety to all fugitives, including the vanquished. Describing the Samoans, Turner[3] states that a different district or the houses of the chiefs served as places of refuge. Among the Kukies[4] and the Lushais in general[5] fugitives found shelter in the huts of the chiefs. This was the case also with the Kafirs,[6] the Masai,[7] and other native peoples in Africa.[8] As to the Indians, the Cherokee, Creeks,[9] Apaches,[10] and others had their »white towns» or other places of refuge to serve as asylums.

Now it is obvious that this widespread institution also greatly contributed to mitigate the warlike character of primitive conditions.[11]

The partition of primitive communities into peaceable and belligerent groups had the same end in view, namely, the prevention of too destructive warfare. Of the warlike Galla, we are informed that they are divided into three different classes. The *Morán* contains the unmarried warriors, the *Mórua* are married and never take part in war, and finally the *Levelé*

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[1] *Mariner*, The Natives of the Tonga Islands, vol. I, p. 95.

[2] *Ellis*, Tour through Hawaii, pp. 137, 155 sq.

[3] *Turner*, Nineteen Years in Polynesia, pp. 285, 334.

[4] *Lewin*, The Hill Tracts of Chittagong, p. 100.

[5] *Shakespear*, The Kuki-Lushai Clans; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1909, p. 374.

[6] *Kidd*, The Essential Kafir, p. 352.

[7] *Merker*, Die Masai, p. 206.

[8] *Post*, Afrikanische Jurisprudenz, vol. II, p. 37.

[9] *Mooney*, Myths of the Cherokee; in 19:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 207.

[10] *Bourke*, The Medicine Men of the Apache; in 9:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 453.

[11] See for further particulars, *Westermarck*, The Moral Ideas, vol. II, pp. 628—638; — *Steinmetz*, Rechtsverhältnisse, passim; — *Wheeler*, The Tribe and Intertribal Relations in Australia, p. 106 sq.

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are married but at the same time may fight occasionally. [1] This division was most systematically carried out among the Indians. Many Indian tribes, says Gatschet, [2] to the East as well as to the West of the Mississippi, had an old division of the male population into fighting and peaceful groups. It sometimes happened that the peaceful groups separated themselves from the warlike ones and consequently came to carry on their own wars, though much more humanely than the warlike groups. [3]

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[1] *Ratzel*, Völkerkunde, vol. II, p. 166.

[2] *Gatschet*, Die Osage Indianer; in Globus, vol. LXXIII, 1898, p. 350. See also *Dorsey*, Siouan Sociology; in 15:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 233 sq.; — *Dorsey*, War Customs; in the American Naturalist, vol. XVIII, p. 113 sq.; — *Fletcher* and *La Fletsche*, The Omaha Tribe; in 27:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 542 sq.

[3] *Ratzel*, Völkerkunde, vol. I, p. 564.

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CHAPTER III

THE CHARACTER OF PRIMITIVE WARFARE
(*Continued*)

In many cases the savage man has to be specially incited before he can make up his mind to set out on the war-path, and this ill agrees with the opinion that he cares about nothing but war.

In New Guinea [1] the women abuse the men as being »the most wicked cowards» if they do not rush into war, although according to the opinion of the women they ought to have full reason for it. Among the Ba-Huana Negroes, »the chief instigators of war are women», Messrs. Torday and Joyce remark. »If the men are peaceably inclined and rather disposed to pocket an insult, the women make fun of them — 'You are afraid, you are not men; we will have no intercourse with you' . . . . . Then out go the men and fight».[2] In Somaliland, men who have in war killed an enemy, or even committed a treacherous murder; are entitled to wear ostrich feathers as decoration in their hair, hence the wives of the »undecorated men» scoff at them until they have succeeded in gaining such a trophy. [3] With regard

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[1] *Krieger*, Neu Guinea, p. 390.

[2] *Torday* and *Joyce*, Ba-Huana; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1906, p. 289.

[3] *von der Decken*, Reisen, vol. II, p. 324.

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to the North American Indians, among the Apaches [1], for example, if the men return from an unsuccessful expedition, »they are met with jeers and insults» by the women. Likewise Hennepin observes that the Indians engage in war »because other people jeer them. 'You're a Coward,' say they. 'You never were in a battle. You have kill'd no Body yet'». [2] This was the case also with other Indians of North America. [3] Of the ancient Spartans, Grote observes that the warlike spirit of men greatly depended upon »the sympathy of the other sex, which manifested itself publicly . . to the exaltation of the brave as well as to the abasement of the recreant.» [4]

Women have even a more active part in the pursuit of hostilities. When fighting is going on between Australian aborigines, women are present egging on the men. [5] Among the aborigines of Kiwai Island, in British New Guinea, the women follow the men to the fight because »the men say they are a great encouragement to them, as they urge them on, and they also create a feeling that they must be protected». [6] Similarly Mr. Williamson and Dr. Seligmann state that these women follow their fighting men in the expedition, their duty being to »encourage the fighters on the way and during the fight by their singing». [7] Moreover, if they ran away »the fighting men would follow them». [8] Information to the same effect is given by Dr. Codrington[9] with regard to other Melanesians. The Omaha, Ponka, and Osage women had special magic songs »to send strength to the absent warriors on the battlefields». When a war party was away, it was the custom for women, particularly of the poorer class, to

[1] *Bancroft*, The Native Races of the Pacific States, vol. I, p. 489.
[2] *Hennepin*, Discovery of a Vast Country in America, vol. II, p. 72.
[3] *Dorsey*, Omaha Sociology; in 3:rd Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 312.
[4] *Grote*, History of Greece, vol. II, p. 307.
[5] *Wheeler*, The Tribe and Intertribal Relations in Australia, p. 45.
[6] *Chalmers*, Natives of Kiwai; in Journ. Anthrop. Inst., 1903, p. 122.
[7] *Williamson*, The Mafulu Mountain People, p. 183.
[8] *Seligmann*, The Melanesians, p. 296.
[9] *Codrington*, The Melanesians, p. 306 n.

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go to the tents of some of the absent warriors and there sing some of these *we'to"waa"*. »It was believed that by some telepathic process courage and increased strength thus were imparted to the man who was battling». [1] In return they obtained gifts. Moreover, women also followed war parties in order to strengthen the courage of warriors. [2] Of the early Germans, Tacitus writes that »their tenderest pledges are near them in the field. In the heat of the engagement, the soldier hears the shrieks of his wife and the cries of his children. These are the darling witnesses of his conduct, the applauders of his valour, at once beloved and valued. The wounded seek their mothers and their wives». [3] Similar details about the early Gauls are given by Caesar. [4]

Bravery is encouraged not merely by the fear of being ridiculed and the strong feeling of the duty of protecting relatives present in battle, but also by the knowledge that cowardice will incur punishment afterwards. If a Mojawe is taken prisoner and he should return, »his mother even will not own him». [5] Among the ancient Maya, he who from cowardice failed to do his duty in war was »abused, insulted, stripped of his weapons, and discharged from the service». [6] These are but characteristic examples out of a large number. [7] We need only refer to the practice so common *e.g.* among the Wahuma in East Africa, where »the runaways are drilled with red-hot iron until they are men no longer and die», [8] fully to realize that such serious punishment

[1] *Fletcher* and *La Flesche*, The Omaha Tribe; in 27:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 421; see also pp. 407, 423, 426.

[2] Op. cit. p. 247. — Cf. *Dorsey*, Omaha Sociology; in 3:rd Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 312.

[3] *Tacitus*, Germania, 7; — *Idem*, History, IV, 18 and passim.

[4] *Caesar*, De Bello Gallico, I, 51; VII, 48.

[5] *Bancroft*, The Native Races of the Pacific States, vol. I, p. 499.

[6] Op. cit. vol. I, p. 746.

[7] Op. cit. vol. I, p. 764, passim; — *Caesar*, De Bello Gallico, VII, 66.

[8] *Speke*, Discovery of the Source of the Nile, p. 212. — As for punishment among other peoples in East Africa, see pp. 324, 367, 381, 392, 430, 437.

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would hardly be required if a fierce love of fighting were really as innate in the savage character as it seems to be assumed in certain modern philosophies of war.

Further, the warlike instincts of savages are in many cases excited by their leaders, who make use *e. g.* of elaborate speeches. Thus, among the Maori, before starting a battle, the leaders generally made appeal to the passions of the army. »The reasons of the conflict», says Mr. S. Percy Smith, [1] »are set forth with all the peculiar powers of Maori oratory .... The pride of the tribe, their honour, their wives and their children, and bravery of their ancestors, the spirits of the departed, their own lives now menaced — every fact and circumstance dear to them is invoked, and all the powers of their wild poetry and savage rhetoric employed to influence the passion of war and stimulate bravery». Similarly, Ellis [2] informs us that during fighting among the Polynesians it devolved on special men to glorify the bravery of their ancestors, and in this manner to arouse and excite the pugnacious instincts of the belligerents. In ancient China, before starting the fight the commanders delivered speeches, bidding their men, for example, to »emulate military ardour like tigers and panthers, like bears and hyenas.» [3] Nor were the early Greeks, [4] Romans [5] and Germans [6] unfamiliar with this mode of exciting the warlike ardour of their armies.

In other cases the pugnaciousness of savage warriors is increased by prospects of rewards. Thus, in New Guinea. marks of distinction are bestowed upon the brave. Therefore, says Krieger [7] »the desire to obtain such marks causes often feuds

[1] *Smith*, Wars of the Northern Tribes; in Journ. Polyn. Soc. vol. VIII, p. 151.

[2] *Ellis*, Polynesian Researches, vol. II, p. 486 sq.

[3] *Medhurst*, Ancient China, p. 192.

[4] See *e. g. Thucydides*, History of Peloponnesian War, V, 68, passim.

[5] *E. g. Tacitus*, History III. 20; V, 16; passim.; — *Idem*, The Annals, I. 67.

[6] *E. g. Tacitus*, History, V, 17, passim.

[7] *Krieger*, Neu Guinea, p. 320.

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between neighbouring villages». The Fijian heroes obtain as rewards special titles [1] or certain rights with regard to women. [2] Among the Kafirs [3] it was only after successful raids and war expeditions that the warriors obtained the right of marrying. Great rewards were also given to the brave among the Wahuma and other neighbouring tribes. [4] In Somaliland, everybody who had killed an enemy was entitled to wear an ostrich feather as a decoration. [5] Most of the Indians of North America used particular gradations, or they availed themselves of special »war honours» and decorations, to show the rank of individuals and to stimulate the military ardour of the warriors. [6] Among the Sia, nobody could become a member of the Society of Warriors who had not himself obtained a scalp. [7] In Central America this custom reached its highest development. Nobility was conferred on him who was wounded in war, and he was further rewarded with lands, with some distinguished women, and with military command. [8]

Many other customs aim at the same end. The Australian aborigines make raids in order to obtain skulls of the slain, and thus »to gain glory and the approbation of their women.» [9] In Murray Island [10] »the skulls of their slain enemies were preserved

[1] *Williams* and *Calvert*, Fiji and the Fijians, vol. I, p. 55.

[2] *Thomson*, The Fijians, p. 98 sq.; — *Williams* and *Calvert*, Op. cit., vol. I, p. 48.

[3] *Ratzel*, Völkerkunde, vol. II, p. 123.

[4] *Speke*, Discovery of the Source of the Nile, pp. 212, 303, passim.

[5] *Von der Decken*, Reisen, vol. II, p. 324.

[6] *Dorsey*, Omaha Sociology; in 3:rd Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 333; — *Gatschet*, Creek Indians, pp. 158—164; — *Fletcher* and *La Flesche*, The Omaha Tribe; in 27:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. pp. 124, 358 sq., 437 sq., 439 sq.

[7] *Coxe Stevenson*, The Sia; in 11:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 121.

[8] *Bancroft*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 764. — The same custom is found among the early Romans, *e. g. Caesar*, Op. cit. III, 26.

[9] Reports of the Cambridge Expedition to Torres Straits, vol. V, p. 298.

[10] *Hunt*, Ethnographical Notes on the Murray Islands; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1898, p. 12.

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as a proof of their success». Similarly in New Hebrides [1] the skulls served as war trophies. According to Turner, [2] in Samoa the skull bestowed an immense honour on the captor. »To a young Samoan», asserts Pritchard, [3] »this is the realization of his highest ambition — to be publicly thanked by the Chief for slaying an enemy in mortal combat, as he careers before his comrades with the reeking head of his foe in his hand.» Among the early natives of Formosa, says Hulsius, [4] a man who had obtained a skull was looked upon as such a hero that nobody dared publicly speak to him during the first fortnight. Among the Manobo [5] in the Philippines, the Pakatans [6] in Borneo, and the Kukies, [7] the skulls were held to prove the bravery of the warriors. Thus, speaking of the latter people, Macrae states that each warrior had his own pile of heads, and, according to the number it consists of, »his character as hunter or warrior is established in his tribe». [8] This is the case also as regards certain Eskimo communities [9] as well as some Indian tribes in South America. Thus the Chaco Indians [10] and Abipones [11] regard skulls as conferring great merit on the captor. [12]

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[1] *Meinicke*, Die Inseln des Stillen Ozeans, vol. I, p. 202.

[2] *Turner*, Samoa, p. 192; — *Idem*, Nineteen Years in Polynesia, p. 301 sq.

[3] *Pritchard*, Polynesian Reminiscences, p. 57.

[4] *Hulsius*, Eine Beschreibung der zweyen Insulen Formosa und Japan, p. 38.

[5] *Semper*, Die Philippinen, p. 63.

[6] *St. John*, Life in the Forests of the Far East; quoted by *Spencer*, Principles of Sociology, vol. II, p. 40.

[7] *Lewin*, Chittagong, p. 111 sq.

[8] *Macrae*, Account of the Kookies; in Asiatic Researches, vol. VII, p. 195.

[9] *Nelson*, The Eskimo about Bering Strait; in 18:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 329.

[10] *Grubb*, The Indians of Paraguayan Chaco, p. 87.

[11] *Dobrizhoffer*, The Abipones, vol. II, p. 408 sq.

[12] It is in this connection noteworthy that it was, at least among the lower savages, also an act of great merit to have killed a beast. *E. g.* among the Shoshone he who had killed a grizzly bear was allowed »to wear

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In some cases it is even regarded as an indispensable duty to obtain skulls or other trophies. Thus without skulls the young men in Borneo [1] could hardly marry. Similarly among the aborigines in Kiwai Island, [2] »no young man could marry, as no woman would have him without skulls», and the more skulls the greater honour. Likewise among the Nagas [3] in Bengal the right of being tattooed involved the necessity of having obtained skulls or scalps. In British Columbia [4] no young Indian was allowed to speak directly to his father-in-law until he had killed an enemy with white hairs. It is well known that the North American Indians in general [5] measured a man's value by the number of scalps in his possession. [6] It would, however, be a mistake to conclude that these customs in all cases presupposed warfare. The head-hunters of Borneo

their highest insignia of glory, the feet or claws of the victim». — *Bancroft*, The Native Races of the Pacific States, vol. I, p. 438. — The Pygmies in New Guinea have net bags slung over one shoulder and from the corner hang »from one to twenty boar's tusks, trophies of the chase and highly valued by the owner. These tusks note the prowess of the individual, very much in the same way as human scalps did in the old days of the North American Indians.» — *Rawling*, The Land of the New Guinea Pygmies, p. 153.

This fact anew shows the close connection between primitive warfare and the chase; furthermore it proves how erroneous it is to assert that only purely warlike actions brought renown. — Cf. *Letourneau*, La guerre, p. 58; — *Von der Decken*, Reisen, vol. II, p. 324. — For further particulars see also *Spencer*, Principles of Sociology, vol. II, p. 36 sq.

1 *Furness*, The Home-Life of Borneo Head-Hunters, p. 75.

2 *Chalmers*, The Natives of Kiwai Island; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1903, p. 123.

3 *Dalton*, Ethnology of Bengal, p. 40.

4 *Kane*, Wanderings, p. 393.

5 *Fletcher* and *La Flesche*, The Omaha Tribe; in 27:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. pp. 124, 437 sq.; — *Spencer*, Principles of Sociology, vol. II p. 43 sq.; — *Coxe Stevenson*, The Sia; in 11:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 121.

6 According to Ammianus Marcellinus, the Alani likewise esteemed scalps as »the most glorious spoils». — History of Ammianus Marcellinus, XXXI, 2.

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did not shrink from cutting the throat even of their friends. [1] Among the Nagas it was by no means essential that the skulls or scalps should be trophies of honourable warfare, or that they should even be taken from the bodies of declared enemies. »A skull may be acquired by the blackest treachery, but so long as the victim was not a member of the clan, it was accepted as a chivalrous offering of a true knight to his lady». [2] Baron von der Decken [3] states that in Somaliland ordinary murder, even that done by stealth or on those entitled to protection, was not despised when the winning of the ostrich-feather decoration was in question. Duties towards other persons likewise obliged the savage to obtain trophies, procure victims, etc. Many of these customs, however, are more or less closely connected with superstitious beliefs, a fact which is the more significant, as it is apparent that such duties are considered to be the most binding, and therefore also more than anything else are calculated to call forth martiality. With blood-revenge, one of the most common of these features in early social life we have already dealt. Other points will be illustrated later on.

All of the facts which have hitherto been brought forward have reference to the means by which warriors are excited to bravery by other members of their community. But they also try to excite themselves. Not relying upon their alleged »inborn animality», they endeavour in various ways to acquire that pugnacious spirit and martial ardour of which they feel themselves to have need. The more, therefore, the circumstances require warlike qualities, the more we find among savages practices calculated to satisfy these demands. Young boys are systematically trained to become brave, and grown warriors avail themselves of a crowd of means by which to infuse into themselves bravery and a thirst for blood; nay, even such notorious war-

[1] *Furness*, Op. cit. p. 125.

[2] *Dalton*, Ethnology of Bengal, p. 40. — See also *Hodson*, Head-hunting among the Hill Tribes of Assam; in Folk-Lore, vol. XX. p. 132 sqq.

[3] *Von der Decken*, Reisen, vol. II, p. 324.

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rior-races as the Maori [1] and the North American Indians [2] before starting on their expeditions did not neglect to arouse their martial ardour through solemn war dances. [3] These facts are too well known in Sociology to need an enumeration of examples. [4]

In this respect, however, savages seem to obtain the greatest support from superstition. What he knows himself to be devoid of, that can be secured by means of magic. [5] Where his own power and ability might soon fail, the aid of the gods is

[1] *Dieffenbach*, Travels in New Zealand, vol. II, p. 125; — *Pakeha Maori*, Old New Zealand, p. 47 sq.; — *Best*, Notes on the Art of War; in Journ Polyn. Soc. vol. XII, p. 74 sq.

[2] *Dorsey*, Omaha Sociology; in 3:rd Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 323.,

[3] In their interesting investigations into the life of the Omaha Indians, Miss Fletcher and Mr. La Flesche write of the war dance that it was »an appeal to the wolf that the men might partake of his predatory character, of his ability to roam and not be homesick.» — The Omaha Tribe; in 27:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 416; cf. p. 419.

[4] *Mayne*, Four Years in British Columbia, p. 302; — *Fletcher* and *La Flesche*, Op. cit. p. 434 sq.; — *Seligmann*, The Veddas, p. 207; — *Spencer*, Principles of Sociology, vol. II, chap. II, III.

[5] *Holsti*, Some Superstitious Customs and Beliefs in Savage Warfare; in »Festskrift tillegnad Edvard Westermarck,» p. 151 sq. — Cf. *Spencer* and *Gillen*, Across Australia, vol. II, p. 346 sqq.; — *Best*, Notes on the Custom of Rakui; in Journ. Polyn. Soc. vol. VIII, p. 85; — *Cole*, The Wagogo; in Journ. Anthrop. Inst. 1902, pp. 320 sq., 325; — *Hunt*, Notes on the Murray Island; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1898, p. 12; — *McLean*, Kafir Laws and Customs, p. 84; — *Velten*, Sitten und Gebräuche der Suaheli, p. 103; — *Bannatyne*, Surprises and Stratagems; in United Service Magazine, 1910, p. 182; — *Waddell*, Lhasa and its Mysteries, pp. 173 sq., 471 sq.; — *Best*, Tuhoe Land; in Trans. New Zealand Institute, vol. XXX, p. 40; — *Smith*, Tohunga Maori; in Trans. New Zealand Institute, vol. XXXII, p. 262 sq.; — *Skeat*, The Wild Tribes of the Malay Peninsula; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1902, p. 136; — *Bourke*, The Medicine Men of Apache; in 9:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 457; — *Fletcher* and *La Flesche*, Op. cit. p. 50, passim; — *Gudgeon*, Maori Religion; in Journ. Polyn. Soc. vol. XIV, p. 122; — *Taylor*, Te Ika a Maui, p. 76 sq.; — *Semper*, Die Philippinen, p. 62; — *Williamson*, The Mafulu Mountain People, pp. 254, 276; — *Kauffmann*, Balder, pp. 224, 230, passim. — See also *supra* n. 3, which shows the war dances of the North American Indians and certain beasts in relation of sympathetic magic.

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at hand [1]; indeed, of all the factors which stimulate the savage to martiality, superstition is undoubtedly the most weighty. [2] This is the more obvious as savage warfare is often not merely carried on with a firm belief in supernatural aid, but it is in many cases also begun [3] and peace is made on supernatural advice; [4] nay, it is in many cases looked upon as a sacred

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[1] *Holsti*, Op. cit. p. 161 sqq. — Cf. *Best*, The Whanga; in Journ. Polyn. Soc. vol. XI, p. 54; — *Idem*, Te-Rehu-O-Tainui; in Journ. Polyn. Soc. vol. VI, pp. 42 sq., 54, 65; — *Gudgeon*, Tipua Kura; in Journ. Polyn. Soc. vol. XV, pp. 36, 122; — *Smith*, Hawaiki; in Journ. Polyn. Soc. vol. VIII, p. 32; — *Holmes*, The Religious Ideas of the Elemas; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1902, p. 428; — *Murray*, Japan, p. 72; — *Chavannes*, Les Mémoires historiques de Se-Ma-Ts'ien, vol. V, p. 48, passim; — *Ragozin*, Assyria, pp. 333, 387; — *Budge* and *King*, Annals of the Kings of Assyria, vol. I, pp. 84, 114, 133 sq., passim; — *N. M. Petersen*, Nordisk Mytologi, p. 177; — *Virgil*, Aeneis, VII, 618 sq.; — *Pliny*, Historia Naturalis, VII, 56; — *Livy*, Ab Urbe Condita, XXI, 62; — *Caesar*, De Bello Gallico, VI. 14. — *Lönnrot*, Suomen kansan muinaisia loitsurunoja, pp. 153 sq., 234 sq., 268; — *Grotenfelt*, Ueber die Kurden; in Muinaism. yhd. Aik., vol. XXVI, p. 8.

In addition see also *Stannus*, Notes on some Tribes in British Central Africa; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute 1910, p. 300, and *Conybeare*, Ancestor-Worship; in Encycl. Britannica, vol. I, p. 945.

[2] Miss Fletcher and Mr. La Flesche write of the Omaha: — »The warrior was taught that it was this god (Thunder), not man, who decreed the death on the field of battle ... This teaching tended to change in the Omaha mind the character of warfare; it placed the warrior under a supernatural power, over which he had no control, and while it did not eliminate from him the spirit of revenge or hatred, it curtailed a man's estimate of his own ability to exploit vengeance on his fellows». — The Omaha Tribe; in 27:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 403.

[3] *Holsti*, Op. cit. p. 142 sqq. — Cf. *Hunt*, Notes on the Murray Island; in Journ. Anthrop. Inst. 1898, p. 12; — *Gudgeon*, The Toa Taua; in Journ. Polyn. Soc. vol. XI, p. 35; — *Swanton*, The Tlingit Indians; in 16:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 450; — *Thevet*, Les Singularitez de la France Antarctique, p. 65; — *Torday*, Camp and Tramp in African Wilds, p. 136. — *Cicero*, De Diviniatione, I., 2, 55 sq., II, 21, passim; — *Idem*, De Nat. Deor, II, 65, 162; — *Idem*, De Legibus, II, 13, 32; — *Livy*, Ab Urbe Condita, XXI, 62; XXII, 1.

[4] *Holsti*, Op. cit. p. 169 sq.; — Cf. *Smith*, The Doings of Te Wera; in Journ. Polyn. Soc. vol. IX, p. 57 sq.; — *Hecquard*, Op. cit. p. 100.

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function itself. [1] Moreover, when brave men were recompensed by their leaders or communities, what was more natural than to expect that they would be rewarded still more in the life to come? Among the Fijians, cowardice and idleness were »the most heinous crimes; a life of rapine and a violent death were passports to the sacred mountain». [2] Similarly Erskine affirms that in Fiji those whose conduct had been pleasing to the gods enjoyed a greater degree of happiness after death than in this world. The slaughter of many enemies was considered »most likely to propitiate the deity». [3] And of the Tongans we read that at the eve of battle the chief declared it »far better to die in war than live to be assassinated at home or to die of a lingering disease». [4] The Ojibway Indians believed that the souls of brave warriors »spend an eternity in carnal pleasures such as feasting, dancing and the like; but the soul of the coward . . . will wander about in unknown regions of darkness and be exposed to the continued rage of wolves, bears, panthers, etc». [5] According to the belief of the Aht Indians, chiefs and those who lost their lives in battle would be happy in the life to come. [6] The Aztecs held that the shades of those »who died in their beds went downward and to nought», whereas the braves who were killed in battle were rewarded with an eternal life in the regions of happiness. [7] The Kukies believe that in the life after death

[1] *Holsti*, Op. cit. p. 170; — Cf. *Jevons*, Introduction to the History of Religion, pp. 155 n, 242, 295.

The additions to my own inquiry refer to such authors only who have not been quoted in that study, or who are not quoted elsewhere in the present book.

[2] *Thomson*, The Fijians, p. 132 sqq.; — *Seeman*, Viti, p. 401 — As for Niue, see *Thomson*, Savage Island, p. 94

[3] *Erskine*, The Islands of the Western Pacific, p. 248.

[4] *Mariner*, The Natives of the Tonga Islands, vol. I, p. 94.

[5] *Jones*, The Ojebway Indians, p. 102.

[6] *Sproat*, Scenes and Studies of Savage Life, p. 209 sq.

[7] *Brinton*, The Myths of the New World, p. 245 sq.; — *Clavigero*, The History of Mexico, vol. I, p. 242; — *Bastian*, Die Culturländer des Alten America, vol. I, p. 365 sq.; vol. II, p. 582 sq.

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the victims of a bold warrior will be his slaves. [1] Speaking of the inhabitants of the province of Parthia, the Roman historian Ammianus Marcellinus states that he who was slain in the battle was »accounted the happiest of men», while those who died a natural death were reproached as degenerate and cowardly. [2] Similarly of a nation called by him Alani, and living in those times on the shores of the Sea of Azov, the same author remarks that they esteemed death in war more than anything else. [3] This was the view of the early Germans also. [4]

The rousing value of such a religious conviction will fully be understood when compared with the fact that among certain other people the fate of warriors killed in battle was thought to be just the opposite. Speaking of the Indians in general, Mooney states that the Indians of North America never made an attack in the night-time, this custom arising from the belief common among them that an Indian killed at night would be for ever in darkness in the spirit world. [5] As for the particular tribes, among the Iroquois, separate villages were allotted to the souls of those who had died in war, because the other dead were supposed to be afraid of their presence. [6] So also the Hurons thought that the future life of warriors killed in battle would be less happy than that of ordinary people. [7] The Saponi Indians considered the highest form of a happy future after death to be a life in which men were »preserved from being surprised or overcome by their enemies». [8] Among the Flatheads and neighbouring Indian communities the belief prevailed that a good man went, after his death, to a country in which there was perpetual sum-

[1] *Dalton*, Ethnology of Bengal, p. 46. — As for the aborigines of Celebes, see *Sarasin*, Celebes, vol. II, p. 69.
[2] *Ammianus Marcellinus*, History of, XXIII, 6.
[3] Op. cit. XXXI, 2.
[4] *Jähns*, Krieg, Frieden und Kultur, p. 141.
[5] *Mooney*, Siouan Tribes, p. 32.
[6] *Westermarck*, The Moral Ideas, vol. II, p. 694.
[7] *Tylor*, Primitive Culture, (Ed. 1891), vol. II, p. 87.
[8] *Mooney*, Siouan Tribes, p. 48.

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mer and where he spent his time in hunting and fishing »free from the terrors of war». [1] More or less similar views have been held by other savages also. [2] As there is thus to be found a difference in the views of savages with regard to the future life of warriors killed in battle, it follows that warriors who were firmly convinced of a happy life after death felt their bravery greatly increased.

On the other hand, if superstition has thus encouraged martiality, it certainly has also given to savages particular means of fulfilling their inmost desires without bloodshed. Not every injury received has directly provoked bloodshed or warfare. The beginning of hostilities has often depended on favourable prognostications, [3] and in many other instances the carrying on of hostilities may be confined to purely superstitious actions only [4]; to the instances here referred to may be added the fact that the Maori, one of the most warlike peoples known, had among others the following way of carrying out blood-revenge. A canoe was built and brought to the shores of that tribe to which the guilty party belonged, and here the canoe was canted over towards the land. »That is all. The defeat is avenged. The warriors return». [5] In short, we could hardly meet with such traits in savage life if the bestial instincts of man in general

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[1] *Cox*, Adventures on the Columbia River, vol. I, pp. 252 sq., 316; — *Franchère*, Voyage to N. W. Coast of America, p. 258 sq.; — *Dunn*, History of Oregon, p. 317.

[2] *Bastian*, Die Culturländer des Alten America, vol. I, p. 649; — *Boas*, Central Eskimo; in 6:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 589; — *Turner*, Nineteen Years in Polynesia, p. 233; — *Mariner*, The Natives of the Tonga Islands, vol. II, p. 162; — *Rochas*, La Nouvelle Calédonie, p. 207; — and above all, *Westermarck*, The Moral Ideas, vol. I, p. 373; vol. II, pp. 521 sq., 693 sq., 697, 704 sq., 708 sq.

[3] *Holsti*, Op. cit. p. 142 sqq.

[4] Op. cit. p. 151 sqq.

[5] *Best*, Notes on the Art of War; in Journ. Polyn. Soc. vol. XIII, p. 74.

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had been incomparably stronger than his belief in superstition. [1]

To sum up, the facts which we have brought forward have made it clear that savages, instead of having really warlike qualities born in them, have on the contrary often had to stir these up through scorn, through the appeals of kinsmen, through exhortations, through the fear of punishments, through promises of rewards, and through superstitious beliefs or other considerations, as of unavoidable duties vested in them, and finally through careful preparations and special customs in connection with the opening as well as the carrying on of hostilities. Moreover, primitive man, relying upon his superstition, has often avenged injuries in a non-warlike way.

Besides the restrictions on the waging of war, as well as the great efforts made to excite savage warriors to deeds of heroism, there are other instances to prove that war is far from being incessant among primitive peoples. In Australia, though the aborigines are said never to refrain from killing an entire stranger on any possible occasion, it is a custom that tribes which, without belonging to the same nation, are neighbours, should terminate their occasional fighting with peace-making. This course of action is still more usual between tribes of the same nation. [2] Describing the art of war among the Maori, Mr. Best observes that »peace and peace-making is by no means a modern institution with the Maori.» Moreover, they knew two different degrees of peace: the first, which could be broken, was confirmed by marriage between persons of rank; the second was made for ever. [3] The conclusion of treaties of peace has also been observed by certain authors in the case of the aborigines of New

[1] As they have a special bearance upon savage tactics, these traits will be more closely illustrated in the following volume.

[2] *Wheeler*, The Tribe and Intertribal Relations in Australia, pp. 71, 146 sq., 155, passim.

[3] *Best*, Notes on the Art of War; in Journ. Polyn. Soc. vol. XII., p. 197 sq.; cf. p. 201. — See also *Pakeha Maori*, Old New Zealand, p. 48 sq.

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Guinea, [1] Fiji, [2] Tahiti, [3] and Tonga. [4] In Hawaii, when one party wished for peace, an ambassador was sent to the enemy with proposals, and if these were accepted the chiefs and priests of the belligerent parties met and the conditions of peace were agreed to. Subsequently the peace-makers went to a temple, a pig was killed and the blood poured on the ground, »to signify», it is said, »that thus it should be done to those who broke the treaty». When thus the peace was ratified, feasting, dances and public games followed. The warriors returned to their lands and »the king's heralds were sent round his district to annouce *'ua pau ka kaua*', — 'ended is the war'». [5] Of the art of warfare among the aborigines in Celebes in 1680, Padt-Brugge writes that after long feuds influential people in neutral villages used at last to bring about peace; long speeches were made and the peace was confirmed by oaths. [6] Similarly, among the head-hunters of Borneo [7] we meet with peace-making. Kukies, when ceasing from hostilities, swear to maintain peace in the following words: — »May I be cut with the *dhao* (a weapon) in war and in the field, may rice and salt fail me, my crops wither, and I die of hunger; may fire burn all my worldly possessions and the tiger devour me, if I am not faithful». [8] In another description of the same people we read that if two tribes fighting see the victory uncertain between them, they make a signal to suspend the combat, send out ambassadors, and conclude a peace with a grand feast, »taking sun and moon to witness the

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[1] *Krieger*, New Guinea, pp. 324, 418; — *Williamson*, The Mafulu Mountain People, p. 183.

[2] *Williams* and *Calvert*, Fiji and the Fijians, vol. I, p. 54; — *Thomson*, The Fijians, p. 89.

[3] *Ellis*, Polynesian Researches, vol. I, p. 318.

[4] *Mariner*, The Natives of Tonga Islands, vol. I, p. 234.

[5] *Ellis*, Hawaii, p. 131.

[6] *Sarasin*, Celebes, vol. I., p. 43.

[7] *Furness*, The Home-Life of Borneo Head-Hunters, p. 112 sq.

[8] *Stewart*, Notes on the Northern Cachar; in Journ. Asiatic Soc. of Bengal, vol. XXIV., p. 641.

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sincerity of their peace-making». [1] Among the Garos in Bengal the belligerent tribes are brought together by a third party, and if the negotiations are successful, the parties swear to maintain peace by biting their swords. Moreover, as a sign that »friendly relations are restored» the representatives of both clans must put food into each other's mouths, which seals the compact. [2] Among the tribes in Assam belonging to the Tibeto-Burman groups of aborigines, when two hostile villages are about to swear an oath of perpetual peace they place a cat — which is among them almost a sacred animal — in a basket, and the headmen of the belligerent communities hack the cat to pieces. »Both take care to make the first cut at the same moment, for the efficacy of the oath depends on the guilt of the slaughter of the cat being shared equally until one or other commits a breach of the oath, when the whole of the guilt attaches itself to the offender» [3]. So also the aborigines of the Neilgherry Hills, [4] when concluding peace, confirm it with sacrifices.

Turning to the natives of Africa, we meet with similar customs. According to Speke, [5] the Unyamwesi suspend hostilities by means of treaties. Similarly the aborigines inhabiting the territory of the Uganda Protectorate, [6] when desiring to make peace, kill a sheep, and the representatives of each side exchange pieces of the flesh. When the Masai [7] wish for peace they send arbitrators, together with a woman and an unweaned child, to meet the representatives of their enemies. The women then exchange the children for a moment, and let them suck. The peace-makers themselves eat a piece of the heart of a slaughtered animal, and finally they pray that he who breaks the peace may

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[1] *Lewin*, Chittagong, p. 111.
[2] *Dalton*, Ethnology of Bengal, p. 62.
[3] *Hodson*, The »Genna»; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1906, p. 99.
[4] *Harkness*, Neilgherry Hills, p. 106.
[5] *Speke*, Discovery of the Source of the Nile, p. 100.
[6] *Johnston*, The Uganda Protectorate, vol. II, p. 794.
[7] *Merker*, Die Masai, p. 101.

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be punished by heaven. Of the Boran, Sakuju, Gubbra, Ajuran and Gurreh, we read that these five tribes »are bound together by treaties of friendship». [1] Likewise the Kavirondo and the neighbouring groups [2] confirm their treaties by cutting a dog, in order to point out the fate of a treacherous party, or by performing other ceremonies of a similar nature. The Kafirs [3] and Basutos [4] confirm the cessation of warfare with actual peace-making. Among the Ba-Mbala [5] Negroes, when a powerful chief invites the chiefs of the other communities in his neighbourhood to make a pact against bloodshed, a slave is killed, and the partaking of his flesh is considered to be a pledge henceforward to prevent murder. Similarly among the Ba-Yaka [6] tribes, the chiefs of the belligerent parties meet, a fowl is killed and subsequently buried. It is then believed as a matter of course that he who breaks the peace will soon die. Of the Cross River Negroes, Mr. Partridge [7] tells us that the tribes avoid bloodshed by means of negotiations, and that the treaties concluded are confirmed with solemn oaths. Many of the American Indians, among others the Ojibway, [8] Iroquois, [9] Kansas, Kickapoo, Osage, [10] Omaha, [11] Kiowa, Comanche, [12] Haidah, [13] Nootka, [14]

[1] *Aylmer*, The Country between the Juba River and Lake Rudolf; in Geographical Journal, 1911, vol. XXXVIII, p. 295.

[2] *Hobley*, Kavirondo; in Geographical Journal, 1898, vol. XII, p. 368.

[3] *Lichtenstein*, Travels in Southern Africa, vol. I, p. 278.

[4] *Casalis*, The Basutos, p. 224.

[5] *Torday* and *Joyce*, Ethnography of the Ba-Mbala; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1905, p. 409.

[6] *Torday* and *Joyce*, Ethnography of the Ba-Yaka; in Journ. Anthrop, Institute, 1906, p. 49.

[7] *Partridge*, Cross River Natives, p. 190 sq.

[8] *Jones*, The Ojebway Indians, p. 113.

[9] *Morgan*, League of the Iroquois, p. 336 sq.

[10] *Hunter*, Manners and Customs of Several Indian Tribes, p. 326 sq.

[11] *Dorsey*, Omaha Sociology; in 3:rd Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. pp. 332, 362, 368; — *Fletcher* and *La Flesche*, The Omaha Tribe; in 27:th Ann. Rept. pp. 73, 79, 87, 209, 496, passim.

[12] *Mooney*, Myths of the Cherokee; in 17:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 164.

[13] *Bancroft*, The Native Races of the Pacific States, vol. I., p. 164.

[14] Op. cit. vol. I, p. 189.

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Nahuas, [1] and Hako [2] Indians, as well as the ancient Mexicans, [3] have been in the habit of making peace treaties; and they have also been faithful to these agreements. Speaking of a treaty concluded by the Kiowa and the Comanche, Mr. Mooney remarks: — »The peace thus made between the two tribes has never been broken, in which fact there may be a sermon for those who regard the Indian as faithless, when we consider how few European alliances have endured as long».[4] Conspicuous in this respect is also the sanctity of the treaties concluded by such exceedingly warlike tribes as those belonging to the League of the Iroquois. [5]

Peace-making evidently presupposes the recognition of the inviolability of the representatives of the belligerents as well as of the third mediatorial party where this is required. This has been shown already in some of the examples above; further testimony to the same effect abounds. Thus, ambassadors are held sacred among the Australian aborigines. [6] Priests acted in Tonga [7] as peace-makers and were in this capacity sacred personages. In Tahiti [8] and Fiji [9] women used to be chosen as mediators. This is the case also among the Kafirs [10] and the Basutos. [11] Likewise among the Nahuas, [12] the Kansas,

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[1] Op. cit. vol. II, p. 426.

[2] *Fletcher*, The Hako; in 22:nd Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 279.

[3] *Clavigero*, History of Mexico, vol. I, p. 370; vol. II, p. 412.

[4] *Mooney*, Op. cit. p. 164.

[5] *Morgan*, Op. cit. p. 336 sq.

[6] *Wheeler*, The Tribe and Intertribal Relations in Australia, pp. 95, 109 sq.

[7] *Mariner*, The Natives of the Tonga Islands, vol. I, p. 234.

[8] *Ellis*, Polynesian Researches, vol. I, p. 318; vol. II, p. 512.

[9] *Williams* and *Calvert*, Fiji and the Fijians, vol. I, p. 54.

[10] *Lichtenstein*, Travels in Southern Africa, vol. I, p. 278.

[11] *Casalis*, The Basutos, p. 224.

[12] *Bancroft*, Op. cit. vol. II, p. 426.

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Kickapoo, Osage,[1] Ponka, Omaha,[2] Haidah[3] and Nootka[4] Indians, the ancient Mexicans[5] as well as among the early Romans,[6] Gauls[7] and Germans[8] ambassadors were held sacred.

This custom, however, was not limited merely to negotiators of peace; on the contrary, it applied to messengers of every kind. Thus Wheeler[9] gives illuminating particulars on this point with reference to the Australian aborigines. The Sue[10] Islanders and the aborigines of New Guinea[11] bear leaves in their hands to signify their friendly feelings when approaching strangers. Similarly we read as regards the Masai that grass — which was the most sacred thing among them — »held in the hand or tied in a sprig to the dress is a sign of welcome and peace».[12] And this is the custom among the Wambugwe[13] tribes also. Among the North American Indians the calumet was sacred; hence it was of old »a Pass and Safe Conduct amongst all the Allies of the Nation who has given it».[14] Nay more, whoever was carrying such a thing was welcomed and even respected

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[1] *Hunter*, Manners and Customs of Several Indian Tribes, p. 326 sq.

[2] *Dorsey*, Omaha Sociology; in 3:rd Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethnol. p. 368; — *Fletcher* and *La Flesche*, The Omaha Tribe; in 27:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 87.

[3] *Bancroft*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 164.

[4] Op. cit. vol. I, p. 189.

[5] Op. cit. vol. II, p. 412.

[6] *E. g. Plutarch*, Camillus, 17; — *Meyer*, Geschichte des Altertums, vol. I, p. 71.

[7] *Caesar*, De Bello Gallico, III, 9.

[8] Op. cit. IV, 7, 11, passim.

[9] *Wheeler*, Op. cit. p. 109 sqq., passim.

[10] *Macgillivray*, The Voyage of »Rattlesnake», vol. II, p. 41.

[11] *Krieger*, Neu Guinea, pp. 324, 418; — *Rawling*, The Land of the New Guinea Pygmies, p. 174.

[12] *Thomson*, Through Masai Land, p. 260. See also *Baumann*, Durch Massailand, p. 165.

[13] *Baumann*, Op. cit. p. 188.

[14] *Hennepin*, Discovery of a Vast Country in America, vol. I, p. 75.

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by the enemy. [1] Other messengers were similarly respected. [2]

Moreover, strangers may be kindly treated even though they be no heralds nor carry any special tokens to indicate their friendly feelings. As Westermarck [3] has shown to a considerable extent, hospitality towards strangers is a universally recognized duty at the lower stages of civilization, and is the more remarkable as it is often extended so as to include even mortal enemies. [4] Sometimes it passes into intimate friendship [5] or actual adoption. [6]

In close relation to these customs are visits paid by whole parties. Similarly we find meetings taking place between different social units in order to consult about policy and to conclude alliances, or to perform religious or other ceremonies. Messrs. Spencer and Gillen, after they have mentioned the kindly disposition which natives of Central Australia show to each other

[1] *Dorsey*, Omaha Sociology; in 3:rd Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 368. — See for further particulars, *Carver*, Travels through the Interior of America, p. 358 sq.; — *Fletcher*, The Hako; in 22:nd Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 279; — *Hunter*, Manners and Customs of Several Indian Tribes p. 326 sq.

[2] *Fletcher* and *La Flesche*, The Omaha Tribe; in 27:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 381.

[3] *Westermarck*, Moral Ideas, vol. I, chap. XXIV.

With reference to the early Germans, Tacitus states: — »Hospitality and convivial pleasures are nowhere so liberally enjoyed. To refuse admittance to a guest were an outrage against humanity» — Germania, 21.

In Greece, *Xenia*, or *Proxenia* was, as described by Mr. Risley, »an institution which developed out of the sanctity of private hospitality. Where it existed persons called *proxeni* were appointed in each State as the recognized agents of the State for which they acted. Sometimes a State sent out one of its citizens as *proxenus* to reside in the other State; sometimes it selected one of the citizens of the latter; and in some cases the office became hereditary in a particular family ... The institution of *Xenia* affords a curiously exact prototype of the consular system of modern International Law». — *Risley*, Law of War, p. 13.

[4] *Westermarck*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 576 sq.

[5] *Seligmann*, The Melanesians, p. 68; — Les Annales de la Propagation de la Foi, vol. LIV, p. 370 sq.; — *Von der Decken*, Reisen, vol. I, p. 248 sq.

[6] See *infra*, p. 116.

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within the limits of their own tribe. remark: — »Where two tribes come into contact with one another on the border land of their respective territories. there the same amicable feelings are maintained between the members of the two. There is no such thing as one tribe being in a constant state of enmity with another». [1] In their book on the Northern Tribes of Central Australia, the same authors add that nothing could be further from the truth than the ordinary accounts in popular works according to which various tribes are in a state of constant hostility; »in almost every camp of any size you will find members of strange tribes paying visits and often taking part in ceremonies». [2] With reference to the Tasmanians, Wheeler [3] observes that, owing to the occurrence of similar customs, their intertribal relations could not be those of indiscriminate hostility. [4] The Cross River natives [5] arrange meetings in order to discuss intertribal policy, and the subsequent treaties are confirmed with most binding oaths. Similarly among the Ba-Yaka [6] and Ba-Mbala [7] Negroes we meet with alliances or other forms of treaties contracted between neighbouring chiefs. Clavigero [8] in describing the external policy of the Mexican rulers points out that they made use of discussion with their adver-

[1] *Spencer* and *Gillen*, The Native Tribes of Central Australia, p. 32; cf. p. 50 sq.; — *Iidem*, Across Australia, vol. I, p. 232 sq.

[2] *Spencer* and *Gillen*, The Northern Tribes, p. 31; — *Iidem*, Across Australia, vol. I, p. 200 sq.; — cf. also *Frazer*, Totemism and Exogamy, vol. I, p. 63; — *Schürmann*, The Aboriginal Tribes of Port Lincoln; in *Woods*, The Native Tribes of South Australia, p. 241 sq.

[3] *Wheeler*, Op. cit. p. 79.

[4] As for the Papuans in New Guinea, see *Rawling*, Op. cit. p. 146, 157 sqq.

[5] *Partridge*, Cross River Natives, p. 190 sq.

[6] *Torday* and *Joyce*, Ethnography of Ba-Yaka; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1906, p. 49.

[7] *Torday* and *Joyce*, Ethnography of the Ba-Mbala; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1905, p. 409. — See also *Torday*, Camp and Tramp in African Wilds, p. 136.

[8] *Clavigero*, History of Mexico, vol. I, p. 370.

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saries, and that accommodations were likely soon to take place between the parties.

As for intertribal festivities, the Dieri tribe in Australia arranged special festivals to invoke peace, the so called *mindarie*, by means of which they maintained peaceful relations with their neighbours. [1] According to Mr. Williamson, the various communities of the Mafulu in New Guinea act together in many matters. This is especially the case as regards the so-called big feasts and some other important ceremonies, as well as hunting and fishing. [2] Among the Barea and Kunama in East Africa the feast of the first-fruits »is a day of peace when all fighting rests.» [3] Among the Jalua tribes in Uganda, if a big chief dies all the surrounding peoples join in the funeral rites even if he happened to be at war with some of them; and on the same occasion hostilities between different clans are suspended. [4] Mr. McClintock [5] describes a great festival in which two thousand representatives of fourteen different groups of North American Indians took part. »I have never seen», he says, »an equally large gathering of white men where there was as little disturbance. Although I was continually present, I saw no fighting in the great encampment, and it was a rare occurrence to hear even angry words». As for the Omaha, they availed themselves of a special ceremony, *Wa'wa*^{n}, to bring about friendly relations »between themselves and the neighbouring tribes, with all its peaceful obligations», [6] and similar customs prevailed amongst the Ponka;[7] indeed, peaceful intercourse

[1] *Gason*, The Manners and Customs of the Dieyerie Tribe; in *Woods*, The Native Tribes in South Australia, p. 271. — Cf. *Wheeler*, Op. cit. p. 98 sq.

[2] *Williamson*, The Mafulu Mountain People, pp. 84, 132 sq., 250, 255 sq.

[3] *Munzinger*, Ostafrikanische Studien, p. 473.

[4] *Johnston*, The Uganda Protectorate, vol. II, p. 794.

[5] *McClintock*, Old North Trail, p. 206.

[6] *Fletcher* and *La Flesche*, The Omaha Tribe: in 27:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 376 sq.; cf. p. 495 sq.

[7] Op. cit. p. 379 sq.

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was not by any means unfamiliar to the Indians of North America,[1] though they are the example which all those authors who defend war so readily quote.

We thus see that savages are by no means devoid of what may be called primitive forms of International Law. Certain rules as regards the opening of hostilities, the conducting of war, and the making of peace are in many cases observed, and amicable relations between different tribes are by no means infrequent. In fact, if the intertribal relations of the other savage groups were to be as carefully investigated as those of the Australian aborigines,[2] we should probably find that there are more or less equally regulated relations between savage communities in other parts of the world also.

If we bear in mind the various inferences above made with regard to the true nature of savage warfare, we can understand how so many peaceably disposed savage groups have been able to survive.[3] If warfare was among all the savages as incessant, and the destruction of unwarlike units as unavoidable, as is assumed by certain authors, then as a matter of course we could hardly find statements such as those which follow. Frazer[4] does not reckon the Australian aborigines among the warlike races of mankind. The Moriori were a peaceable people.[5] The inhabitants of Totelau Island as described by Turner[6] »were

[1] Op. cit. pp. 79, 81, passim.

[2] *Wheeler*, Op. cit.

[3] Without giving any explanation why so many peaceful peoples have been able to survive, Gumplowicz writes: — »Die Völkerkunde bietet uns unzählige Beispiele solcher 'friedlichen' Völker; sie bleiben auf der Stufe der Affen; sie kennen keinen Krieg, keine Führung, keinen Befehl, keinen Zusammenstoss mit Fremden, sie 'beuten nicht aus' und werden nicht 'ausgebeutet', . . . sie sind die vollkommensten Affen.« — Die sociologische Staatsidee, p. 126.

[4] *Frazer*, Totemism and Exogamy, vol. I, p. 284.

[5] *Mair*, The Early History of Morioris; in Trans. New Zealand Institute, vol. XXXVII, p. 159.

[6] *Turner*, Samoa, p. 268.

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a quiet people and rarely fought». This holds good also of the aborigines of Humphrey Island, [1] and the same author adds that in Ellice Island »wars were rare». [2] To the Arafuras [3] and to the Toala in Celebes [4] are ascribed no warlike qualities whatever. According to Mr. Furness [5] the head-hunters of Borneo were in themselves amicable and peaceably disposed. As regards the nomadic Punans, it is said that »of all the tribes they are perhaps the most mild and gentle; they are not head-hunters, and care no more for a collection of human heads than for that of any other animal, and therefore never go on a raid». [6] In speaking of the Malays in general Ratzel [7] observes that not all of them are warlike; on the contrary, some of them undoubtedly are mild, peaceable, quiet and polite, to those over them submissive and seldom inclined to commit offences. In Paggi or Pageh Island, off Sumatra, where there is no government, but every man protects himself, the people nevertheless »live on peaceable and friendly terms with each other; quarrels are rare, and murder almost unknown». [8] The Tamils, Singalese, and Moors of Ceylon are »all unwarlike races» [9] and so are the Veddas likewise. [10] The Tenae are peaceably disposed, though they occasionally have to take up arms to punish marauders. [11] The Bodo and Dhimal [12] are peaceful agriculturists,

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[1] *Turner*, Op. cit. p. 278.

[2] Op. cit. p. 282.

[3] *Kolff*, Voyage of »Dourga», p. 161.

[4] *Sarasin*, Celebes, vol. II, p. 277.

[5] *Furness*, Borneo Head-Hunters, p. 58, passim.

[6] Op. cit. p. 175.

[7] *Ratzel*, Völkerkunde, vol. I, p. 364.

[8] *Frazer*, Totemism and Exogamy, vol. II, p. 214.

[9] *Meaden*, A Brief Sketch of the Island of Ceylon; in Journal United Service Institution, vol. X, 1866, pp. 552, 554.

[10] *Seligmann*, The Veddas, pp. 34, 62, passim.

[11] *Dalton*, Ethnology of Bengal, p. 35.

[12] *Hodgson*, The Kocch, Bodo and Dhimal People; in Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal, N. S. vol. XVIII, part II, pp. 714 sq., 744.

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while the Mishmis, [1] another peaceable race, are occupied with barter. As to the Lepchas, Hooker makes the following remarks: — »That six or seven different tribes, without any feudal system or coercive head, with different languages and customs, should dwell in close proximity and in peace within the confined territory of Sikkim, even for a limited period, is an anomaly .... Wars have been waged amongst them, but they were neither sanguinary nor destructive, and the fact remains no less remarkable, that at the period of our occupying Dorjiling, friendship and unanimity existed amongst all those tribes; from the Tibetan at 14000 feet to the Meche of the plains; under a sovereign whose temporal power was wholly unsupported by even the semblance of arms, and whose spiritual supremacy was acknowledged by very few». [2] According to Ratzel, [3] the Ladaki are a peaceful, hardworking people among whom murder, stealing or violence are almost unknown and the Batti are merry and good-natured. All the tribes in Selangor Pahang and other parts of Negri Sembilan as well as in Sungei Ujong »possess no idea of warfare or racial strife and freely admit their preference for a life of seclusion and peace». [4] The peaceful character of the Todas has been remarked on by various authors [5].

According to Munzinger, [6] among the natives in North-Eastern Africa most of the agricultural tribes are peaceable. Thus *e. g.* among the Barea we do not find enmity and deeds of blood between families, or between tribes, though they are common enough in North Abyssinia. [7] Among the Bantu

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[1] *Dalton*, Ethnology of Bengal, pp. 13, 15.

[2] *Hooker*, Himalayan Journals, vol. I, p. 141.

[3] *Ratzel*, Völkerkunde, vol. II. p. 528.

[4] *Knocker*, The Aborigines of Sungei Ujong; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1907, p. 293.

[5] *E. g. Harkness*, The Neilgherry Hills, p. 16 sq.

[6] *Munzinger*, Ostafrikanische Studien, pp. 76. 512 sq., 532 sq.

[7] Op. cit. p. 498.

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races the Bakonjo »are not a warlike people». [1] The Karamojo »are industrious agriculturists and are peaceful people with love of commerce». [2] This holds good also with reference to the Western Sük, [3] the Wafipa, [4] and the Tonga, [5] all of whom are painstaking agriculturists. In West Africa, the Ovambo, says Ratzel, are not only the leading agricultural people one meets with when one comes from the south; but they are moreover one of the most industrious and most peaceful among African agricultural peoples. Similarly, speaking of the tribes belonging to the Nago group, Ratzel informs us that they are extremely industrious, and have mild manners. In many descriptions they come before us as a pattern people. [6] Of the Ewe-speaking Krepi the same author [7] says that they are peaceably disposed and industrious. This is also, according to Mr. Partridge, [8] the case with the Aros Negroes.

The early Tolteks [9] were not warlike. Brinton [10] likewise ascribes peaceable qualities to the Maya people; they seem to have been »an ancient race of mild manners». [11] The Conquistadores, says Mr. Davis, [12] found the Pueblo Indians, »numerous and powerful, living peaceful and happy lives in their villages». Ross Brown [13] observes that the Pimos have always manifested a friendly disposition towards the Whites and seem much de-

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[1] *Johnston*, The Uganda Protectorate, vol. II, p. 579.
[2] Op. cit. vol. II, p. 841.
[3] Op. cit. vol. II, p. 848.
[4] *Ratzel*, Völkerkunde, vol. II, p. 195.
[5] Op. cit. vol. II, p. 180.
[6] Op. cit. vol. II, p. 359.
[7] Op. cit. vol. II, p. 360.
[8] *Partridge*, Cross River Natives, p. 52.
[9] *Clavigero*, History of Mexico, vol. I, pp. 86, 88.
[10] *Brinton*, Hero-Myths, pp. 35, 145.
[11] Op. cit. p. 30 sq.
[12] *Davis*, El Gringo, p. 132.
[13] *Ross Brown*, Adventures in the Apache Country, p. 132; — *Davis*. El Gringo, p. 145; — *Fremont* and *Emory*, Notes of Travel in California, p. 47.

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voted to the peaceful pursuit of agriculture and stock-raising. This holds good also of the Papagoes [1] and the Soones. [2] The Najabos »have ever been known as a pastoral and peaceful race of men». [3] According to Mr. Gatschet [4] the seven tribes of the Kalapuya Indians were not warlike and are not known to have participated in any war expeditions. Many observers ascribe mild and peaceable qualities also to the Flatheads [5] and some other neighbouring races. [6] »Even the children are more peaceable than other children, and though hundreds of them may be seen together at play, there is no quarrelling among them.» [7] Similarly the Shoshoni, says Hoffmann, have always been peaceable, [8] and so are the Fox Islanders. [9] The Tacullies are a »quiet inoffensive people». [10] Speaking of the Cree Indians, Mr. Ross observes that of all the Indians they once were the most numerous and powerful, being superior in individual intelligence and distinguished alike for sagacity and for mildness of disposition. [11] Likewise the Salteaux, a part of the Ojibway nation, »although numerous are not a warlike tribe». [12] Peaceably disposed are the Choktaws and Chickasaws also. [13] — »The

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[1] *Ross Browne*, Op. cit. pp. 140, 252, 277, 279, 288.

[2] *Fremont* and *Emory*, Op. cit. p. 56.

[3] *Davis*, Op. cit. p. 411.

[4] *Gatschet*, Ethnographic Notes concerning the North American Aborigines, p. 212.

[5] *McKenney* and *Hall*, History of the Indian Tribes of North America, vol. II, p. 153; — *Scouler*, Indian Tribes Inhabiting N.-W. Coast of North America; in Journ. Ethnol. Soc. London, vol. I, p. 247; — *Dunn*, History of Oregon, p. 311.

[6] *Dunn*, Op. cit. pp. 93, 250, 311; — *Bancroft*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 268.

[7] *Dunn*, Op. cit. p. 315.

[8] *Hoffmann*, Die Shoshoni; in Globus, 1896, vol. LXIX, p. 58.

[9] *Coxe*, The Russian Discoveries between Asia and America, p. 198.

[10] *Bancroft*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 137.

[11] *Ross*, Fur Hunters, vol. II, p. 221.

[12] *Kane*, Wanderings, p. 82.

[13] *Adair*, Geschichte der amerikanischen Indianer, pp. 287—302; quoted by *Steinmetz*, Die Philosophie des Krieges, p. 55.

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typical South American Indian is», Professor Orton [1] affirms, »by nature more peaceable and submissive than his Northern brother». Thus for example the Manties are an agricultural tribe, »of mild disposition»; [2] and the Uaupes are likewise an agricultural people »peaceable and ingenious». [3] The non-warlike character of the Eskimo in general has been borne witness to by many authors. [4]

These qualities are not limited merely to peoples devoid of a higher civilization. In his history of the Chinese Empire Mr. Douglas writes of this people: — »They have none of the characteristics of a warlike race, and their triumphs over less cultivated peoples have been gained rather by peaceful advance than by force of arms». [5] Similarly Ratzel remarks that the Tibetan, Burman and Siamese peoples, who have kept their place in these lands up till the present time, have never been able to put a stop to the growth and final predominance of the Chinese element, which shows itself as a true culture-element in the struggle. Roads, bridges, schools, and trading are its arms, and it avoids the battlefield as far as possible only to win the day through patience and canny dealing. [6] Remarkable is likewise the statement made by Sir Henry Maine with reference to India: — »It may be proper to remember that, though no country was so perpetually scourged with war as India before the establishment of the Pax Britannica, the people of India were never a military people». [7] The Slavs were originally much more peaceable than the Germans, as Dr. Wilser [8] justly points out. With regard to the Finnish races, Dr. Ailio supposes that the Finns

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[1] *Orton*, The Andes and the Amazon, p. 469.

[2] Op. cit. p. 318.

[3] Op. cit. p. 319. — As for the Chunchos in Peru see *Moss*, A Trip into the Interior of Peru, p. 17.

[4] *E. g. Rink*, The Eskimo Tribes, p. 26; — *Bancroft*, Op. cit. vol. II, p. 86.

[5] *Douglas*, China, p. 2.

[6] *Ratzel*, Völkerkunde, vol. II, p. 642.

[7] *Maine*, Village Communities, p. 124.

[8] *Wilser*, Die Germanen, pp. 117, 123.

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were in remote times comparatively peaceful [1] and similarly Dr. Appelgren-Kivalo [2] believes that they gradually spread over the country by peacefull occupation and not through warlike conquest. Nor do their institutions directly indicate an early predominance of warlike efforts. [3] When we turn from the Finns proper to the primitive Esthonians, they were, Dr. Weinberg [4] assumes, previous to their later great struggles, probably in the main peaceful settlers.

Finally it must be borne in mind that even the peaceful savage communities have a mighty weapon in magic, which often renders them more formidable than if they were dependent solely on military power. Thus the political supremacy of the peaceable Todas over their numerous neighbours is maintained by magical fear only. [5] The Kukatas are universally feared and abominated apparently more on account of their »reputed skill in witchcraft and various other dangerous tricks than for their warlike qualities». [6] Hence peaceful tribes need not as a matter of course be doomed to disappear in the struggle for existence. On the contrary, whatever may be the reasons for the continued existence of such tribes in all parts of the world — whether it be the result of regulated and at least partially amicable intertribal relations or of the beneficial influence of magical fear, or of some other causes — the fact remains that

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[1] *Ailio*, Elämästä Suomessa n. 4000 v. sitten; in Kansanval. Seuran Kal., 1911, p. 152.

[2] *Appelgren-Kivalo*, Katsaus Suomen muinaisuuteen; in Oma Maa, vol. V, p. 149.

[3] *Koskinen*, Suomen kansan historia, p. 21 sq.; — *Yrjö-Koskinen*, Suomal. heimojen yhteisk.-järjestyksestä, passim.

[4] *Weinberg*, Die anthropologische Stellung der Esten; in Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1903, p. 388.

[5] *Harkness*, Neilgherry Hills, p. 18.

[6] *Schürmann*, The Aboriginal Tribes of Port Lincoln; in *Woods*, The Native Tribes in South Australia, p. 249.

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the very existence of such unwarlike tribes and nations is in itself a striking testimony to the error made by the many writers who lay exaggerated stress upon the warlike character of primitive conditions.

Inasmuch as these statements have been able to throw some light upon the true nature of savage warfare, it is necessary to explain why certain authors maintain an opposite view and depict the relations between different savage communities in the darkest colours. Their opinion is undoubtedly due partly to a deficient classification of the modes of primitive warfare in general, partly to their omission to pay proper attention to the part played by superstition in savage warfare, and partly also to the exaggerated importance they have assigned to many accounts of early warfare.

With regard to the first of these points, reference need only be made to the classification of primitive warfare given above in the preceding chapter. It was there pointed out that considerable difference exists between the various modes of savage warfare. When therefore certain authors use statements concerning primitive warfare without properly classifying them it follows that actual wars carried on by comparatively advanced savages in order to procure slaves, victims for sacrifices, or cattle, or to make conquests or to exterminate the enemy, are put side by side with small open combats fought between savages of the lowest type, while these statements again are mixed up with instances of indiscriminate slaughter after sudden attacks. When to this is added the tendency more or less systematically to overlook facts which imply mitigation of the cruel and destructive character of primitive warfare, as well as the prevalence of other important rules bearing on the relation between savage communities, it becomes still clearer that such a treatment of the subject cannot throw any true light either on the relations between savage communities in general, or on the character of savage warfare in particular.

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These remarks hold good with reference to many authors. In Spencer's »Principles of Sociology», comparatively few statements in the large collection of facts illustrating different branches of savage life refer to regulated intertribal relations, peace-making, etc. Similarly there is reason to believe that the picture of savage wars presented by Vaccaro is equally one-sided. Although he admits [1] that man lived »jusqu'à un certain point en paix» during the early ages when he still was devoid of weapons, all the other characteristics which Vaccaro attributes to savage warfare refer only to wars of extermination, conquest and slave-making, or anthropophagy. [2] Letourneau, [3] it is true, distinguishes wars carried on by low savage units from those waged by semi-barbarians. But when he describes the character of the wars belonging to the former class, with the exception of those of the Australian aborigines, [4] he fails to see any real difference, *e. g.* between open combat, to which the enemy has been duly challenged, and indiscriminate slaughter after successful attacks upon unsuspecting villages. Moreover, he takes hardly any notice of customs that imply the existence of at least some regulated intertribal relations among the lower as well as among more advanced savages. [5]

Dr. Steinmetz, in »Die Philosophie des Krieges», has passed over all such features of savage life as indicate the prevalence of regulated relations between different communities, and other facts which might lead an unbiassed investigator to conclude that warfare among savages is not quite so incessant and sanguinary as is often assumed. He sums up the results of his inquiry into the character of savage warfare in the following words: — We have been able definitely to discover, that savages probably after the very earliest stage were blood-thirsty and

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[1] *Vaccaro*, Les bases sociologiques du Droit et de l'État, p. 81.
[2] Op. cit. p. 90 sq., passim.
[3] *Letourneau*, La guerre, p. 530 sq.
[4] Op. cit. passim.
[5] Op. cit. preface.

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waged their wars in the cruellest way and with an immense loss of life. [1] In a previous work, »Ethnologische Studien zur ersten Entwicklung der Strafe», however, the same author makes statements of a very different character. He there refers to fifty instances in which savage groups are stated to be revengeful and blood-thirsty, and to twenty other peoples among whom injuries received are not always avenged but are soon forgotten. He then continues: — We have been able to collect 20 other cases where certainly no long-lasting, intense search for revenge was to be seen; these when compared with the 50 opposite cases make up no mean minority, which has all the more weight in that the tendency of the observers probably was for the most part to assume the pitiless seeking of revenge as a natural feature in the savage character; and this must have prevented their finding and duly valuing phenomena pointing in an opposite direction. [2]

It need hardly be added that it is only in this latter instance that Dr. Steinmetz is in close touch with the facts, whereas his line of argument in »Die Philosophie des Krieges» has nothing to do with the inductive method.

In full conformity with the whole tendency of their *a priori* reasoning Gumplowicz and Ratzenhofer devote their attention so exclusively to the warlike side of savage life that in their investigations no room is left for facts of an opposite character

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[1] »Wir haben konstatieren können, dass die Wilden, warscheinlich nach der allerersten Stufe, blutdürstig waren und ihre Kriege in der grausamsten Weise mit ungeheueren Verlusten an Menschen führten». — Die Philosophie des Krieges, p. 57.

[2] »Wir konnten doch noch 20 Fälle sammeln, wo wenigstens keine lang-anhaltende, intensive Rachsucht bestand, was mit den 50 entgegengesetzten Fällen verglichen immerhin eine sehr beträchtliche Minderheit ausmacht, welche um so mehr ins Gewicht fallen dürfte, als die Tendenz der Beobachter wohl meistens dahin ging, grausame Rachsucht als natürliche Eigenschaft der Wilden anzunehmen, was sie natürlich hindern musste auf das Entgegengesetzte hindeutende Erscheinungen zu entdecken und würdigen». — Ethnologische Studien, vol. I, p. 310.

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relating to intertribal relations. Ratzel makes a right classification of savage wars, but his examples are wrong. Thus to illustrate warfare between savage groups he cites *e. g.* the case of the Fijians as observed by Williams in the middle of last century. Accordingly he argues that this form of savage warfare is more or less incessant and aims at exterminating the enemy.[1] As we shall soon see, this example is entirely misleading. Warfare in Fiji increased largely after the arrival of the Whites, when the aborigines got an opportunity to procure firearms. It is not surprising that an author who bases his theory on such a foundation exaggerates the hostile relation between primitive groups and the deadly character of their fighting. [2]

As for the second cause above-mentioned, none of these authors have paid any attention to the great part played by superstitious customs and beliefs in primitive warfare.

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[1] Völkerkunde, vol. I, p. 126.

[2] Ferrero has not used any proper classification of savage warfare. His »origin of war» refers mainly to an advanced stage of savage warfare. Thus he makes the same mistake as Letourneau in trying to oppose war through describing its early stages in as dark colours as possible. — See Militarism, chap. II, especially pp. 75, 87 and also chap. IV.

On the other hand, although in his political philosophy war is the leading principle, Oppenheimer is fully aware of the great difference between the warfare proper of the more advanced savages and the mere acts of revenge seen among those at a lower stage. »Die internationalen Beziehungen der primitiven Jäger untereinander dürfen nicht mit denen der Jäger und Hirten zu Hackbauern oder der Hirten untereinander auf eine Stufe gestellt werden. Wohl gibt es Fehden aus Blutrache oder wegen Weiberraubes oder wohl auch wegen Grenzverletzung der Jagdgebiete: aber ihnen fehlt jener Stachel, der nur aus der Habgier wächst, aus dem Wunsch fremde Arbeitserzeugnisse zu rauben. Darum sind die 'Kriege' der primitiven Jäger in der Regel weniger wirklicher Krieg als Raufereien und Einzelkämpfe, die häufig genug sogar . . . nach einem bestimmten Zeremonial und nur bis zu einem leichteren Grade der Kampfunfähigkeit, sogusagen 'auf einen Blutigen' gehen. Diese an Kopfzahl sehr schwachen Stämme hüten sich mit Recht, mehr Opfer zu bringen als — z. B. im Falle der Blutrache — unerlässlich, und vor allem davor, neue Blutrache herauszufordern». — Der Staat, p. 74.

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With regard to the bias in many accounts of early warfare, it is worth remembering how modern military authors caution us against placing too much confidence in detailed accounts of any wars. Thus, General Sir Ian Hamilton writes: — »Military history must be always to some extent misleading .... When once the fight has been fairly lost or won, it is the tendency of all ranks to combine and recast the story of their achievements into a shape which shall satisfy their susceptibilities of national and regimental vainglory». [1] Commander E. Hamilton Currey observes likewise: — »We cannot trust overmuch history, as prejudice is seldom eliminated in the writing, especially when such writing concerns the feats of arms performed by one's own countrymen». [2] And speaking of the narratives of warlike events in ancient times particularly, Field-Marshal von der Goltz emphatically stresses their small historical value, lacking as they are in any unbiassed criticism. [3] If this be true of civilized peoples and their accounts of their own warlike achievements, we can hardly expect the imagination of savages to be less inventive in this respect. In fact, it is just among them that the »tendency to the marvellous» is most conspicuous, and this makes an inquiry into their warfare particularly difficult. War is certainly the last thing that primitive tradition forgets, Strinnholm justly observes in his description of the early Vikings and their wars. [4] Similarly, speaking of the natives of the Congo basin, Mr. Ward remarks that they have no history of any kind, and apparently make no attempt to perpetuate any epoch in their lives by means of earth or stone erections. The only events that their memory

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[1] *Hamilton*, A Staff-Officer's Scrap-Book, vol. I, pref.

[2] *Currey*, The Psychology of Command; in United Service Magazine, 1910, vol. XLII, p. 41.

[3] *Von der Goltz*, The Nation in Arms, p. 222. — Cf. also *H. S. Chamberlain*, The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century, vol. I, p. 60; — *Gobineau*, Histoire des Perses, vol. I, p. 141, passim; — *Ragozin*, Chaldea, pp. 196, 299 sq.; — *Yule*, Marco Polo, vol. I, p. 50.

[4] *Strinnholm*, Wikingszüge, vol. II, p. 50 n.

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holds are »fights and elephant hunts». [1] Now, owing to the tendency to exaggerate their warlike events, savages are easily led gradually to make out of even comparatively small strifes, destructive battles. The Eskimo are among the best-armed races, [2] nevertheless it does not follow that they are proportionately warlike; on the contrary, they are one of the most peaceful races that ever existed. And yet if we believe the Eskimo themselves, they have had great battles. But these can undoubtedly be reduced to cases of petty fighting at wide intervals of time, which a vivid imagination has gradually magnified, says Ratzel. [3] The Abipones »boast of martial souls», but are at the same time far from being heroes; on the contrary, they were as a rule »too unwilling to resign their lives». [4] So also Messrs. Spenser and Gillen point out of the aborigines of Australia, that they have »a marvellous capacity for exaggerating the reports of cuch fights that really take place». [5]

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[1] *Ward*, A Voice from Congo, pp. 227, 253; quoted by *Clodd*, in Quarterly Review, July, 1911.

[2] *Ratzel*, Völkerkunde, vol. I, p. 544.

[3] Op. cit. vol. I, p. 540.

[4] *Dobrizhoffer*, The Abipones, vol. II, p. 348, passim.

Similarly we read of the Fijians: — »Regarding it from any point of view whatever, there is scarcely anything to excite admiration in Fijian warfare; and the deeds of which they boast most proudly, are such as the truly brave would scorn.» — *Williams* and *Calvert*, Fiji and the Fijians, vol. I, p. 58.

[5] *Spencer* and *Gillen*, Across Australia, vol. I, p 200.

The following instance may be added to show the martial bragging of savages. Speaking of the Papuans in New Guinea, Mr. Rawling states that he once asked a furious war party, would the warriors eat their enemies? »'Yes! Yes!' was the unhesitating reply. It seemed to us, however, that speaking thus, they were actuated more by bravado than by any real intention . . .» After most furious excitement and preparations the party started. Soon, however, warrior after warrior turned home, until the whole expedition was postponed till to-morrow and when that day came the very enemies happened to come to visit. — P. 157 sq. — Giving a minute description of the great festivities which were arranged to celebrate the visit, Mr. Rawling observes: — »Had we not witnessed both

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When thus the stories of savages themselves so greatly harmonize with the inclination of white travellers and other authors to look upon them as, before all, restless warriors, it follows more or less as a matter of course that we are often provided with accounts of savage warfare which can by no means always serve as a basis on which to build scientific theories. How erroneous such a procedure is may be shown from some further facts. We have been accustomed to believe that a state of incessant and most cruel warfare existed between the communities of the North American Indians. [1] This may be partly due to their contempt for the occupations of the Whites, [2] but undoubtedly it is due above all to exaggerated accounts of their wars. On the other hand, the following record of an Indian tribe is itself fully in agreement with all the instances quoted above. Describing a war-tipi [3] of the Blackfeet, which was decorated with painted pictures referring to the greatest occurrences in their whole history, McClintock gives the following information: — »The brave act of a warrior was recorded, who saved the lives of two wounded comrades by carrying one with him on his own horse and leading a second horse carrying the other. The making of the first treaty with the whites, by a Blackfeet chief, was recorded as an event of great importance A warrior stealing the first mule from the white soldiers was also regarded with special renown, because mules had never been seen before by the Blackfeet». [4] In fact, we have here no reference to armies or great battles, but to solitary acts of bravery only. Of the Chaco Indians Dr. Karsten [5] writes, on the

events, it would have been hard to believe that such violent anger and thirst for revenge could have evaporated in so short a time.» — *Rawling*, The Land of the New Guinea Pygmies, p. 159; cf. p. 72.

[1] See *e. g. Steinmetz*, Die Philosophie des Krieges, p. 54 sq.

[2] *Ross*, Fur Hunters, vol. I, p. 231.

[3] *tipi* = tent.

[4] *McClintock*, Old North Trail, p. 221.

[5] *Karsten*, Resor och forskningar i Gran Chaco, II; in Hufvudstadsbladet, 16. VI. 1912.

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basis of his own experience, that their cruelty and warlike character have been greatly exaggerated. In short, when unbiassed observers investigate into the conditions of savage warfare and attribute no exaggerated importance to the accounts given by the primitive peoples themselves of their warlike enterprises, we get abundant statements such as these few examples would lead us to expect. It is, indeed, noteworthy how recent investigations made into savage life in general are as a rule inclined to attribute to warfare a far less important part than earlier authors, less qualified for the task, have done.

Bearing in mind these facts, it is rather remarkable that many modern authors in defending war have not been more aware of this »tendency to the marvellous» among savages and many travellers; although when it comes to the savage stage in the history of their own peoples, they are greatly annoyed if some ancient historian happens to let his own countrymen win laurels at the expense of these rude savages. Thus, to take one instance only, Steinmetz [1] very emphatically denies that the battles between the Romans and the early Germans could ever have been as destructive as Caesar and others make out. So also in his »Ethnologische Studien zur ersten Entwicklung der Strafe» he cautions us against the tendency in white travellers and other observers to exaggerate the warlike nature of primitive peoples, because they do not expect to find quite other and different, qualities in them[2]. And yet, in his philosophy of war, Steinmetz himself pays no attention to this tendency, nor does he realize that such a great destruction of the enemy, as he considers to be impossible in the case of the early Germans, might be equally doubtful among other primitive peoples also.

[1] *Steinmetz*, Die Philosophie des Krieges, p. 62 sqq.

[2] *Supra*, p. 79 n. 2.

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CHAPTER IV

THE CHARACTER OF PRIMITIVE WARFARE

(*Concluded*)

In the two previous chapters, light was thrown upon the character of primitive warfare in general. It remains to inquire into two special questions.

It was pointed out in the beginning of the second chapter that relations of a matrimonial kind have often been a cause of disturbance between groups of primitive peoples. In fact, in the origin and the maintenance of matrimonial relations, certain authors have seen a direct cause of incessant warfare. How far customs like exogamy, capture of wives, and polygamy have led to actual warfare cannot be fully discussed here, but a few remarks may to a certain extent facilitate a juster estimate of the facts.

Following Mr. Atkinson,[1] Dr. McDougall[2] believes that »the primitive society was a polygamous family, consisting of a patriarch, his wives and children. The young males as they became full grown were driven out of the community by the patriarch, who was jealous of all possible rivals to his marital privileges. They formed semi-independent bands, hanging,

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[1] *Atkinson*, Primal Law, p. 230 sqq.

[2] *McDougall*, Social Psychology, p. 282.

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perhaps, on the skirts of the family circle. From time to time the young males would be brought by their sex-impulse into deadly strife with the patriarch, and when one of them succeeded in overcoming him, this one would take his place and rule in his stead.» Accordingly, »by combat alone could the headship of a family be obtained». [1] There is however an essential difference between such strife within the family, if it has ever occurred, and a relation of open hostility between different social units.

McLennan [2] has based his theory of the origin of exogamy on the hypothesis that the custom of killing daughters compelled men to obtain wives from other communities. Spencer [3] gives another explanation: exogamy was a natural consequence of warfare; women were captured and abducted together with other spoils, and when a warrior who subsequently married such a prize of war was more honoured than his less successful comrades, it gradually became a custom among warlike tribes not to marry within the group. Hence exogamy presupposed war. [4] Later and more careful inquiries, however, do not confirm these theories. In his epoch-making study »The History of Human Marriage», Westermarck [5] gives another and quite opposite explanation of the causes of this widespread custom. »What I maintain is, that there is an innate aversion to sexual intercourse between persons living very closely together from early youth, and that, as such persons are in most cases related, this feeling displays itself chiefly as a horror of intercourse between

[1] *McDougall*, Op. cit. p. 285.

[2] *McLennan*, Studies in Ancient History, pp. 75 sq., 90, 115, 160.

[3] *Spencer*, Principles of Sociology, vol. I, p. 619 sqq., vol. II, p. 267.

[4] Lamprecht argues that when among the early Germans the endogamic stage was gradually succeeded by exogamy, »dann artete er fast stets zu verheerenden Fehden aus, so jahrhundertelang unter den nordischen Germanen». — Deutsche Geschichte, vol. I, p. 111.

[5] Westermarck's criticism on the theory of McLennan, see The History of Human Marriage, p. 311 sqq., and on the theory of Spencer, p. 314 sq.

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near kin. — The existence of an innate aversion of this kind has been taken by various writers as a psychological fact proved by common experience; and it seems impossible otherwise to explain the feeling which makes the relationships between parents and children, and brothers and sisters, so free from all sexual excitement. But the chief evidence is afforded by an abundance of ethnographical facts which prove that it is not, in the first place, by the degrees of consanguinity, but by the close living together that prohibitory laws against inter-marriage are determined». [1] »Exogamy, as a natural extension of this instinct, would arise when single families united in small hordes». [2]

Similarly, Frazer [3] derives the origin of exogamy from a peaceful source, *i. e.* from the deliberate division of the larger social units into two, four, and eight exogamous groups in order to avoid marriage between near relations. Therefore, Frazer [4] concludes, the theory of the warlike origin of exogamy is open to grave objections.

On examining more closely the methods of obtaining wives from other groups, we certainly find several examples of the actual capture and forcible abduction of women. It should, however, be borne in mind that these examples, in order to prove anything, should not refer to later periods and a higher level of civilization, when wars are already carried on more or less systematically and, above all, when women have been abducted together with other spoil. The facts, which are to be dealt with in this connection must imply an actual cause of war, not a mere result of it.

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[1] *Westermarck*, The History of Human Marriage, p. 320 sq. — Cf. also *Idem*, »Totemism and Exogamy»; in Folk-Lore, vol. XXII, March 1911, pp. 84 sqq.

[2] *Westermarck*, Op. cit. p. 353; — *Idem*, The Moral Ideas, vol. II, p. 364 sqq.

[3] *Frazer*, Totemism and Exogamy, vol. IV, p. 105 sq.

[4] Op. cit. vol. IV, pp. 76 sq., 88, 90 sq.

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Speaking of the aborigines of Australia, Messrs. Spencer and Gillen state: — »To the casual observer what looks like a capture is in reality an elopement, in which the woman is an aiding and abetting party. Marriage by capture is .... by no means the rule in Australian tribes, and too much stress has been laid upon this method». [1] And, what is still more remarkable, they add that there are no traces left even to indicate that marriage was originally by capture. [2] In conformity with these statements, Wheeler remarks: — »Early observers were led to lay a disproportionate importance on marriage by actual capture and forcible abduction from other tribes». [3]

What thus holds good of the Australian aborigines, Abercromby is inclined to lay down as a rule [4], when he ascribes this custom in general more to the innate desire of men to display their courage than to a survival from a still earlier habit of capturing women in war. Finally, Westermarck [5] believes that

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[1] *Spencer* and *Gillen*, The Northern Tribes of Central Australia, p. 32.

[2] *Spencer* and *Gillen*, The Native Tribes of Central Australia, p. 104.

[3] *Wheeler*, The Tribe and Intertribal Relations in Australia, p. 88.

[4] *Westermarck*, The History of Human Marriage, p. 388. — Speaking of the early Finns, Abercromby asserts: — »The probability is.. that in prehistoric times wives were largely, though not exclusively, obtained without fighting». — The Pre- and Proto-Historic Finns, vol. I, p. 189. Cf. also the following pages. — *Hildebrand*, Recht und Sitte, p. 7 sq.

As further testimony to this effect, reference may be made to statements made by Mr. Williamson, Miss Fletcher, and Mr. La Flesche. According to the former, runaway marriages are to be found among the Mafulu; and the latter observers state that all the marriages among the Omaha were elopements. — *Williamson*, The Mafulu Mountain People, p. 173; — *Fletcher* and *La Flesche*, The Omaha Tribe; in 27:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 324.

According to Herodotus, the ancient Greeks considered that the capture of wives was not worthy of being punished, because if the woman did not consent to be captured and afterwards to remain with the capturer, real capture would happen seldom. — *Herodotus*, History, I., 4; cf. also 5.

[5] *Westermarck*, Op. cit. p. 389. — »Its prevalence seems to have been much exaggerated by McLennan and his school». — *Westermarck*, The Moral Ideas, vol. II, p. 382.

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marriage by capture was never the sole form of marriage, and I am greatly indebted to him for further information to the effect that later inquiries have still more convinced him of the exaggerated importance usually laid on actual capture; not even among so warlike a people as the Berbers of Morocco does any trace of marriage by capture occur.

On the other hand, Professor Giddings [1] maintains that the transition from the metronymic to patronymic kinship has taken place under the influence of the capture of wives; hence the »direct relation between patronymic kinship and marriage by capture is recognized by all writers». Yet he himself shows that this transition can well have been brought about in another less forcible way. [2]

The resistance offered by brides, and incumbent on them at wedding ceremonies, does not in every case support the idea that it is a direct survival of an earlier actual resistance to some strange captor. Spencer [3] ascribes this custom largely to the real or feigned modesty of the bride, and, supporting [4] this opinion, Westermarck observes: — »Each sex is attracted by the distinctive characteristics of the opposite sex, and coyness is a female quality. In mankind, as among other mammals, the female requires to be courted, often endeavouring for a long time to escape from the male. Therefore also the marriage ceremonies of many peoples bear testimony to the same effect». [5] Further, if the parents and the would-be bridegroom have agreed upon the matter without the direct consent of the girl, there is also likely to arise on her part some resistance at the decisive moment. We even read that among some primitive peoples a girl prefers death to yielding to the parental wishes. [6]

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[1] *Giddings*, Principles of Sociology, p. 286.
[2] Op. cit. p. 287.
[3] *Spencer*, Principles of Sociology, vol. I, p. 623 sq.
[4] *Westermarck*, The History of Human Marriage, p. 388.
[5] *Westermarck*, The Moral Ideas, vol. II, p. 435.
[6] *Dobrizhoffer*, The Abipones, vol. II, p. 207.

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In short, it seems reasonable to believe that the origin of the resistance incumbent on brides at the wedding ceremonies is at least as much due to these compulsory forms of marriage [1] as to the earlier prevalence of resistance to strange captors. It is also rather remarkable that, as Grosse remarks, the »ceremony of capture» is less common among lower races than among those who are already at a higher level of development. [2] Furthermore, in exogamous communities, even in cases where the bride has given her consent, she is likely still to offer at least some sort of woeful resistance when taking leave not only of her relatives but also of the home and the friends of her childhood. [3] It should finally be noticed that the custom of resistance may originate from actual capture within the tribe instead of originating from capture from without; [4] and that resistance offered at wedding ceremonies may have been diffused through imitation.[5]

More common perhaps than the custom of obtaining wives by capture are those instances in which men have been compelled to fight against rivals. Yet it is remarkable that of all such combats referred to by Westermarck [6] a comparatively small proportion directly indicate real battle, while the majority of them imply other more or less peaceful forms of competition and displays of strength. Of the instances given by Darwin [7], none directly implies deadly fighting, and of the five statements quoted by Spencer [8] there are only two referring to cases of a more serious character. To add some instances, Nelson was informed by an old man among the Eskimo about Behring Strait that »in ancient times when the husband and a lover quarrelled

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1 *Westermarck*, History of Human Marriage, p. 221 sq.
2 *Grosse*, Die Formen der Familie, p. 106.
3 *Roscoe*, Baganda, p. 90.
4 *Spencer*, Principles of Sociology, vol. I, p. 623.
5 Op. cit. vol. I p. 626.
6 *Westermarck*, The History of Human Marriage, p. 159 sqq.
7 *Darwin*, The Descent of Man, vol. II, p. 323 sq.
8 *Spencer*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 601 sq.

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about a woman they were disarmed by the neighbours and then settled the trouble with their fists or by wrestling, the victor in the struggle taking the woman». [1] Of the Chavantes in Brazil, von Martius states that the rival who could carry, or in some cases throw, a heavy block furthest became the winner. [2] Moreover, there is no lack of instances where other qualities besides mere physical force enable savages to obtain the best wives. »Those that are good hunters», says Hennepin, of the North American Indians in general, »have the choice of the finest women; the rest have none but the homeliest and the refuse». [3]

One particular peaceful method of concluding marriage is the custom, whereby men leave their group and obtain wives in neighbouring communities, attaching themselves to the people of their wives. [4] According to Westermarck, this custom »seems to have arisen very early in man's history». [5]

The view has been expressed, among others, by Spencer, [6] that polygamy is essentially the result of warlike struggles. But the origins of it are by no means so closely connected with war as is often asserted. On the contrary, where wars do not give rise to slavery, polygamy above all is an important economic institution, largely in conformity with the wishes of the women themselves. Thus, for instance, among the Blackfeet, »it was considered desirable for a girl to marry a chief with several

[1] *Nelson*, The Eskimo about Bering Strait; in 18:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 292.

[2] *Martius*, Unter den Ureiwohnern Brasiliens, p. 59.

[3] *Hennepin*, Discovery of a Vast Country in America, vol. II, p. 80; cf. p. 117.

[4] Giddings writes: — »If the husband chooses to go back to his own people, he must leave his family and property unless he can get them away as plunder, as Jacob did when he left Laban». — Principles of Sociology, p. 268. — It is, however, hardly right in such a case to speak of plunder. We have here a case rather of elopement than of forcible abduction.

[5] *Westermarck*, The Moral Ideas, vol. II, p. 382.

[6] *Spencer*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 655.

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wives, because the work would be divided among them. If a girl married a poor man, who could afford but one wife, her life would be filled with drudgery and hard labour.» [1] Similarly among the Omaha [2] a wealthy man was vested with the duty of arranging feasts; one wife could not do all this work, and polygamy was therefore an absolute necessity. Speaking of the duty of hospitality among certain Negroes, Livingstone observes: — »One of the most cogent arguments for polygamy is that a respectable man with only one wife cannot entertain strangers as he ought». [3] According to Roscoe [4], polygamy is above all an economic institution among the Baganda. [5]

On the other hand, it is certainly true that in several instances wars have disturbed the proportion between the sexes, and thus it has devolved on polygamy to give new strength to the family. [6] It is, however, worthy of notice that where this takes place we meet with a comparatively advanced stage of civilization. [7] Wars are waged among such peoples, not in order to capture wives but more or less generally for the sake of plunder, and wives are accordingly captured because of wars. All the instances bearing testimony to the relation between primitive warfare and polygamy must prove that wars have directly arisen from the practice of polygamy among very rude savages; otherwise there is not reason enough to conclude that polygamy *per se* is one of the main causes of warfare among savages of a very rude type. And this can hardly be proved to any considerable extent. On the contrary, even among comparatively advanced savages, polygamy is often restricted to the upper classes, and among

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[1] *McClintock*, Old North Trail, p. 189.

[2] *Fletcher* and *La Flesche*, The Omaha Tribe; in 27:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 326.

[3] *Livingstone*, Missionary Travels, p. 196.

[4] *Roscoe*, Baganda, p. 95.

[5] For further particulars see *Westermarck*, The History of Human Marriage, p. 491 sqq.

[6] *Spencer*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 659.

[7] *Westermarck*, Op. cit. p. 465 sq.

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very low savages monogamy is generally prevalent. [1] Hence, whatever may be the share of polygamy in warfare among savages at a higher level of development, it has hardly been one of the main causes of that martial spirit which has so often, although erroneously, been looked upon as a characteristic of primitive society.

It thus seems just to infer that as far as exogamy, combat between rivals, and polygamy are concerned, the theories which see in these traits of savage life some of the main causes for the alleged prevalence of incessant warfare are not really well founded. And yet, as was observed in the beginning of the second chapter [2], women have been everywhere in primitive societies a frequent cause of disturbance between neighbouring communities. Undoubtedly these strifes have had more of a juridical character than anything else. And, even if it be true, is not the punishment for adultery and the like incumbent above all on the families concerned, and not as a rule on the entire community? [3]

In short, the relation of primitive marriage to war does not in any way constitute an exception to the inference drawn above from the character of savage warfare in general.

II.

Our investigation into savage warfare was required in order to obtain, as far as possible, a true view of the part of war in the establishment of primitive government. The exposition, however, as given in the previous chapters, is insufficient, in so far as many of the quotations dealing with savage warfare were taken from present times and a few only from earlier ages. Hence there remains the possibility of holding that the com-

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[1] *Westermarck*, Op. cit. pp. 459, 495, and chap. XXII.

[2] *Supra*, p. 18.

[3] *Westermarck*, Op. cit. p. 122. — *Idem*, The Moral Ideas, vol. II, p. 449 sq. — In addition, see *Sarasin*, Celebes, vol. II, p. 277.

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paratively restricted state of warfare prevalent among savages during the modern times referred to, is chiefly due to a decrease of warfare *pari passu* with an increasing civilization, and that the existence of quite peaceful communities among savages is a consequence of this fact, and not a result of an early stage of comparatively peaceful character. In other words, it may, perhaps, be said that the exposition of primitive warfare, as it is given above, does not really prove that primitive government did not generally originate under highly warlike conditions prevailing in earlier times than those to which reference was made above.

In order to meet such an objection, we shall investigate whether wars have been decreasing or increasing among those primitive peoples who are generally maintained to be warlike; and attention will be given to hypotheses concerning the pugnacious character of very early man. When, thus, the character of the terminal points, broadly speaking, has been made out, some conclusions as to the character of the intervening development can be put forward.

Previous to the arrival of the Europeans in New Zealand, the wars between the different Maori tribes were less frequent and less destructive than later on. Mr. Gudgeon states as regards the real seriousness of the early warfare: — »Tribes were indeed conquered for having uttered a few idle words in depreciation of their neighbours, but I am of opinion that few men were killed on such occasions».[1] In fact, all the traces of the earlier cultivation of the land, the large ruins of former *pa*'s or fortified villages, and many other facts, indicate that the population was considerable till the end of the sixteenth century. The Maori themselves are of the same opinion, affirming that they were much more numerous in former times than they are now.[2] Later on, warfare gradually increased »to such an extent that

[1] *Gudgeon*, The Whence of the Maori; in Journ. Polyn. Soc. vol. XII, p. 174.

[2] *Pakeha Maori*, Old New Zealand, p. 180.

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the natives», as Manning[1] remarks, »at last believed a constant state of warfare to be the natural condition of life, and their sentiments, feelings, and maxims became gradually formed on this belief». In the early years of the nineteenth century, warfare became incessant; the natives now procured firearms, and the fate of the whole race was soon sealed.[2] As to another of the most warlike nations referred to by certain war philosophers,[3] namely the Fijians, we are similarly informed that their early wars were quite insignificant. According to Mr. Thomson, »there is ground for believing that the wars before 1780 were little more than skirmishes»[4] and »none of the great confederations existed before 1800».[5] The weaker party always found sufficient shelter in their fortresses, which could be subdued by treachery only.[6] But as soon as firearms were introduced in 1808, »native wars became far more destructive».[7] Other writers bear witness to the same effect. The missionary Williams says that »old men speak of the atrocities of recent times as altogether new and far surpassing the deeds of cruelty which they witnessed fifty years ago».[8] As this later observation was made in 1858, it fully confirms the testimony of Mr. Thomson. Significant also is the account of the state of warfare in Tonga as given by Mariner. »At the time when Captain Cook was at these islands the habits of war were little known to the natives; the only quarrels in which they had been engaged had been among the inhabitants of the Feejee islands .... for having been in the habit of visiting these islands for sandal wood, they occasionally assisted one or other of the warlike parties against

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[1] *Pakeha Maori*, Op. cit. p. 185.

[2] *Smith*, Wars of the Northern against the Southern Tribes of Maori; in Journ. Polyn. Soc. vol. VIII, pp. 144 sq., 150.

[3] *E. g. Steinmetz*, Die Philosophie der Krieges, p. 53.

[4] *Thomson*, The Fijians, p. 86.

[5] Op. cit. p. 85.

[6] Op. cit. pp. 60, 93.

[7] Op. cit. p. 60.

[8] *Williams* and *Calvert*, Fiji and the Fijians, vol. I, p. 119.

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the enemy». [1] They learned likewise in Fiji to make better arms. Indeed, speaking of the South Sea Islanders in general, Ellis maintains that wars, and other destructive customs more or less connected with it, have certainly increased lately, and thus caused a rapid decline of the population. »Society must at some time have been more favourable not only to the preservation, but to the increase of the population, or the inhabitants could never have been so numerous as they undoubtedly were a century or a century and a half ago». [2]

Turning to the warlike Dyaks, we are informed by various authors that head-hunting in Borneo is »a fashion of comparatively modern growth»; [3] thus, although it existed before, yet it was only during the last century that it became a predominant feature in the life of the Dyaks. [4]

The Masai were a relatively peaceful race until their god was supposed to have handed down to them all the cattle of the surrounding communities. [5] Then their warlike activities soon increased until they became one of the most martial tribes in the whole of East Africa. [6] Speaking of the Galla in general, Ratzel [7] remarks that whilst the Northern Wallo-Galla in Abyssinia, owing to their Mohammedan fanaticism, are certainly warlike, rapacious, and faithless, the pagan Southern Galla display the opposite qualities. In other cases also the military spirit has increased among the natives of Africa *pari passu* with the spread of Islam. [8] Another cause which in comparatively

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[1] *Mariner*, The Natives of the Tonga Islands, vol. I, p. 72 sq.

[2] *Ellis*, Polynesian Researches, vol. II, p. 32.

[3] *Boyle*, Adventures among the Dyaks, p. 170.

[4] *Low*, Sarawak, p. 188; cf. pp. 214 sq.; 303 sq. — See also *Ratzel*, Völkerkunde, vol. I, p. 411.

[5] *Merker*, Die Masai, pp. 272, 276; — *Kallenberg*, Auf dem Kriegspfad gegen die Massai, p. 93 sq.

[6] *Merker*, Op. cit. p. 117, passim; — *Kallenberg*, Op. cit. p. 93; — *Thomson*, Through Masai Land pp. 272, 276.

[7] *Ratzel*, Völkerkunde, vol. II, p. 161 sq.

[8] Op. cit. vol. II, pp. 322, 491 sqq., 502 sqq., 512, 518.

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modern times has called forth warlike activity in Eastern Africa is raiding for the purpose of capturing cattle. [1] From this we have reason to conclude that previous to the domestication of cattle and the change this brought about in the occupation of the natives, the conditions must have been less warlike. Hence, the universal prevalence of cattle raids in Eastern Africa at the present time ought hardly to be counted among the facts brought forward — *e. g.* by Steinmetz [2] — to prove the extremely warlike nature of early ages and savage conditions in general. Among the Kafirs, »in olden days the men shared all the work with the women, until military necessities compelled them to attend to the duties connected with fighting. In this way war became the main work of the men». [3] In his description of the reigns of certain great Kafir kings, Ratzel [4] distinctly shows how this increase in warfare took place during their rule in the beginning of the nineteenth century, and how the pugnacious instincts of the warriors were excited by manifold means. The same author also observes, that the demand for slaves has favoured expeditions for plunder and given rise to true robber-peoples. [5] These facts undoubtedly justify us in concluding that among the coloured races of Africa also wars have increased within historical times.

Similar conclusions are well supported by facts drawn from the North American Indians also. According to Mr. Dunn, the Blackfeet Indians were in earlier times rather peacefully disposed, and only later acquired »the character of ferocity». [6] Not before the formation of the famous league in 1570 did the different tribes of the Iroquois display any particular propensity to warfare, but as soon as the league was established »a thirst for mili-

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[1] Op. cit. vol. II, p. 100.
[2] *Steinmetz*, Die Philosophie des Krieges, p. 56 sq.
[3] *Kidd*, The Essential Kafir, p. 399.
[4] *Ratzel*, Völkerkunde, vol. II, p. 123.
[5] Op. cit. vol. II, p. 37. — Cf. *Kidd*, Op. cit. p. 304 sq.
[6] *Dunn*, History of Oregon, p. 319.

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tary glory» arose among them, and this again was promoted by the facility with which firearms were procured from the Dutch and English. [1] When during comparatively recent times wars had a tendency to increase among the Omaha, the people themselves laid down important rules in order to check the disturbing activity of private war expeditions. [2] Indeed, speaking of the warfare of the North American Indians in general, Powell affirms that, since the arrival of the Whites, wars have prevailed among them far beyond the degree existing at earlier times. »The character of the Indian since the discovery of Columbus has been greatly changed, and he has become far more warlike and predatory. Prior to that time, and far away in the wilderness beyond such influence since that time, Indian tribes seem to have lived together in comparative peace and to have settled their difficulties by treaty methods. A few of the tribes had distinct organization for purpose of war; all recognized it to a greater or less extent in their tribal organization; but from such study as has been given the subject and from the many facts collected from time to time relating to the intercourse existing between tribes, it appears that the Indians lived in comparative peace». [3] This is the view of Dellenbaugh also, and is, too, fully in conformity with the character of Indian warfare as depicted in the previous chapters. [4]

As for the so-called Aryans, it was stated above that the early Slavs were less warlike than the contemporary Germans. As regards these again, there is every reason to believe that their warlike qualities were of relatively late growth, although almost every modern author dealing with early German life strongly

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[1] *Morgan*, League of the Iroquois, pp. 8, 10; — *Mooney*, The Siouan Tribes, pp. 12, sqq., 21.

[2] *Fletcher* and *La Flesche*, The Omaha Tribe; in 27:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 122.

[3] *Powell*, Indian Linguistical Families; in 7:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 39; — see also *Hooper*, The Tuski, pp. 273 sq., 357 sq., 367 sq.

[4] *Dellenbaugh*, The North-Americans of Yesterday, p. 366.

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assumes the opposite. [1] Their religion was warlike, so were their gods, and their heaven was a battle-field, says Lamprecht. [2] No wonder then, the same author adds, that their political conditions were nothing else than those of a warrior state; nay even the names of their women referred to their warlike occupation. [3]

Let us, however, examine these views so common among modern German authors and defenders of war. As for their religion, Tius or »The Father of All» was their supreme god, who later on, however, was replaced by the more warlike Wotan; [4] yet not even he was looked upon as only a war god; to him later on many peaceful attributes were given. [5] Wotan had been earlier the god of Death. If, now, warlike enterprises had a tendency to decrease, as Lamprecht and others assume, it certainly is inexplicable why at the same time a more warlike god should have been substituted. The only view therefore which seems to be well founded is that the god of Death rose to supremacy *pari passu* with an increasing warlikeness and loss of life in war. [6] Similarly, in the case of early political life, we shall before long see [7] that the early form of primitive chieftainship was by no means so warlike as is emphatically asserted above; otherwise the change which took place later on, when warlike activity came to be at its height, would not have been so conspicuous.

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[1] *Nitzsch*, Geschichte des deutschen Volkes, vol. I, p. 53, passim. — *Treitschke*, Politik, vol. II, p. 745 sqq.; — *Jähns*, Ueber Krieg, Frieden und Kultur, p. 140 sqq.

[2] *Lamprecht*, Deutsche Geschichte, vol. I, p. 136.

[3] Op. cit. vol. I, p. 165.

[4] *Dahn*, Die Germanen, pp. 40 sqq., 102 sq.; — *Lamprecht*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 193 sq.; — *Nitzsch*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 52 sqq.

[5] »Im Laufe ihrer Entwicklung war Wotan zum Gotte aller höheren, edleren Begeisterung geworden, zum Gott der Erfindungen und der Geheimnisse, der Runen und der Heilkunst, der Dichtung und der gehobendramatischen Darstellung». — *Lamprecht*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 197; — *Jähns*, Op. cit. p. 142; — *Nitzsch*, Loc. cit.

[6] Cf. *Mogk*, Menschenopfer bei den Germanen; in Archiv für Religionswissenschaft, vol. XV, 1912, p. 429 sq.

[7] See *infra*, pp. 208 sqq., 221, 233, 245, 249.

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Other facts referred to as a basis for the warlike interpretation of the life of the early Germans are of about the same value. Thus, Lamprecht maintains also that the tribal consciousness and pride (Stammesbewusstsein, Stammesstolz) among the primitive Germans was in closest connection with their warlike qualities and activity.[1] This is again one of those instances where the early stages of modern nations are looked upon as something different from those of savages in general. As soon, however, as it is admitted that not even in respect of their primitive pride were the early Germans greatly different from primitive men in general, there is not much support left for the probability of this point of view, with its theory of the extremely warlike character of the early Germans. Once more to quote Westermarck,[2] he has certainly proved with great clearness that, even among the most peaceful savages, rudiments of »patriotism» are quite distinguishable. If an Eskimo, a Veddah of Ceylon, or a wretched Ainu is convinced of »the superiority of their own blood and descent over that of all other peoples of the world»,[3] a primitive German need not necessarily have been more warlike than these wholly peaceful savages to be proud of his tribe.[4]

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[1] *Lamprecht*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 7 sq.

[2] *Westermarck*, The Moral Ideas, vol. II, p. 167 sq.

[3] Op. cit. vol. II, p. 172.

[4] More as a matter of illustration reference may be made to the following instance also. In his description of the early Germans, Lamprecht writes among other statements: — »Vor allem schob der steigende Verkehr die kriegerischen Gedanken des Volkes.. von Zeit zu Zeit in den Hintergrund und unterstützte dadurch den neuen Friedensstaat in der Verdrängung des alten Kriegsstaates; und noch mehr durchbrach der Handel die alte Anschauung von der Ausschliesslichkeit des nationalen Rechtes, indem er ein gottgeheiligtes Gastrecht entwickeln half». — Op. cit. vol. I, p. 172. How, then, has hospitality become universal among all those savages, who are said to live in a state of incessant warfare? There is certainly every reason to drop the theory of a state of utter hostility among the early Germans, and to hold that hospitality among them was called forth in much earlier times and by the same causes, as among primitive peoples in general. — See *Westermarck*, The Moral Ideas, vol. I, chap. XXIV.

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Another rather peculiar kind of proof is the use of old myths and legends, as well as of the statements of certain Roman historians, to prove the martial spirit of the primitive German tribes. Has not a vivid imagination among these peoples played its part also in these cases, so as to exaggerate their own warlike achievements? And if with regard to the old historical accounts, modern German authors more or less emphatically deny the truthfulness of Caesar's and Tacitus' narratives, when they speak of the great defeats and the slaughter of tens of thousands of their German adversaries, are then, on the other hand, all their statements which seem to satisfy the longing of modern authors for a warlike ancestry so well founded that no criticism whatever is required in their case? [1] Krauss [2] was undoubtedly aware of this fact when asserting that »der Urgermane» became a warrior but gradually.

Moreover, there are other facts as well to prove that the theories of the extremely warlike character of the early Germanf are by no means well grounded. If an extraordinary love os fighting had formed the original character of these peoples, how then could it have been almost wholly lost in a comparatively short time? Even Ratzenhofer [3] himself admits that the early Gothic and Franconian kings tried in vain to enforce the arrière-ban as their peoples lost their fighting qualities; and during the reigns of the first Emperors the German merchant-class and the peasantry were already utterly unused to warlike activity, as Nitzsch,[4] another author in whose history the theory of the

[1] Thus it has been observed of Caesar that he was »thoroughly imbued with the haughty feeling of the true Roman, that it was beneath his dignity to take notice of minute distinctions among those nations, who, to the imperial people, were all alike classified under the generic title of barbarians» — Edinburgh Review, July, 1863, p. 42.

See also *Dahn*, Die Könige der Germanen, criticism of Caesar, vol. I, pp. 39—49, and of Tacitus, pp. 50—97.

[2] *Krauss*, Krieg und Kultur in der Lebensgeschichte der Rasse, p. 4 sq.

[3] *Ratzenhofer*, Soziologie, p. 208.

[4] *Nitzsch*, Op. cit. vol. II, pp. 6, 15, 164, 315 sq.

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warlike nature of the primitive Germans is a fundamental motive, points out. Finally, it must be borne in mind that among the early Scandinavians, too, the characteristically warlike spirit was of comparatively late growth. The development of their social institutions and their industry, as well as the way in which they cleared new lands, indicate, Strinnholm [1] remarks, that their warlike inclinations had gained strength only gradually.

It is thus clear that the savage warfare to be observed among some of the most pugnacious communities now existing, as well as among the early Germans, grew gradually stronger within historical and recent times. Thus, that love of war among them, which many modern authors make use of to prove the extremely warlike character of early man in general, is found to be merely a relatively late feature in their character. Before this time, it seems proper to infer, these peoples were hardly more martial than those to whom reference was made in previous chapters. It this be true, and on the other hand, if savages in general are less warlike than has often been assumed, the question arises, what was the pugnacious character of man in still earlier times? Here we have to pass over to the domain of pure hypothesis.

According to M. Vacher de Lapouge, »nous ne voyons pas la guerre ni même les meurtres individuels exister parmi les grands singes» [2]. Further M. Vaccaro argues as regards the most primitive men: — »Aux premiers ages de l'humanité, . . il est probable qu'ils vivaient, jusqu'à un certain point, en paix. S'ils s'étaient dechirés mutuellement, ils n'auraient pu ni survivre ni prospérer». [3] Fully in conformity with this view are those held by Lester Ward and Ratzenhofer. According to Ward, [4] during the most remote times a general differentiation took

[1] *Strinnholm*, Wikingszüge, vol. I, p. 9 sq., passim; vol. II, p. 305 sq., passim.

[2] *Vacher de Lapouge*, Les sélections sociales, p. 209.

[3] *Vaccaro*, Les bases sociologiques du Droit et de l'État, p. 81.

[4] *Ward*, Pure Sociology, pp. 201 sq., 218, 266.

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place implying the possibility of relatively small strifes between different social units. Similar views are held by Ratzenhofer.[1] On the other hand, Westermarck puts forward the following theory. The solitary life generally led by the man-like apes is due chiefly to the difficulty they experience in getting food at other times of the year than in the season when most fruits come to maturity. »That our earliest human or half-human ancestors lived on the same kind of food and required about the same quantities of it as the man-like apes, seems to me a fairly legitimate supposition; and from this I conclude that they were probably not more gregarious than these apes».[2] Even when man became carnivorous he may still have continued as a rule this solitary kind of life.[3] But a solitary life, on the other hand, implies occasional strifes only.

Be it as it may with regard to details, these authors ascribe to man in very early times no higher degree of pugnaciousness than that prevalent among the lower savages of our own times. Seeing that even to-day, in spite of comparatively strong bonds of social organization, wars are still in many instances matters of private enterprise, it seems fully reasonable to conclude that, at a time when there was no firmly established rule whatever within the groups, wars must to an even greater extent have arisen from private dissensions, and thus did not involve the participation of whole groups, held together as these certainly were by very loose bonds. As for the causes of such unorganized strife, all the authors who deal with the question of primitive man ascribe to him a high degree of nervous instability.[4] Thus, speaking of the character of the Australian aborigines, Messrs. Spencer and Gillen remark that they are sociable, tender towards old people and children,

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[1] *Ratzenhofer*, Soziologie, p. 13.

[2] *Westermarck*, The Moral Ideas, vol. II, p. 195.

[3] *Westermarck*, The History of Human Marriage, pp. 42 sqq., 49 sq.

[4] *Spencer*, Principles of Sociology, vol. I, pp. 56 sqq., 84, 89, passim; — *Ward*, Pure Sociology, p. 101; — *Clodd*, Animism, p. 46 sq.; — *Avebury*, Origin of Civilisation, p. 572; — *Bagehot*, Physics and Politics, p. 18 sqq.

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and hospitable, but at the same time »liable to fits of sudden passions». [1] The extreme emotional variability of the Bushmen, [2] Fuegians, [3] Abipones, [4] Indians of North America, [5] Maori, [6] Fijians, [7] Papuans [8], to quote a few instances only, has been pointed out by many authors. [9]

A natural consequence of the extremely impulsive character of the savages is that injuries, real or imaginary, call forth sudden bursts of revengefulness. Describing a scene among the Veddas, when members of a strange group had crossed the boundary frontier, an occurrence which brought about instantaneous fighting, Messrs. Sarasin [10] remark that this instance is of interest, as we see in it the first appearance of war. Yet this fighting did not pass over into an ordinary war, because as soon as some of the fighters were slain the whole incident was played out. [11] Similarly, among the Australian aborigines fighting arises out of sudden passions. However, »should any of the combatants be severely wounded, a wail on the part of the women and his rela-

[1] *Spencer* and *Gillen*, The Native Tribes of Central Australia, p. 32; cf. 50 sq.; — *Iidem*, The Northern Tribes, p. 32; — *Wyatt*, The Encounter Bay Aboriginal Tribes; in *Woods*, The Native Tribes of South Australia, p. 162; — *Gason*, The Manners and Customs of the Dieyerie; in *Woods*, Op. cit., p. 258.

[2] *Lichtenstein*, Travels in Southern Africa, vol. II, p. 224.

[3] *King* and *Fitzroy*, Voyages of the »Adventure» and »Beagle», vol. II, p. 188.

[4] *Dobrizhoffer*, The Abipones, vol. II, p. 59. — As for the Choroti and Ashluslay Indians, see *Nordenskjöld*, Indianlif, p. 132.

[5] *Hennepin*, Discovery of a Vast Country in America, vol. II, p. 94 sq.

[6] *Best*, Notes on the Art of War; in Journ. Polyn. Soc. vol. XI, p. 15, passim; vol. XII, p. 18; vol. XIII, pp. 76, 80; — *Polack*, Manners and Customs of the New Zealander, vol. II, p. 16 sq.

[7] *Erskine*, The Islands of the Western Pacific, vol. I, p. 263; — *Williams* and *Calvert*, Fiji and the Fijians, vol. II, p. 121.

[8] *Rawling*, The Land of the New Guinea Pygmies, pp. 60 sq., 163.

[9] Cf. *e. g. Lagorgette*, Le rôle de la guerre, pp. 52 sq., 57.

[10] *Sarasin*, Ergebnisse naturwissenschaftlicher Forschungen auf Ceylon, vol. III, p. 489.

[11] *Hiller* and *Furness*, A Trip to the Veddahs, p. 20.

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tives soon becomes the prevailing noise and gradually puts a stop to the fight; after it is over perhaps every person that has been engaged in it is sorry that it has occurred, and the man who has inflicted a severe wound on his opponent will lament it as much and as sincerely as any of the rest». [1] Similarly, Messrs. Spencer and Gillen state that »one of the most striking features of the native character is the way in which, after a fight, the erstwhile hostile groups or individuals come together and appear to be on the best terms». [2]

It is evident that similar qualities must be ascribed on a still larger scale to the savage in much earlier times. His revengefulness therefore might have caused a great deal of sudden fighting; his carrying out of blood-revenge or other forms of revenge may also have given rise to blood-shed, nevertheless, all these cases of combativeness were hardly likely to provoke any forms of organized warfare and, consequently, any large war expeditions.

There is still another reason for believing that the wars of the earliest men could not have been so destructive as has been assumed, namely the simple fact that mankind has survived. Suggestive in this respect is a statement made by Mr. Basil Thomson, who gives the following account of a recent battle between the aborigines of New Guinea: — »One party having been pursued on to the open beach made a stand, whereupon the pursuers halted, uncertain what to do. The pursued, taking heart, shouted their battle-cry and made a move towards them; the others ran back for fifty yards or so, and rallied in their turn. This bloodless see-saw having continued for three or four rounds, accompanied by much abusive language, the battle ended by

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[1] *Schürmann*, The Aboriginal Tribes of Port Lincoln; in *Woods*, The Native Tribes in South Australia, p. 244. — Cf. also *Gason*, The Manners and Customs of the Dieyerie; in *Woods*, Op. cit. p. 258; — Reports of the Cambridge Expedition to Torres Straits, vol. V, p. 298.

[2] *Spencer* and *Gillen*, Across Australia, vol. I, p. 199. — Cf. also vol. II, p. 383 sqq.; and *Schürmann*, Op. cit. p. 244 sq.

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the invaders taking to flight. Never once did either side get within spear throw of the other, though spears enough flew harmlessly into the sand». [1] Whereupon Mr. Thomson concludes: — »This dislike of hard knocks is a provision of Nature for perpetuating island races. Were it otherwise, how could an island thirteen miles by four continue to be populated? With pigs, women, and land to quarrel about, a race of warriors cooped up within such narrow limits would be reduced to a single warrior in less than a century». [2] What thus holds true of island races in modern times can be applied with full justification to early savages in general. »Dislike of hard knocks» must have been one of the chief reasons for the preservation of the human race during the long ages previous to the dawn of history. This inference is still corroborated by the fact that the birth-rate among savages is lower and the death-rate of their offspring higher than is the case among civilized nations, and their struggle for existence is in every way more harsh and difficult. [3] Hence from this point of view also there is every reason to presume that the more we penetrate into early times the less we can attribute to the men then living warlike qualities more developed than would truly correspond to their low mental state in general and to the preservation of the race in particular. When Vacher de Lapouge points out of the early Aryans that »on se demande même à la lecture des chantes héroiques des premiers Aryens comment la fécondité des femmes pouvaient suffire a compenser la destruction incessante de la population adulte», [4] this just

[1] *Thomson*, Savage Island, p. 131.

Dr. Nordenskjöld mentions a similar battle between two »considerable armies» of the Mataco and Choroti Indians. Fighting went on all day long; in spite of their firearms nobody was killed or wounded. At last, as soon as the former made an advance, the latter fled. — Indianlif, p. 120.

[2] *Thomson*, Op. cit. p. 132.

[3] *Westermarck*, The History of Human Marriage, p. 490; — *Darwin*, Descent of Man, vol. I, p. 238.

[4] *Vacher de Lapouge*, Op. cit. p. 211; — *Lagorgette*, Op. cit. p. 36.

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remark is undoubtedly true of many of those modern philosophies of war also, which pay no proper attention whatever to the simple fact that the more we go back into the early ages of man the more the general difficulty of the preservation of the race increases, and accordingly the less possibility is there to assume that these times must have been devoted to warlike activity and the appeasing of blood-thirsty passions only.

If we combine this conclusion with the inference as regards the increase of warlike activity among those savage peoples who are recognized as pre-eminently the most militant known to us, the view must be accepted that the pugnacious nature of man has gradually increased, or as Bagehot puts it: — »The military strength of man has been growing from the earliest times known to our history straight on till now». [1]

III.

It remains to sum up what has been proved in this and the previous chapters with regard to the warlike nature of savage conditions. We started from the fact that even at the present time many savage communities, above all the lowest ones, do not carry on wars for the sake of indiscriminate slaughter and the pleasure of destruction, but are often content with the killing of relatively few of the enemy. A natural reason for the small death-rate is that warfare, to a great extent, is limited so as to affect only the actual combatants among the adversaries. Similarly, the inviolability of messengers is, as a rule, guaranteed; peace-making and the subsequent observance of treaties occur; and many forms of peaceful intercourse between different communities are found to prevail. Thus we have seen that savages recognize certain forms of regulated intertribal relationships, which may properly be called the origins of International Law,

[1] *Bagehot*, Physics and Politics, p. 48. — See also *Novicow*, La critique du darwinisme social, p. 50 sq.; — *McDougall*, Social Psychology, p. 279.

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Moreover, the character of savages was shown as a rule to be less pugnacious than has been assumed by many modern writers. Without further recapitulating the various modes of procedure, we merely refer to the fact that savages previous to departure on a war, and during the carrying on of hostilities generally use a variety of means to excite their bravery and thirst for blood. Thus these qualities are not *per se* so strongly developed in them as is often argued.

These features in savage life gave us the key for solving the question of how it is possible for truly peaceful communities to survive in the struggle for existence and maintain their independence. As was shown in the previous chapter, such units have existed or are still existing in all parts of the savage world.

Thus step by step we found that the authors who attribute extreme importance to the pugnacious instincts of savages and the warlike nature of their conditions in general, have made too hasty generalizations. Later, at the end of the previous chapter, we dealt more closely with the matter and found that writers such as Spencer, Vaccaro, Letourneau, Steinmetz, Gumplowicz, Ratzenhofer, and Ratzel have paid attention more or less exclusively to the blood-thirsty features of savage life without at the same time taking proper notice of all the facts pointing to a desire to mitigate the harshness of warfare. Similarly, the instances of friendly intercourse between different units have not been properly valued. Moreover, reference was also made to the indisputable fact that the materials dealing with savage life must be carefully scrutinized because of the frequent tendency to lay exaggerated stress upon savage ferocity or phenomena which are brought into connection with it. As regards primitive marriage customs, it was found that some of the theories on their origin and maintenance had laid too much stress on the warlike nature of savage life.

In this chapter we further selected some of the most warlike races — the Maori, Fijians, Tongans, Dyaks, Galla, Masai,

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Kafirs, North American Indians in general and the Iroquois in particular, as also the early Germans and the Vikings — and proved that, according to trustworthy statements, there is good reason to believe that the warlike aspirations of these races were of a relatively late growth. In former times they were scarcely more pugnacious or blood-thirsty than savages in general.

Being without material to throw light on still earlier conditions, we had recourse to hypotheses on the conditions which prevailed during the remotest times, and came to the conclusion that man in those ages was highly disposed to sudden outbursts of passion, and that his warlike actions were due to this mental disposition, that is to say, were of short duration. Finally, through combining this hypothesis with the conclusions as to the warlike character of the conditions still prevalent among savages, the inference was drawn that the pugnaciousness of man has gradually increased, and thus come to gain among certain savages that strength and social importance which modern defenders of war are inclined to ascribe to the warfare of primitive man in general.

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CHAPTER V

THE ORIGIN AND EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF HUMAN SOCIETY

Bearing in mind our inferences with regard both to the true character of primitive warfare and to its gradual increase *pari passu* with the development of general civilization, we may reasonably doubt whether the origin and early development of savage government was due to warlike activity, at least to such an extent as is asserted by the authors quoted in the second chapter. The present and the following chapters will therefore be devoted to an inquiry into the origin of human societies, and subsequently into the origin and early development of government within them.

Authors who believe that the State owes its origin, at all events, to man's warlike activities, maintain, more or less as a matter of course, that the origin and development of the earliest human societies are likewise mainly due to co-operation for defensive and offensive purposes. Thus Spencer affirms: — »Coherence is first given to small hordes of primitive men during combined opposition to enemies. Subject to the same danger and joining to meet this danger, the members of the horde become, in the course of their co-operation against it, more bound together». [1]

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[1] *Spencer*, Principles of Sociology, vol. II, p. 278.

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According to J. R. Green, the earliest organization of men »sprang in all likelihood mainly from war ... Its form at any rate was wholly military». [1] Gumplowicz affirms that human groups have since the earliest times been formed through the everlasting »natural process» of warfare, subjugation and conquest. [2] Steinmetz believes that the family was the earliest germ of society, yet he assumes that the different families were united through co-operation in war. Hence, he concludes that, without aggressiveness, no groups beyond the limits of the smallest family bounds would ever have developed. [3] Lamprecht assumes that the origin of all human organization lies in the protective power of warlike men. [4]

On the other hand, as was observed above, there is no lack of opposite theories also. Thus, one of the most admirable chapters in Westermarck's »Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas» is his exposition how the social organization of man and the spontaneous development of the State is intrinsically connected with man's altruistic sentiments. He is thus by no means convinced of the correctness of a theory according to which social evolution is in the first instance mainly due to war.

Among the various theories about the social state of primitive man, the hypothesis which points to the family as the earliest form of human society seems to have obtained the greatest support. [5] Proceeding from this theory, Westermarck asserts

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[1] *Green*, English People, vol. I, p. 14; cf. p. 17 sqq.

[2] *Gumplowicz*, Rassenkampf, pp. 185, 193 sq., passim.

[3] »Ohne Aggressivität keine Erweiterung der Gruppe über die ersten Anfänge hinaus». — Die Philosophie des Krieges, p. 23.

[4] »Die Schutzgewalt des kriegsmächtigen Mannes ist die ursprünglichste Grundlage menschlicher Ordnung.« — *Lamprecht*, Deutsche Geschichte, vol. I, p. 91.

[5] *McDougall*, Social Psychology, p. 268. — See also *Grosse*, Die Formen der Familie, pp. 42 sqq., 73 sqq.; — *Lang*, Social Origins, p. 1 sq., passim; — *Starcke*, Primitive Family, p. 274 sq.; — *Hildebrand*, Recht und Sitte, pp. 1 sqq., 10 sqq.; — *Deniker*, Races et peuples de la Terre, p. 273; — *Steinmetz*, Die Philosophie des Krieges, p. 22; — *Maine*, Ancient Law, p. 134; —

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that the extension of the small family groups may have taken place in two different ways — by adhesion and by natural growth and cohesion. »New elements, whether other family groups or single individuals, may have united with it from without, or the children, instead of separating from their parents, may have remained with them and increased the groups by forming new families themselves». But, he adds, there can be little doubt that the latter was the normal mode of extension, [1] which took place as soon as economic conditions became sufficiently favourable. [2] In fact, consanguinity is, generally speaking, to be met with everywhere among savages known to us, as a basis of their social integration. Thus, according to Dr. Seligmann, a Vedda community consists of »from one to five families, who share the rights of hunting over a track of land, of gathering honey upon it, fishing in its streams, and using the rock shelters». Each family, again, consists of parents, unmarried children, and married daughters and their husbands, while married sons are seldom found to live together with their parents. [3] A step further in

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McGee, Siouan Indians; in 15:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 200; supports Westermarck's theory, p. 203; — *Idem*,, Seri Indians; in 17:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 10 sq.; — *Sarasin*, Ergebnisse naturwissenschaftlicher Forschungen auf Ceylon, vol. III, p. 474; — *Rawling*, The Land of the New Guinea Pygmies, p. 275. — See also *Topinard*, L'Anthropologie et science sociale, p. 163 sqq.; — *Giddings*, Principles of Sociology, p. 264 sqq.

Lamprecht's hypothesis with regard to the prevalence of promiscuity among the early Germans is strongly opposed among others by *Chamberlain*, The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century, vol. I, p. 107 sq.; — *Hearn*, Aryan Household p. 138 sq. — *Treitschke*, Politik, vol. I., p. 239.

[1] *Westermarck*, The Moral Ideas, vol. II, p. 196. — See also *Ratzenhofer*, Politik, vol. I, p. 8; — *Steinmetz*, Ethnologische Studien, vol. I, p. 369; — *Lamprecht*, Deutsche Geschichte, vol. I, p. 50.

[2] *Westermarck*, History of Human Marriage, p. 42 sqq.; — *Idem*, The Moral Ideas, vol. II, p. 198; — *Ratzenhofer*, Sociologische Erkenntnis p. 92; — *Spencer*, Principles of Psychology, vol. II, p. 558 sq.; — *Giddings*, Principles of Sociology, p. 210.

[3] *Seligmann*, The Veddas, p. 62 sq.; cf. p. 68, passim.

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the social organization is the clan.'[1] Mr. Mathews describes a tribe of Australian aborigines as an aggregation of a number of families or groups which he terms sub-tribes, who speak the same tongue and whose territory is situated within specified geographical limits.[2] Among the Maori, the *rangatira*, or freemen, were kept together »more by custom and relationship than by any laws», says Dieffenbach. Each of them might have assembled around him a tribe of his own and could build a *pa* or fortress, a case which not infrequently happened. And this, the same author points out, »has probably been the origin of... great a variety of tribes — a powerful family forming a clan for themselves and adopting a name of their own».[3] As for other Polynesian communities, consanguinity is everywhere to be met with at the bottom of the social organization of the aborigines.[4] This is the case with the Melanesians[5] and Papuans[6] also. Of the North American Indians, Powell observes that »the fundamental units of social organization are bodies of consanguineal kindred either in the male or female line .. These 'gentes' are organized into tribes by ties of relationship and affinity, and this organization is of such a character that the man's position in the tribe is fixed by his kinship.»[7] Among

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[1] *Sarasin*, Ergebnisse naturwissenschaftlicher Forschungen auf Ceylon, vol. III, p. 478 sq.; — *Seligmann*, Op. cit. p. 30, passim.

[2] *Mathews*, Australian Tribes; in Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, vol. XXXVIII, p. 939; — cf. *Wheeler*, The Tribe and Intertribal Relations in Australia, pp. 15 sqq., 23 sqq., 52 sqq.

[3] *Dieffenbach*, Travels in New Zealand, vol. II, p. 115.

[4] *Turner*, Nineteen Years in Polynesia, pp. 280, 284; — *Thomson*, Savage Island, p. 137; — *Ellis*, Polynesian Researches, vol. II, p. 340; — *Ratzel*, Völkerkunde, vol. I, p. 249 sqq.

[5] *Seligmann*, The Melanesians, pp. 375, 435 sqq., 627, 671, 684 sqq., 741 sqq.; — *Codrington*, The Melanesians, p. 20 sqq.

[6] *Krieger*, Neu Guinea, p. 421, passim. — See also *Williamson*, The Mafulu Mountain People, p. 82 sq.; cf. p. 89.

[7] *Powell*, Wyandot Government; in 1:st Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 69; cf. p. 60 sq.; — *Morgan*, League of the Iroquois, pp. 81 sq., 90; — *Dorsey*, Omaha Sociology; in 3:rd Ann. Rept. p. 215; — *McClintock*, The

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the Eskimo, the social order, according to Boas, is entirely founded on the family and ties of consanguinity and affinity between the individual families. [1] Consanguineal bonds are similarly to be found prevailing in the units of South American aborigines. [2] According to Mr. Kidd, [3] the natives of South Africa are divided up into tribes, each of which is composed of clans, and these again consist of a number of families. Indeed, Dr. Steinmetz asserts that clan formation is the normal form of social organization among the natives in Africa. [4] In Madagascar »names of districts involve primarily the idea of clans,

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Old North Trail, pp. 187, 200; — *McGee*, The Relation of Institutions, p. 709; — *McKenney* and *Hall*, History of the Indian Tribes, vol. III, p. 8; — *Mooney*, The Ghost Dance Religion and the Siouan Outbreak; in 14:th Ann. Rept. p. 1093; cf. pp. 1044, 1079; — *Idem*, Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians; in 17:th Ann. Rept., p. 227 sq.; — *Elander*, The Chief of the Indian Clan in North America, chap. I.; — *Fletcher* and *La Flesche*, The Omaha Tribe; in 27:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. pp. 37 sq., 41 sq., 57 sq., 195, 211; — *Tout*, The Home of the Salish and Dené, p. 143 sqq.

[1] *Boas*, The Central Eskimo; in 6:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 578; — *Rink*, The Eskimo Tribes, p. 21 sq.

[2] *Markham*, The Tribes of the Valley of the Amazons; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1910, p. 80 sqq.; — *Dobrizhoffer*, The Abipones, vol. II, p. 97 sqq.; — *Molina*, History of Chili, pp. 11 sqq., 115 sqq.; — *Latcham*, The Araucanos; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, p. 356 sqq.; — *King* and *Fitzroy*, Voyage of the »Adventure» and »Beagle», vol. II, p. 131; — cf. *Starcke*, Primitive Family, p. 37 sqq.

[3] *Kidd*, Kafir Socialism, pp. 5, 17, 32, 36 sq., 46.

[4] *Steinmetz*, Rechtsverhältnisse, p. 82; — *Featherman*, Social History of the Races of Mankind, vol. I, p. 8, passim; — *Tessman*, Pangwe Exp.; in Globus, vol. XCVIII, p. 4; — *Johnston*, The Uganda Protectorate, vol. II, p. 587, passim; — *Northcote*, The Nilotic Kavirondo; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1907, p. 59 sq.; — *Roscoe*, Baganda, pp. 13, 55 sq., 82 sq., 128 sq., 133 sq., 186 sq., passim; — *Dundas*, Tribes Inhabiting the Baringo District; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1910, pp. 49, 59, 61 sq., 65 sq.; — *Stannus*, Tribes of British Central Africa; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1910, p. 307 sq.; — *Post*, Afrikanische Jurisprudenz, vol. I pp. 9 sqq., 34 sqq., 42 sq., passim; — *Paulitschke*, Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas, p. 187 sqq.; — *Hanoteau* and *Letourneux*, La Kabylie, vol. II, p. 6.

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families, or classes of people». [1] The Dyak communities [2] were based on consanguinity, and similar is the case of the natives of Bengal. [3] In China, the unit of social life »is found in the family, the village or the clan, and these are often convertible terms». [4] Among the so-called Aryan peoples, the family and its extension according to the principles of blood-relationship have everywhere been the basis of social organization. This holds good also of such European peoples as are not reckoned among the Aryan races [5], as well as of the peoples of Semitic stock. [6]

[1] *Ellis*, Madagascar, vol. I, p. 87 sqq.; — *Sibree*, Madagascar, pp. 136 sqq., 272 sqq.

[2] *Boyle*, Adventures, pp. 186, 198; — *Furness*, Home-Life of Borneo Head-Hunters, pp. 116, 124, 128, 183 sq.

[3] *Lewin*, The Hill Tracts of Chittagong, p. 100; — *Stewart*, Notes on the Northern Cachar; in Journ. Asiatic Soc. Bengal, vol. XXIV, pp. 600, 605, 617, passim.

[4] *Smith*, Chinese Characteristics, p. 226 sq.; cf. p. 14; — *Medhurst*, Ancient China, pp. 142, 209, 283; — *Pauthier*, Chine, p. 135.

[5] *Lyall*, Formation of Clans; in Fortnightly Review, vol. XXI, p. 117; — *Zimmer*, Altindisches Leben, pp. 119 sqq., 158 sqq., 305 sqq.; — *Grote*, History of Greece, vol. II, p. 430 sq.; — *Aristotle*, Politics, I, 1, 2; — *Herodotus*, History, VIII, 144; — *Thucydides*, History of Peloponnesian War, II, 15; — *Tittman*, Darstellung der griechischen Staatsverfassungen, p. 667; — *Mommsen*, History of Rome, vol. I, p. 49; — *Tacitus*, Germania, 7, 18 sqq.; — *Dahn*, Die Könige der Germanen, vol. I, p. 25, passim; — *Idem*, Die Germanen, p. 11 sqq.; — *Lamprecht*, Deutsche Geschichte, vol. I, passim; — *Nitzsch*, Geschichte des deutschen Volkes, vol. I, p. 67; — *Green* English People, vol. I, p. 12 sq.; — *Idem*, English Constitution, p. 9 sq.; — *Hearn*, Aryan Household, pp. 133, 178, 181, passim; — *Maine*, Early History, p. 65; — Ancient Laws of Ireland, vol. III, pref. p. xiv, xv. n, cxliv; — *Seebohm*, Tribal Custom, p. 497; — *Skene*, Celtic Scotland, vol. III, pp. 138 sq., 284, 324 sq.; — *Mitchell*, Highlands, p. 295 sq.; — *Caesar*, De Bello Gallico, passim.; — *Abercromby*, The Pre- and Proto-Historic Finns, vol. I, pp. 179 sq., 195, passim; — *Koskinen*, Suomen kansan historia, p. 20; — *Castrén*, Nordiska Resor, vol. IV, p. 154; — *Müller*, Der Ugrische Volkstamm, vol. I, part II, pp. 381, 392, passim. — *Pallas*, Reise durch verschiedene Provinzen des Russischen Reiches, vol. II, p. 257; — *Wichmann*, Votjaakkien Mytologiiasta; Suomi, ser. III, vol. VI, pp. 15 sqq., 40 sqq.; — *Boué*, Turquie, pp. 15 sq., 530.

[6] *Maine*, The Early History of Institutions, p. 65.

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The bonds of a common descent are in many cases extended so as to include aliens also. By means of adoption, strangers are amalgamated with the families and henceforward reckoned among their members. Thus, speaking of the Samoans, Turner observes that, after the death of the family head, »the son is sometimes passed over, and the title» (of the head of the family) »is given, by common consent, to a perfect stranger, merely for the sake of drawing him in, to increase the numerical strength of the family». [1] In New Caledonia, war prisoners were adopted, [2] and a similar custom prevailed among the North American Indians. [3] For this or other reasons adoption is to be found among many other primitive communities also. [4]

Another important cause of integration is local proximity. If the local circumstances assure sufficient food supplies, not merely kinsmen live in more or less close units, but local proximity itself may call forth amicable relations and integration. [5] Yet it must be borne in mind that local proximity does not nesessarily imply social organization. »A mere gathering of individuals», Spencer justly observes, »does not constitute them a society. A society in the sociological sense is formed only when

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[1] *Turner*, Nineteen Years in Polynesia, p. 280.

[2] *Rochas*, La Nouvelle Calédonie, p. 252.

[3] *McGee*, Seri Indians; in 17:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 277*; — *Fletcher* and *La Flesche*, The Omaha Tribe; in 27:th Ann. Rept. pp. 61 sq., 133, 421, 603; — *Powell*, Wyandot Government; in 1:st Ann. Rept. p. 68; — *Morgan*, League of the Iroquois, p. 344.

[4] *Seligmann*, The Melanesians, p. 70 sq.; — *Boas*, Central Eskimo; in 6:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 580; — *Hodson*, The Naga Tribes, p. 98; — *Post*, Afrikanische Jurisprudenz, vol. I, p. 37 sq.; — *Munzinger*, Ostafrikanische Studien, p. 322; — *Hanoteau* and *Letourneux*, La Kabylie, vol. II, p. 189; vol. III, p. 68 sq.; — *Grimm*, Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer, p. 463 sq.; — *Steinmetz*, Ethnologische Studien, vol. I, p. 410 sq.; — *Hearn*, Aryan Household, p. 84; — *Maine*, Ancient Law, p. 137 sq.; — *Idem*, Early History, p. 69; — *Avebury*, The Origin of Civilisation, p. 100 sq. — See also *Spencer*, Principles of Sociology, vol. II, p. 21; vol. III, p. 49 sqq.

[5] *Spencer*, Principles of Sociology, vol. I, pp. 24 sqq.; vol. II, p. 268 sqq.

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besides juxtaposition there is co-operation». [1] Local proximity tends to call forth marriages between neighbouring units, who also take part in one another's feasts, ceremonies, etc. These traits are especially illustrated by the social organization of the Australian aborigines. [2]

Blood-relationship and local proximity also bring about religious consolidation. Westermarck justly observes that among savages »a religious community generally coincides with a community of another kind. There are tutelary gods of families, clans and tribes, and a purely local group may also form a religious community by itself». It is, accordingly, often difficult to distinguish the real influence of religion in social integration. [3] None the less, its secondary value, at any rate, has been by no means insignificant in strengthening the primary bonds of consanguinity and local proximity, nor must its influence on primitive government be depreciated. Only to refer to a few instances, *e. g.* the custom of *tauvu* (= sprung from the same root), among the Fijians, clearly indicates the integrating value of a common religion among kindred tribes. It applies, says Mr. Thomson, to two or several tribes who may live in different islands, speak different dialects, »and have nothing in common but their gods». They may have held no intercourse for generations, yet they never forget the tribe with which they are *tauvu*. »Members of that tribe may run riot in its village, slaughter its animals, and ravage its plantations, while it sits smiling by; for the spoilers are its brothers, worshippers of common ancestors, and are entitled in the fullest sense to the freedom of the city». [4] It was similarly religion that united the entire nation of the Santals. [5]

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[1] *Spencer*, Op. cit. vol. II, p. 244.

[2] *Spencer* and *Gillen*, The Native Tribes of Central Australia, pp. 8, 14, 272; — *Iidem*, The Northern Tribes, passim; — *Westermarck*, The Moral Ideas, vol. II, p. 199 sq.; — *Wheeler*, The Tribe and Intertribal Relations in Australia, passim.

[3] *Westermarck*, The Moral Ideas, vol. II, p. 210.

[4] *Thomson*, The Fijians, p. 5.

[5] *Hunter*, Rural Bengal, vol. I, p. 186.

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And to take an instance of the influence of religion on the intra-tribal integration, reference may be made to the Omaha, Ponka, Osage, Kansas, and others. Miss Fletcher and Mr. La Flesche state that tribal organization among these Indians was »based on certain fundamental religious ideas pertaining to the manner in which the visible universe came into being». [1] »The expression of these ideas in the form of rights seems to have been early achieved, and those which symbolically present the connection of cosmic forces with the birth and well-being of mankind seem to have persisted in whole or in part throughout the various experiences of the five cognate tribes and to have kept an important place in tribal life». [2] Moreover, the central thing in the religious customs of the Omaha was the Sacred Pole. »It held the people together; without it the people might scatter, was the common expression as to the purpose and needed presence of the Pole». [3]

As for the influence of religion on primitive government, the gods of savage families, clans and tribes are in very many cases deified ancestors, who are supposed to demand obedience continually. The part which ancestor-worship and primitive religion in general have played in primitive integration will be discussed presently in greater detail.

By the side of these unions of kindred, or of people living in each other's neighbourhood and worshipping common tutelary or local gods, there are secret societies, which provide a special form of organization, possessing in many instances extraordinary power and cohesion. Thus, speaking of the secret societies of the Blackfeet, Mr. McClintock observes: — »Men did not join the Blackfeet societies for pleasure, but to fulfil vows, generally made because of sickness or for some remarkable escape from danger. The leading societies ruled the camp . . . They

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[1] *Fletcher* and *La Flesche*, The Omaha Tribe; in 27:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 402.

[2] Op. cit. p. 199; cf. pp. 134 sq., 200 sq.

[3] Op. cit. p. 229; cf. pp. 198, 236, 243, 260, 596 sq.

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strictly enforced the rule that private advantages must be surrendered to the public good». [1] In his description of the natives of Cross River, Mr. Partridge writes of a secret society among the Efik: — »There can be no doubt that its influence in some form or another has permeated far and wide . . . and no Political Officer who has had any experience in dealing with the natives can deny that this secret society is quite the most powerful agency in these parts». [2] Similarly, Dr. Codrington states of these societies in Melanesia that their »social power . . . was too great to be readily dissolved, and in the absence of any strong political organization the importance of the position of a number of the largest and most exclusive of the societies has been considerable». [3] As for these societies, which certainly were a form of social organization of great antiquity, [4] and their cohesive function among other peoples also, there is no lack of statements to the same effect. [5] None the less, there has been a tendency among authors supporting the theory of the warlike origin of the State, more or less to ignore the influence of secret societies as an important factor in primitive integration. Yet the voluntary submission [6] to the sway of such societies shows to what extent even peaceable causes can call forth strong bonds of union and the sense of obligation.

Common descent and worship, as well as local proximity and membership of secret societies, involve *per se* co-operation for

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[1] *McClintock*, Old North Trail, p. 646 sq. — As for other Indians, see *e. g. Sproat*, Scenes and Studies of Savage Life, p. 271; — *Fletcher* and *La Flesche*, The Omaha Tribe; in 27:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 464, passim.

[2] *Partidge*, Cross River Natives, p. 36; cf. p. 207 sq. As for other peoples in West Africa, see *e. g.* Miss *Kingsley*, Travels in West Africa, p. 526 sqq.

[3] *Codrington*, The Melanesians, p. 74; cf. p. 54 sq., passim.

[4] *Webster*, Secret Societies, passim; — *Partridge*, Op. cit. p. 35.

[5] *Webster*, Op. cit. passim; — *Frazer*, Totemism and Exogamy, vol. III, chapters XIX—XXI.

[6] *Frazer*, Op. cit. vol. III, p. 548.

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mutual benefit. Speaking of the Australian native, Messrs. Spencer and Gillen observe that »generosity is certainly one of his leading features». Moreover, the »very existence of such a custom, even if it be only carried out in the hope of securing at some time a *quid pro quo*, shows that the native is alive to the fact that an action which benefits someone else is worthy of being performed». [3] An instructive instance of the savage principle of mutual aid is also the Fijian *lala*. The communal *lala* built houses for members of the community, cleared roads, carried on barter, etc. [2] Where it has been abolished as in Tonga and the Tongan community settled in Fiji »the necessity for combination is so keenly felt that the people have evolved a substitute of their own». They voluntarily form themselves into *kabani*, or companies, which are called together under the direction of an elected leader, to build houses, plant gardens and do other combined work for each other. [3] Of the Kafirs, those warlike natives of South Africa, Mr. Kidd points out that it is the »primary obligation» of every individual »to sacrifice, if needs be, everything for the good of the clan. This sound basis of the social state is undoubtedly one of the main causes of the stability of the Kafir society». [4] According to Dr. Nordenskjöld, the leading principle of the Choroti and Ashluslay Indians of South America is, »we are brothers»; accordingly, they live in an almost complete communism. [5] Speaking of the Indians of Illinois, the early observer Hennepin remarks that the »union that reigns among that barbarous people ought to cover with shame the Christians». [6] As for the Eskimo, they have, Nelson writes, »an instinctive desire to do that which

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[1] *Spencer* and *Gillen*, The Native Tribes of Central Australia, p. 48.

[2] *Thomson*, The Fijians, p. 67.

[3] Op. cit. p. 68; cf. p. 79 sq.

[4] *Kidd*, Kafir Socialism, p. 11; cf. pp. 7, 16 sq., 31 sq., 36 sq., 46; — *Idem*, The Essential Kafir, p. 316, passim.

[5] *Nordenskjöld*, Indianlif, p. 29; cf. pp. 31, 34, 39, passim.

[6] *Hennepin*, Discovery of a Vast Country in America, vol. I, p. 95.

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was most conducive to the general good of the community .. Whatever experience has taught them to be best is done». [1] Great tribute has been likewise paid to the helpfulness and charity of the Zirians. [2]

These few instances indicate what we hear from all quarters of the world where savage peoples exist. [3] Some authors justly attribute to peaceful mutual aid the greatest social value. [4]

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[1] *Nelson*, Eskimo about Bering Strait; in 18:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 294; — *Rink*, The Eskimo Tribes, p. 22.

[2] Suomensukuisia kansoja Venäjällä; in Suomen Kuvalehti, 1875, p. 152.

[3] *Sarasin*, Forschungen auf Ceylon, vol. III, p. 545, passim; — *Seligmann*, The Veddas, pp. 66, 86; — *Spencer* and *Gillen*, The Native Tribes of Central Australia, p. 50 sq.; — *Schürmann*, The Aboriginal Tribes of Port Lincoln; in *Woods*, The Native Tribes of South Australia, p. 243 sq.; — *Dieffenbach*, Travels in New Zealand, vol. II, p. 124; — *Polack*, Manners and Customs of the New Zealanders, vol. II, p. 106; — *Colenso*, On Maori Races; in Trans. New Zealand Institute, vol. I, pp. 8 sq., 57; — *Thomson*, Savage Island, p. 137; — *Williams* and *Calvert*, Fiji and the Fijians, pp. 93, 115, passim; — *Seeman*, Viti, p. 192; — *Erskine*, The Islands of the Western Pacific, p. 247; — *Mariner*, The Natives of the Tonga Islands, vol. II, p. 153 sq.; — *Turner*, Samoa, pp. 141, 276, 322 sq.; — *McClintock*, Old North Trail, p. 261; — *Fletcher* and *La Flesche*, The Omaha Tribe; in 27:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol., passim; — *Dorsey*, Siouan Sociology; in 15:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 232, passim; — *Morgan*, League of the Iroquois, p. 172; — *Ross Browne*, Apache Country, p. 111 sq.; — *Bancroft*, The Native Races of the Pacific States, vol. I, pp. 583, 760, passim; — *McGee*, The Relation of Institutions, p. 707; — *Munzinger*, Ostafrikanische Studien, pp. 76, 238, 533 sq.; — Les Annales de la Propagation de la Foi, vol. LX, p. 58; — *Merker*, Die Masai, pp. 86, 93, 117, 169 sq., 195, 270; — *Casalis*, The Basutos, pp. 206 sq., 308 sq.; — *Lichtenstein*, Travels, vol. I, p. 266; — *Ellis*, Madagascar, vol. I, p. 139.

A large collection of facts in *Steinmetz's* »Rechtsverhältnisse von eingeborenen Völkern in Afrika und Ozeanien.»

See also *Wilda*, Das Gildenwesen, pp. 3 sq., 26 sq., 244; — *Hume*, History of England, vol. I, p. 206 sq.; — *Letourneau*, Evolution politique, pp. 427 sq., 453; — *Lamprecht*, Deutsche Geschichte, vol. I, p. 148, passim.

[4] *Aristotle*, Ethics, VIII, 12; IX, passim; *Idem*, Politics, I, 1 sqq.; VIII, 8, passim; — *Kropotkin*, Mutual Aid; — *Westermarck*, The Moral

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Yet thoroughly interwoven as it is — as was the case with religion also — with the consolidating tendencies of common descent and other similar factors, its part in primitive integration is often depreciated or even more or less overlooked. This is particularly the case when authors maintain that co-operation in war is the most important form of mutual aid among savages because it is alleged to be more or less compulsory. In fact, here lies the vital point in primitive integration, and the mistake made by writers who defend war as the main cause of early integration becomes evident if the consolidating value of all the peaceful causes above mentioned is compared with that of war.

In spite of the savage customs of killing parents or children and all the other traits of a more or less similar nature which are often met with, the rule can be laid down that the assistance offered by parents to children and *vice versa*, or by other members of the same community to each other, is, broadly speaking, certainly not of a less compulsory character than co-operation in primitive warfare, which is often restricted to the nearest relatives only, or is based on entirely voluntary principles. Moreover, all the various forms of peaceful co-operation called forth by common descent, local proximity, and the like, are likewise permanent and prevalent among those savages who seldom, if ever, carry on war; while co-operation in war itself rests as a rule on the primary basis of consanguinity, local proximity, or common worship. It is from them that warlike co-operation results, and not *vice versa;* that is to say, common descent, local proximity, and other similar factors of primitive integration are not

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Ideas, vol. I, chap. XXIII, XXIV, and passim; — *Deniker*, Races et peuples de la Terre, p. 147; — *Frazer*, Totemism and Exogamy, vol. IV, p. 39; — *Brinton*, The Basis of Social Relations, pp. 30 sq., 41, 147; — *Giddings*, Principles of Sociology, pp. 71 sq., 114, 262 sq.; — *McGee*, The Beginnings of Agriculture, pp. 364, 375; — *Idem*, The Beginnings of Zooculture, p. 227 sq.; — *Idem*, The Relation of Institutions, p. 706, passim; — *Wallas*, Human Nature in Politics, p. 30.

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in general merely products of co-operation in warfare. Thus blood-revenge, perhaps the earliest and most common cause and form of savage warfare, is due to an obligation felt towards an offended relative or friend, and when private individuals initiate war expeditions they make appeals to the members of their own communities. Similarly, we noticed above [1] that among many primitive peoples it is customary not to wage war on communities which are akin, have the same totem, worship common gods, or have other similar bonds of consolidation. Thus there is no lack of instances to show that among savages »the force of racial and linguistic unity shows itself even outside the social or political unit». [2]

On the other hand, again, where these factors of peaceful integration have not been strong enough to prevent warfare between the minor groups of some larger unity, there, as a rule, no further consolidation has been called forth. According to Mooney, one of the main causes of the destruction of the Cherokee was internal wars, which prevented the various communities of the nation from uniting against the common foe, the League of the Iroquois. [3] The disaster was the more natural and the demonstrative value of the occurrence the more obvious, as we are expressly told of this famous league that it was established in order to abolish war between the tribes composing their nation, and therefore not merely to consolidate their power against external enemies, but also to strengthen its general bonds of internal union. [4] Of an Indian tribe living on the south coast of Lake Superior, Jones states that a quarrel between members of two families ended in a murder. Subsequently »the friends of the murdered killed the murderer, and so they continued to kill one family after another till the whole tribe

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[1] See *supra*, p. 42 sqq.

[2] *Westermarck*, The Moral Ideas, vol. II, p. 170.

[3] *Mooney*, Myths of the Cherokee; in 19:th Ann. Report Bur. Ethnol. p. 15.

[4] *Morgan*, League of the Iroquois, p. 60 sq.

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were nearly destroyed». [1] Similarly, owing to an instance of blood-revenge, when »fathers fought sons, and brothers contended with brothers», once an Omaha community was scattered. [2] No greater coherence has been established among the various sub-divisions of the Jeveros [3] and Zaparos, [4] two large Indian tribes in the Valley of the Amazons, as these minor groups »are constantly at war with each other». On the other hand, bonds of marriage united the various tribes of the Uaupés, preventing them from waging war against each other. [5] Speaking of the Dinka, Schweinfurth [6] states that as regards numbers, mode of life and customs, »they have all the material for national unity but where they fail is that their tribes not only make war upon each other, but submit to be enlisted as the instruments of treachery by intruders from outside». Similar facts have been observed among other native peoples in Africa also, where integration has been rendered impossible by wars between various groups of the same people. [7]

These instances show that if the bonds of consanguinity, common worship, and other peaceful ties have not been strong enough to prevent groups from waging war upon each other, a further union has often been rendered impossible. Thus, not the occurrence of wars, but the absence of them, has been the main condition for a more advanced social integration between neighbouring communities which have reached a somewhat higher level of social development; and the same thing must be true at lower levels of culture.

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[1] *Jones*, The Ojebway Indians, p. 110.

[2] *Fletcher* and *La Flesche*, The Omaha Tribe; in 27:th Ann. Report Bur. Ethnol. p. 86.

[3] *Markham*, The Tribes of the Valley of the Amazons; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1910, p. 104.

[4] Op. cit. p. 134.

[5] Op. cit. p. 130.

[6] *Schweinfurth*, The Heart of Africa, vol. I, p. 167.

[7] *Lenz*, Skizzen aus Westafrika, p. 91; — *Kidd*, Kafir Socialism, pp. 38, 46.

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Steinmetz [1] is partly aware of this when he asserts that blood-revenge carried on within a tribe must necessarily have prevented integration. But why should the debarring influence of wars be restricted so as to have reference to blood-revenge only? As a matter of fact, whatever may have been the character of warlike activity within a larger unit, it must have counteracted the process of natural cohesion. It is also noteworthy that in all the instances quoted by Spencer as examples of integration brought about through wars, we meet with primary bonds of common descent or other ties of a peaceful character. [2] And when he lays down the rule that »it is only when joint action in war has become habitual that the cohesion is made permanent by a common political organization», [3] even this simply means that no lasting integration is possible as long as internal wars take place. Moreover, owing to his militant conception of savage conditions, he lays undue stress upon the »compulsory co-operation» in war, and fails to see the primary importance of all the peaceful ties which must call forth the cessation of internal ruptures before wars against external enemies can bring about any consolidating results.

Among peoples who have already reached a comparatively high stage of civilization, a comparison between the peaceful factors of integration and that arising from war, leads to the same result. The ancient Greek city-states were constantly waging war upon each other, so that the only ties which kept them united were, as Herodotus puts it, »our common lan-

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[1] »Nicht nur war die Blutrache verderblich wenn bei der Auflösung der grösseren geschlechtsgenossenschaftlichen Verbände die einzelnen Familien und Geschlechter sie übernahmen, sondern sie war es schon auch im Anfange, da die festere Stammesorganisation sich noch nicht entwickelt hatte, und deshalb die Geschlechter die Blutrache betrieben.» — *Steinmetz*, Ethnologische Studien, vol. I, p. 391; vol. II, p. 130 sq. — See also *Idem*, Die Philosophie des Krieges, p. 42.

[2] *Spencer*, Op. cit. vol. II, part V., chap. 3 and passim.

[3] Op. cit, vol. II, p. 279.

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guage, the altars and the sacrifices of which we all partake». [1] Mommsen, and many other authors, [2] lay special stress on the part played by religion. Greece »owed to its religion», he says, »not merely its whole intellectual development, but also its national union so far as such an union was attained at all». [3] As for the part of war, Fustel de Coulanges maintains that wars could not have brought about a further political integration. [4] Gomperz again, although he could not rid himself of a »sneaking doubt whether a Hellas blessed with a perpetual peace, united in a confederacy or possibly a single State, would ever have achieved so much in art and science as did that divided Hellas whose powers were traced», readily admits that these powers »were at the same time all too soon exhausted by the incessant competition of war». Accordingly, referring to the common race, religion, and games, he concludes that what these factors of national unity really effected was a »toning down of the extreme brutalities of warfare». [5] Grote points out that the incoherence of the Greek States was first and above all due to the — from this point of view — unfavourable geographical conditions, secondly to the political ideas of their thinkers, and lastly to the incapacity for political coalescence [6] which »did not preclude a powerful and extensive sympathy between the inhabitants of all the separate cities». Moreover, this sympathy implied a »constant tendency to fraternise for numerous purposes, social,

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[1] *Herodotus*, History, VIII, 144.

[2] *Grote*, History of Greece, vol. II, pp. 23 sq., 163—180, 430 sq., 511. — — *Tittman*, Darstellung der griechischen Staatsverfassungen, pp. 668—740; — as for religious unions only, see p. 740 sqq.; — *Risley*, Law of War, p. 12; — *Hearn*, The Aryan Household, p. 260; — *Gomperz*, Greek Thinkers, vol. II, p. 22; — *Curtius*, Griechische Geschichte, vol. I, pp. 434—520; cf. p. 52 sqq.

[3] *Mommsen*, History of Rome, vol. I, p. 227.

[4] *Fustel de Coulanges*, La cité antique, p. 259. — See also *Novicow*, La critique du darwinisme social, p. 297.

[5] *Gomperz*, Greek Thinkers, vol. II, p. 22.

[6] *E. g. Thucydides*, History of Peloponnesian War, V, 77.

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religious, recreative, intellectual, and aesthetical». [1] From this it appears that the integration of the ancient Greek States was mainly due to common descent, common religion, and common peaceful interests, while any further political organization was counteracted not by any lack of warlike activity, but by geographic conditions and the political ideas of the people themselves. Speaking of these political ideas, Mommsen asserts that the most peculiar and best feature in the character of the Greek people »rendered it impossible for them to advance from national to political unity without at the same time exchanging their polity for despotism». [2] — As for the early Romans, their early integration was founded on blood-relationship, common religion, and subjection to a strong *patria potestas.* They learned to obey their fathers, and this, as Mommsen puts it, that they »may know how to obey the State». [3] It was owing to these fundamental factors that the success of Roman policy was secured, and not *vice versa:* it was not wars that brought about common descent, worship, and a strong paternal authority. [4]

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[1] *Grote*, History of Greece, vol. II. p, 162 sq.

[2] *Mommsen*, History of Rome, vol. I, p. 36.

[3] Op. cit. p. 37.

[4] Speaking of the early Latin League Mommsen affirms: — »The feeling of fellowship based on community of descent and of language, not only pervaded the whole of them, but manifested itself in an important religious and political institution — the perpetual League of the collective Latin cantons». Op. cit. vol. I, p. 49. — »We must now be content to realize the one great abiding fact that they possessed a common centre, to which they did not sacrifice their individual independence, but by means of which they cherished and increased the feeling of their belonging collectively to the same nation. By such a common possession the way was prepared for their advance from that cantonal individuality, with which the history of every people necessarily begins, to the national union with which the history of every people ends or at any rate ought to end.» Op. cit. p. 52. — Cf. also *Fustel de Coulanges*, La cité antique, pp. 66, 119, 268, passim; — *Hearn*, The Aryan Household, p. 260. — Cf. *Spencer*, Principles of Sociology, vol. II, p. 378 sq., on early wars between the various clans.

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Even the authors who lay most stress on the extremely warlike character of the early Germans cannot deny the primary importance of peaceful factors in their primitive integration. Thus, with reference to the ties of blood-relationship, Dahn points out that it brought about the union of Suevians, [1] Alemans, [2] Franks, Frisians, Saxonians, [3] Goths [4] and the other German peoples. [5] Closely connected with consanguinity was common worship. [6] In fact, there can be no better testimony to the consolidating value of these factors than the survival of clan ties till comparatively recent times. Thus, clans continued to exist among the Goths after the conquest of Italy. [7] Among the Franks the clan bonds were so strong as late as the time of the Carlovingians that the authorities repeatedly had to enforce the supremacy of the State over the interests of the clans; [8] this was

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[1] *Dahn*, Die Könige der Germanen, vol. VII, part I, p. 3 sqq.— Common worship, administration of justice, and common descent united them into one people, p. 6 sq.

[2] Op. cit. vol. VII, part I, p. 9. — Integration was caused by »1:o nähere Verwandschaft und Annahme gemeinsamer Abstammung von göttlichen Ahnen; 2:o Nachbarschaft». — Op. cit. vol. IX, part. I, p. 2 sq.

[3] Op. cit. vol. VII, p. 9.

[4] Op. cit. vol. III, p. 4 sq.; — *Lamprecht*, Deutsche Geschichte, vol. I, p. 251 sq.

[5] *Dahn*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 4 sqq.; — *Idem*, Die Germanen, p. 13 sqq., passim.

See for further particulars, Die Könige der Germanen, vol. VII, part I, p. 9; cf. p. 11. — Of the Suevians he maintains: — »Blutverwandschaft, nicht Nachbarschaft ist die älteste Grundlage dieses Verbandes» (= Völkerschaft). — Op. cit. vol. VII, part I, p. 4.

[6] Tacitus points out that the federation of the Suevian communities was based simply on common worship, *i. e.* without any common war leader. — Germania, 39.

[7] *Lamprecht*, Deutsche Geschichte, vol. I, p. 251 sq.; — *Dahn*, Die Könige der Germanen, vol. III, p. 4 sqq.

[8] *Dahn*, Op. cit. vol. VII, part I, p. 300. — »So stark ist immernoch der Sippeverband dass wiederholt gewarnt wird um ihrerwillen die Pflichten gegen den Stat zu verletzen». — Op. cit. vol. VIII, part II, p. 236.

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the case among the Bavarians also; [1] while among the Germans inhabiting Ditmarch the clan system was prevalent even in the sixteenth century. [2]

Besides consanguinity, economic causes greatly facilitated the further development of early German integration. Thus, according to Dahn, the German tribes became sedentary during the period from 50 B. C. to 100 A. D. [3] Subsequently, the primeval forests, which until then had separated different communities and tribes from each other, gradually disappeared, neighbouring communities came into constant contact with each other, and spontaneous amalgamation took place. [4] As soon, however, as the soil could no longer sustain a rapidly increasing population, the epoch of the great migrations began. In fact, Dahn asserts that these were called forth by economic causes only, and not, as many authors assume, [5] by any political aims. [6]

Lamprecht gives, broadly speaking, a similar account. In accordance with his hypothesis of the extremely warlike character of the earliest Germans, he argues that a great change took place during the first three centuries A. D., when they became sedentary. [7] These new economic conditions were not

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[1] *Dahn*, Op. cit. vol. IX, part II, p. 179.

[2] *Nitzsch*, Geschichte des deutschen Volkes, vol. I, p. 67.

[3] *Dahn*, Ursachen der Völkerwanderung, p. 289; cf. p. 292 sq.; — *Idem*, Die Germanen vor der Völkerwanderung, pp. 402, 415.

[4] *Dahn*, Die Könige der Germanen, vol. I, p. 35; vol. VII, part I, p. 18 sqq.; — *Idem*, Gesellschaft und Stat, p. 470; — *Idem*, Die Germanen vor der Völkerwanderung, p. 425 sq.

[5] *Dahn*, Ursachen der Völkerwanderung, p. 293; — *Idem*, Die Germanen vor der Völkerwanderung, p. 415 sqq.

[6] »Nur solche» (= economic)», nicht politische und verfassungsrechtliche Aenderungen sind es, welche in letzter Instanz die grossartige Erscheinung erklären die wir mit vielmissbrauchtem Namen Völkerwanderung nennen.» — Gesellschaft und Stat, p. 470; — *Idem*, Die Germanen vor der Völkerwanderung, p. 416 sq.

[7] »Das kameradschaftlich-kriegerische Element der Frühzeit trat zurück, in den Vordergrund schob sich der wirtschaftliche Verband der Genossen.» — Deutsche Geschichte, vol. I, p. 273.

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merely most favourable for a further integration which led to the tribal organization [1], but the new occupation of the people even directly checked warlike enterprises. [2] Hence, summing up, Lamprecht asserts that the tribal organization was brought about much more through the new modes of economic life among the peoples themselves, than through the wars waged between them and the Romans. [3] Thus the conclusion holds good of the early Germans also, that only a secondary importance can be ascribed to the consolidating value of wars. Co-operation in war took place because of common descent, local proximity, common worship and the like. [4] And when their political conditions changed again and they became subjects of feudal States, the bonds of common descent as well as economic causes still made their influence felt in a degree too little noticed by many admirers of the alleged constructive value of war and of war only. [5]

The history of the early Gauls also provides an instructive instance. Mommsen remarks that the military alliances between their various communities were of the loosest kind; the rivalry for the hegemony made a breach in every league. Internal ruptures of this character thus directly counteracted any final political organization. »The victory of one competitor

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[1] Op. cit. vol. I, p. 273 sqq.

[2] »Jetzt war das Volk sesshaft geworden ... der Volksfriede auch nach aussen ward zum obersten Zweck und Gut des Staates ... Der neue Beruf begann immer stärkere Theile der alten kriegerischen Kraft an sich zu ziehen und zu friedlichem Schaffen zu veranlassen» — Op. cit. vol. I, p. 276.

[3] »Weit weniger durch den Gegensatz zu Rom, weit mehr durch den Uebergang zur Sesshaftigheit ist sie »(the formation of the tribes)» geschaffen worden. Sie ist die eigentliche naturwirtschaftliche Staats- und Lebensform unseres Volkes. In den Anfängen eines wahrhaft nationalen Ackerbaus entsteht sie; politisch wichtig, ja ausschlagend bleibt sie bis zum Ausgang der frankischen Kaiser.» — Op. cit. vol. I, p. 277.

[4] As for the early Scandinavians, see *Strinnholm*, Wikingszüge, vol. II, pp. 24, 36, 44 sqq.

[5] *Lamprecht*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 148; vol. III, p. 10 sqq.

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still left his opponent in possession of political existence, and it always remained open to him, even though he had submitted to clientship, subsequently to renew the struggle». [1] Hence, instead of politically uniting the entire nation, »the rivalry of the Averni and Haedui, with its repetitions on a smaller and smaller scale, destroyed the Celtic people». [2] On the other hand, common descent and common religion called forth all the permanent forms of a larger integration. [3] Amidst the greatest political ruptures, the Gauls were strongly centralised in respect of priestly rule, or, as Mommsen puts it: — »The Gauls were not far removed from an ecclesiastical State with its pope and councils, its immunities, interdicts, and spiritual courts». Nay, the political aims of the Druids went so far that they claimed the right of deciding even on war and peace. [4]

Among the Celtic clans in Scotland we meet with the same trait as was observed above among the early Germans. Thus, in 1587 an Act was passed »for the quiting and keeping in obedience of the disordered subjects inhabitants of the Borders, Highlands and Isles». To the Act were added two rolls, in one of which it was pointed out that the disobedience of the clans was due to the power of their own chiefs, »on whom they depend ofttimes against the will of their landlords». [5] As late as about the year 1730, a close observer of the Highlanders wrote: — »The ordinary Highlanders esteem it the most supreme degree of virtue to love their chief and pay him a blind obedience, although it be in opposition to the government, the laws of the kingdom, or even the law of God». [6] And this strong power of the chiefs, moreover, was »not supported by interests»; on the contrary, it was due to them »as lineally descended from the

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[1] *Mommsen*, History of Rome, vol. V, p. 25.
[2] Op. cit. p. 26.
[3] *Fustel de Coulanges*, Institutions politiques, p. 7, passim.
[4] *Mommsen*, Op. cit. p. 23 sq.
[5] *Mitchell*, History of the Highlands, p. 296.
[6] *Skene*, Celtic Scotland, vol. III, p. 328; — *Mitchell*, Op. cit. p. 297.

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old patriarchs or fathers of the families». [1] On the other hand internal feuds prevented a further integration. Even as late as in 1689, the victories of Montrose proved fruitless when the revolting Highlanders suddenly allowed local jealousies to break up their army. »The Gordons left him», Lord Macaulay writes, »because they fancied that he neglected them for the MacDonalds. The MacDonalds left him because they wanted to plunder the Campbells. The force which had once seemed sufficient to decide the fate of a kingdom melted away in a few days». [2] — As for the early Finns, wars waged between their various units not merely prevented the establishment of a further internal unity, but also greatly facilitated the aims of their more powerful neighbours. [3]

In so far as our comparison between the consolidating valueo f wars on the one hand and of consanguinity, local proximity, and common religion and customs on the other hand, has been correct it has proved that among peoples which have advanced to a comparatively high level of civilization the bonds of consanguinity, local proximity and common worship and customs have been the primary factors of integration, and that it is owing to these that warlike co-operation has been rendered possible. This inference corroborates our corresponding conclusion about the lower races: among them also it is as the result of common descent, local proximity, and other similar peaceful factors of primary importance that warlike co-operation has taken place.

Passing over from this comparison to a more detailed inquiry into the consolidating results of war, it is obvious that even in the instances where war has brought about the union of certain groups against a common foe, it does not follow that the consolidation has been lasting. For the sake of argument, let us suppose that there exist seven savage units — *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, and

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[1] *Mitchell*, Op. cit. p. 297 sq.

[2] *Macaulay*, History of England, vol. II, p. 338 sq.

[3] *Wirkkunen*, Länsisuom. kans. siv.-oloista, in Oma Maa, vol. I, p. 120; — *Erich*, Das Staatsrecht des Grossfürstentums Finnland, p. 1.

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m, *n*, *p*. To-day the first group wages war upon the second. After some months or years, however, *a*, *b*, and *p* co-operate against *m* and *n*, and in the following years war may take place, not merely between *a*+*c* and *m*, but *d* and *p* may unite against *b*. Now it is obvious that from the point of view of integration such occasional combinations are almost valueless. Pritchard says of the Samoans that »the ties which in war unite rival chieftains of any given district are but slight, and the motives that incite to defection are equally so». [1] Speaking of the Mafulu mountain people in New Guinea, Mr. Williamson remarks that »sometimes two communities join together in opposition to a third one, but alliances of this sort are usually only of a temporary character». [2] This is the more obvious as the same author points out in another connection that even in those instances where one or several Mafulu communities together were the object of an attack from the quite foreign peoples of Ambo or Kuni, »there would apparently be no thought of other Mafulu speaking communities, as such, coming to assist in repelling the attack». [3] Of equally slight nature are the war alliances among the Jeveros [4] and Zaparos, [5] two great and warlike tribes of the valley of the Amazon. No permanent integration has resulted from the occasional co-operation of their sub-divisions against common enemies. The history of ancient Greece provides many similar instances showing how the allies of to-day were the foes of to-morrow. Thus during the Peloponnesian War the Athenians were compelled to make peace with Sparta in order to prevent their allies from deserting and uniting with their foes. [6]

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[1] *Pritchard*, Polynesian Reminiscences, p. 59.

[2] *Williamson*, The Mafulu Mountain People, p. 180.

[3] Op. cit. p. 82; cf. p. 84. — Similar particulars are given by Dr. Nordenskjöld with regard to the Choroti and Ashluslay Indians of South America. — Indianlif, p. 35.

[4] *Markham*, The Tribes of the Valley of the Amazons; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1910, p. 104.

[5] Op. cit. p. 134.

[6] *Thucydides*, History of Peloponnesian War, V, 14.

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The undue stress laid on the consolidating value of warfare is shown also by the fact that even when a more or less lasting cohesion has resulted from successful wars, it has not necessarily led to real integration. According to Turner,[1] wars brought about no lasting integration among the natives in Samoa because subjugated groups soon regained strength enough to become independent anew. In his description of the kingdom of Ashantee, Beecham [2] observes that it was »not so much one state placed immediately under one government, as an assemblage of states owing a kind of feudal obedience to the sovereign of Ashantee». With reference to the native empires in Africa in general, Casalis calls attention to another form of decentralization. As soon as a powerful ruler has brought under his sway a number of neighbouring communities, his sons and heirs hasten to divide the empire and become independent chiefs, [3] or the conquering State breaks down soon from other more or less similar causes. [4] In his description of the conquering States in Africa, as well as those of the Incas and the ancient Mexicans, Ratzel [5] remarks that there is hardly any reason to attribute to them such names as empires. They are deficient in any firmly-established internal organization, and the bonds resulting merely from conquest are loose.

Passing to still larger and better known empires, we meet with similar facts. Of the Assyrian, Babylonian, Median, and Persian empires, Sir Henry Maine points out that »they were in the main tax-taking empires ... the monarchs at their head were constantly dethroning petty kings and even transplanting whole communities. But amid all this, it is clear that in the main they interfered but little with the everyday religious or

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[1] *Turner*, Nineteen Years in Polynesia, p. 290 sq.
[2] *Beecham*, Ashantee, pp. 86, 89 sq.
[3] *Casalis*, The Basutos, p. 212.
[4] *Baumann*, Durch Massailand, p. 236 sq.
[5] *Ratzel*, Völkerkunde, vol. I, p. 130; cf. pp. 625, 627.

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civil life of the groups to which their subjects belonged.» [1] Athens, he remarks, belonged to the same class of sovereignties. »The dominion of Athens over her subject cities and islands was clearly a tax-taking as distinguished from a legislating empire». [2] So also the empires of Attila and Tamerlane »were not more organic than a number of wool bales under a hydraulic press or a mob of cattle under the charge of a drover». [3] From the earliest ages until the British conquest, India was under the rule of comparatively powerful kings. Yet although they waged wars upon each other by means of armies for which young men were carried off from the village communities, they neither legislated nor established a centralized government, says Sir Henry Maine. »The village communities were left to modify themselves separately in their own way». [4] The history of England provides another instructive instance. Speaking of the transient results of the wars carried on in England during the sixth and seventh centuries, Professor Oman asserts: — »The king of the vanquished tribe might for the nonce own himself his conqueror's man and contract to pay him tribute, but there was nothing to prevent him from rebelling the moment that he felt strong enough. To make the conquest permanent, one of two things was needed — colonization of the district that had been subdued, or the establishment of garrisons in fortified places within it. But the English were never wont to colonize the lands of their own kinsmen, though they would settle readily enough on Welsh soil. — When the conqueror died, his empire died with him, and each subject state resumed its autonomy». [5]

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[1] *Maine*, The Early History of Institutions, p. 384. — Ratzel points out the same fact of Abyssinia, too. — Völkerkunde, vol. II. p. 455.

[2] *Maine*, Op. cit. p. 385.

[3] *Hearn*, Aryan Household, p. 268.

[4] *Maine*, Village Community, p. 159 sq. — See also *Lyall*, Formation of Clans; in Fortnightly Review, vol. XXI, p. 117.

[5] *Oman*, History of the Art of War, p. 71. — Not very different was the case of the empire of Charlemagne. — *Nitzsch*, Geschichte des deutschen Volkes, vol. I, p. 246.

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In short, even in many cases where wars have united different groups of people, the union has been loose and superficial. Ratzel justly describes that sort of military conquest in the words: — It is the multiplication of the cell to a cell-mass, instead of its growth into an organism. [1] And even Gumplowicz admits that mere conquest does not bring about any lasting consolidation until all the peaceful ties of internal union have called forth a strong social consolidation. [2] In one special sense only do these particular instances indicate positive integration, *viz.* territorial occupation. As was observed above, however, it is only among more advanced peoples that wars are waged with such an object in view, whereas the wars of more primitive communities are mainly carried on as acts of revenge, or they aim at some other ends, but not essentially at a permanent occupation of lands and subjection of peoples. It is therefore not wholly in agreement with the facts to argue that primitive warfare would bring about integration even in this respect. If, as we have just seen, more advanced peoples have failed in these efforts, lacking as their »empires» have been in internal strength and the fusion of the various elements, there is no reason whatever to ascribe greater results to wars fought between quite primitive communities. On the contrary, it is just because the more primitive savages, as a rule, do not carry on wars of conquest, that their warfare often brings about, instead of integration, dissolution of the units existing among them. Thus of the Hawaii and the Sandwich Islands, Ellis [3] states that wars among those natives did not result in any effective establishment of political organizations, rather the reverse. So also, speaking of the Melanesian peoples, Meinicke [4] asserts that wars have caused among them more disunion than real integration. Of the wars waged between the natives in East Africa, Falkenhorst

[1] Völkerkunde, vol. I, p. 130.
[2] *Gumplowicz*, Geschichte der Staatstheorien, p. 416.
[3] *Ellis*, Hawaii, p. 116.
[4] *Meinicke*, Die Inseln des Stillen Ozeans, vol. I, p. 68.

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points out that far from causing »the foundation of States» they resulted in the destruction even of the existing forms of social integration through natural growth on the basis of consanguineal bonds. [1] Contrary to the theory that common danger unites the members of the same community, we read of the Abipones that, as soon as communities were informed of an approaching enemy, many families fled to other caciques or chiefs in order to escape the danger. [2] Speaking of the North American Indians in general, Hunter observes that wars among them, unlike those between civilized nations, simply prevented the consolidation of neighbouring units. The vanquished, in order to avert entire destruction, »are obliged to flee from their possessions, and are frequently dispersed into different tribes or bands, which being prevented from reuniting by the interposition of their enemies, connect themselves with other nations or seek safe retreats and maintain their independence». [3] The same fact is observed by another author also, Lewis Morgan [4], and Mr. Mooney [5] remarks that not until different clans or tribes were almost entirely destroyed by wars did the remnants unite in order to escape complete extermination.

In fact, if the great number of writers who stress the consolidating value of primitive warfare would pay proper attention also to all those numerous instances where warfare has thus directly resulted in the more or less complete destruction, or in the breaking up of existing primitive units, they would be

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[1] »Von Staatengründungen finden wir hier keine Spur, aber selbst die Gesamtheit der sesshaften Stämme erlangt keine Bedeutung; der ewige Krieg hat dieselben aufgerieben und erst eine längere Friedensepoche wird den am besten beanlagten und unternehmendsten Völkern die Möglichkeit einer neuen politischen Entwicklung gewähren». — Schwarze Fürsten, vol. II, p. 65, passim.

[2] *Dobrizhoffer*, The Abipones, vol. II, p. 105 sq.

[3] *Hunter*, Manners and Customs of Several Indian Tribes, p. 189 sq.

[4] *Morgan*, League of the Iroquois, p. 57.

[5] *Mooney*, The Siouan Tribes, p. 8 sq., passim; — *Idem*, Myths of the Cherokee; in 19:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 15.

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more cautious of constructing such ingenious systems of primitive integration on the basis of savage warfare. They would admit, more than they now do, that statements such as the following one made by Miss Fletcher and Mr. La Flesche in speaking of Omaha integration are true of many other primitive communities. Pointing out »the disintegrating tendencies of aggressive warfare», these authors observe: — »The old Omaha men have earnestly sought to impress upon the writers, that peace and order within the tribe were of prime importance; without these it was declared neither the people nor the tribe as an organization could exist. War was secondary; its true function was protective — to guard the people from outside enemies». [1] Moreover this »peace and order» was based on bonds of common descent, common religion, and on all the various forms of peaceful mutual aid, as well as on the rule of a peace chieftainship and not on that of the ablest war leader. And how could it indeed be otherwise? Unorganized skirmishes taking place occasionally, or small private war expeditions — how could they bring about greater consolidation than ties of common descent, worship, and all the various forms of peaceful co-operation acting continuously and fostering an increasing sense of sociability?

Moreover, besides these factors of primitive integration, all of which depend on man himself, there is still a paramount factor more or less ignored by the writers to whom savage conditions appear above all in the light of incessant warfare and bloodshed. It is the nature and the possibility of obtaining sufficient quantities of food. Speaking of the Omaha, Kansas, Ponka, and Osage, and the efforts of these Indians of North America to maintain their tribal unities, Miss Fletcher and Mr. La Flesche state that the environment of these tribes did not foster sedentary habits »such as would have tended toward a close political union; therefore the nature of the country in

[1] *Fletcher* and *La Flesche*, The Omaha Tribe; in 27:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 402; cf. p. 200 sq.

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which these cognates dwelt added to rather than lessened the danger of disintegration». [1] Similarly Scouler observes that the slow progress of amalgamation among the Indian tribes east of the Rocky Mountains was chiefly due to economic conditions. »The necessity of preserving the full extent of their hunting ground caused repulsion, not union». [2] Economic causes have likewise made their influence felt in the process of integration among other savage communities. Where such conditions have not been favourable, no wars nor destruction of human lives could ever have procured food supplies required to sustain larger units. The only actions which in such circumstances would tend to preserve the race must have sprung from within the groups, they must have taken the form of a peaceful co-operation for mutual benefit in a struggle against nature, far more than that of fighting against human foes. Thus even from this point of view, the attributing of a primary value to war as a cause of the social integration of rude savages must be considered not to correspond with the facts.

Our inquiry into primitive integration has thus resulted in views opposed to those held by authors who believe wars to have been the origin of primitive social integration. In one point only are these two opposing theories in full agreement: primitive integration has been called forth by the necessity for the preservation and further development of the human race. But while the authors who support the warlike view argue that this preservation could be achieved only by means of co-operation against external enemies, our inference has been the opposite. Firstly, there is no evidence to the effect that primitive conditions in general are, or ever have been, so warlike as has often been assumed. Secondly, there is every reason to believe that the extension of the primitive family bonds has been due not only to economic conditions but also to altruistic sentiments

[1] *Fletcher* and *La Flesche*, Op. cit. p. 198.

[2] *Scouler*, Indian Tribes, N-W. Coast of America; in Journ. Ethnol. Soc. vol. I, p. 229.

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which led to the formation of larger social units by means of natural growth and cohesion as well as through adhesion. Within these communities a multitude of new ties were established through marriage, common religion and customs, and so on. Moreover, as in virtue of these more or less permanent bonds of union the members of each community are accustomed to various forms of mutual aid and permanent peaceful co-operation, so also occasional warlike co-operation for defence or offence was rendered possible. In short, the authors supporting the warlike theory of the origin of the State have made what is a mere secondary effect into a primary cause. That this has been their procedure will be still more obvious when we investigate in the following chapters the origin and primitive development of savage government.

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CHAPTER VI

THE ORIGIN OF GOVERNMENT

Causes which originated social integration have at the same time originated authority and government. »Among lower races», says Westermarck, »every family has its head, who exercises more or less authority over its members. In some instances, where the maternal system of descent prevails, a man's children are in the power of the head of their mother's family or of their maternal uncle; but this is by no means the rule even among people who reckon their kinship through females only». [1] Similarly Frazer observes that »mother right does not imply mother rule, rather the contrary». [2] In his description of the subjection of children Westermarck fully illustrates the rôle of paternal authority among savages. [3] Moreover, this authority of the head of the family is, as a rule, extended so as to cover the wife or wives also. [4]

In close connection with the paternal authority is that of old age in general. Speaking of the Veddas, Dr. Seligmann

[1] *Westermarck*, The Moral Ideas, vol. I, p. 597 sq.; — *Idem*, The History of Human Marriage, pp. 15, 19, 40 sq.

[2] *Frazer*, Totemism and Exogamy, vol. II, p. 132. — See also *Grosse* Die Formen der Familie, pp. 62 sq., 75.

[3] *Westermark*, History of Human Marriage, pp. 41, 542, chap. X — *Idem*, The Moral Ideas, vol. I, chap. XXV.

[4] *Westermarck*, The Moral Ideas, vol. I, chap. XXVI.

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observes that terms of respect were used in addressing the aged; thus »although *siya* or *mutta* really mean father or grandfather, these words might be used as terms of addressing any old man». Similarly any old woman might be called *kiriamma* (grandmother) or *atta*. [1] Of the natives of Torres Straits we read that great deference is shown to the old men, whose opinion or decision is generally accepted »immediately and without question». [2] Among the Kurnai »age was held in reverence and a man's authority increased with years». [3] This is the case among other Australian aborigines also. [4] Among the natives of New Guinea considerable respect is shown to the aged. [5] Regard for old people is found also among the natives of Tonga, [6] Formosa, [7] the Ainu, [8] the Bataks [9] of Sumatra, the aborigines of Bengal, [10]

[1] *Seligmann*, The Veddas, p. 70.

[2] Reports of the Cambridge Exp. to Torres Straits, vol. V, p. 263 sq.

[3] *Howitt*, The Native Tribes of S-E. Australia, p. 317.

[4] Op. cit. pp. 301 sqq., 307, 320 sqq.; — *Wyatt*, Adelaide and Encounter Bay Tribes; in *Woods*, Native Tribes of South Australia, p. 168; — *Schürmann*, Tribes of Port Lincoln; in *Woods*, Op. cit. p. 226; — *Gason*, Manners and Customs of the Dieyerie; in *Woods*, Op. cit. p. 263; — *Spencer* and *Gillen*, Northern Tribes of Central Australia, p. 20 sq.; — *Iidem*, Native Tribes of Central Australia, p. 10; — *Iidem*, Across Australia, vol. II, p. 262 sq.; — *Mathews*, Australian Tribes; in Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, vol. XXXVIII, p. 943.

[5] *Seligmann*, The Melanesians, pp. 134, 457; — *Krieger*, Neu Guinea, pp. 317,329, 421.

[6] »Wiewohl auch bey disen Leute keine höher ist als der andere, ja auch in ihrer Sprache es keine Namen gibt dardurch Herr oder Knechte kondte auss gedruckt werden, so thun sie doch auff ihre Weise einander grosse Ehrbietung an, und dass nicht in Ansehen einiger Würde, Stand oder Reichtumb, sondern nur des Alters . . .» — *Hulsius*, Eine Beschreibung der zweyen Insulen Formosa und Japan, p. 40.

[7] *Pilsudski*, Der Schamanismus bei den Ainu; in Globus, 1909, vol. XCV, p. 72.

[8] *Burton* and *Ward*, Journey into the Batak Country; in Trans. Asiatic Soc. vol. I, p. 513.

[9] *Lewin*, Hill Tracts of Chittagong, p. 102; — *Hodson*, The »Genna» among the Tribes of Assam; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1906, p. 101.

[10] *Erskine*, Islands of the Western Pacific, p. 233; — *Mariner*, The Natives of the Tonga Islands, vol. II, p. 155.

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and among many if not most of the native communities in Africa. [1] Similarly, the Eskimo [2] and the North American Indians are stated to have had a great deference for the aged. [3] This is the more remarkable as children among the latter peoples are not trained to obedience. [4] Of the Zapotecs in Southern Mexico, Bancroft states that »in a village not distant from the city of Zayaca, whenever an aged man, the son of one of their ancient lords, was seen by the natives out walking ... they uncovered their heads, kissed his hands ... with much tenderness calling him *daade* (father) and remaining uncovered until he was lost to sight». [5] Great respect is likewise shown to old women among the Mexican Indians. [6] The Patagonians pay »respect to old people», [7] and among the Fuegians »in each family the word of an old man is accepted as law by the young people; they never dispute his authority. [8] Similar customs were prevalent among other natives of South America. [9]

[1] *Munzinger*, Ostafrikanische Studien, pp. 474 sq., 477 sq.; — *Casati*, Ten Years in Equatoria, vol. I, p. 186; — *O'Sullivan*, Dinka Laws and Customs; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1910, pp. 171, 177; — *Baumann*, Durch Massailand, p. 188; — *Kingsley*, Travels in West Africa, p. 460; — *Lichtenstein*, Travels in Southern Africa, vol. I, p. 265.

[2] *Nelson*, Eskimo about Bering Strait; in 18:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 304; — *Murdoch*, Point Barrow Expedition; in 9:th Ann. Rept. p. 427.

[3] *Hunter*, Manners and Customs of Several Indian Tribes, p. 281; — *Hennepin*, Discovery of a Vast Country in America, vol. II, pp. 103 sqq., 130 sqq.; — *Carver*, Travels through the Interior of North America, p. 243; — *Jones*, The Ojebway Indians, p. 68. — *Fletcher* and *La Flesche*, The Omaha Tribe; in 27:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. pp. 325 sq., 335. — Cf. also *Deniker*, Les races et peuples de la Terre, p. 294; — *Lönborg*, Klan och Klanhöfding; in Ymer, 1909, p. 401.

[4] *Hennepin*, Op. cit. vol. II, p. 129; — *Jones*, Op. cit. p. 68.

[5] *Bancroft*, The Native Races of Pacific States, vol. I, p. 665.

[6] *Heller*, Reisen in Mexico, p. 66.

[7] *King* and *Fitzroy*, Voyages of the »Adventure» and »Beagle», vol. II, p. 172.

[8] Op. cit. vol. II, p. 179.

[9] *d'Orbigny*, L'Homme Americain, vol. I, pp. 370, 373, 378; vol. II, pp. 222, 317 sq., 340; — *Nordenskjöld*, Indianlif, pp. 31, 58 sq., passim.

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But the authority of old people is not confined merely to living individuals; they are obeyed and feared after their death also. Even then they »demand obedience and are anxious that the rules they laid down while alive should be followed by the survivors». [1] Moreover, they are conceived »as capable of acting upon the living, of conferring upon them benefits, or at all events of inflicting upon them harm». [2] In the first case they become guardians of their descendants. [3] As each Vedda community, [4] Dr. Seligmann writes, consists of a small number of families, who are usually related both by blood and marriage, the *yaku* [5] of the recent dead, called collectively *Nae Yaku*, are supposed to stand towards the surviving members of the group »in the light of friends and relatives, who, if well treated, will continue to show lovingkindness to their survivors, and only if neglected will show disgust and anger by withdrawing their assistance, or becoming even actively hostile». But only important men, and those who during life had the power of calling and becoming possessed by the yaku, became *yaku* after death. [6] If the survivors were doubtful about the lot of one newly dead, they prayed for his assistance when setting out hunting, and if much game was killed, the deceased was considered to have become a yaku »ready and willing to help his friends and relatives». [7] Through the *dugganawa* [8] the *yaku* declares if he approves the offerings presented to him, promises to assist his kinsfolk in hunting, and often states the direction in which the next hunting party should go. [9] Similarly the natives of New

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[1] *Westermarck*, The Moral Ideas, vol. II, p. 519.

[2] Op. cit. vol. II, p. 528 sq.

[3] Op. cit. vol. II, p. 529.

[4] *Seligmann*, The Veddas, p. 127.

[5] *Yaku* means the spirit of a deceased person. — Op. cit. p. 125.

[6] Op. cit. p. 127.

[7] Loc. cit.

[8] *Dugganawa* or shaman. — Op. cit. p. 128.

[9] Op. cit. p. 128; — see also pp. 141 sqq., 162 sqq., 202 sqq., and chapters VII and VIII in general.

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Guinea frequently ask the advice of their ancestors in hunting, fishing, wars, and in every other important matter.[1] Of the Solomon Islanders, Codrington observes that »a man in danger may call upon his father, his grandfather, or his uncle; his nearness of kin is sufficient ground for it».[2] As for the Fijians, they believe that as a father has taken care of his family when alive, so also he continues to keep watch over the welfare of the survivors.[3] Similar views prevailed *e. g.* among the natives of the New Hebrides[4] and the Maori.[5] The Irayos in the Philippines considered the crops to belong to the *Anitos*, or the souls of their ancestors.[6] The belief prevailed among the Kafirs that everything that happened to them was sent by their ancestors; hence »the memory of an old man's personality would pervade all associations of the kraal in which he lived; .. they would consider», Mr. Kidd affirms, »that he sent the fine weather or the good crops».[7] This is the case also with the Basutos,[8] the Bawenda,[9] the natives inhabiting the region of the Zambesi[10] as well as those of the Oil River.[11] The Mordvins[12] ask the dead ancestors to give them »a long life, to increase their prosperity, to give a good harvest, increase of cattle, etc».[13]

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[1] *Krieger*, Neu Guinea, p. 403.

[2] *Codrington*, The Melanesians, p. 125; cf. p. 145 sqq.

[3] *Thomson*, The Fijians, p. 57 sq; — *Seeman*, Fiji and its Inhabitants, p. 271.

[4] *Turner*, Nineteen Years in Polynesia, p. 88.

[5] *Shortland*, Traditions and Superstitions of the Maori, p. 210.

[6] *Semper*, Die Philippinen, p. 56.

[7] *Kidd*, The Essential Kafir, p. 79; cf. p. 80.

[8] *Casalis*, The Basutos, p. 248.

[9] *Gottschling*, The Bawenda; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, p. 1905, p. 380.

[10] Les Annales de la Propagation de la Foi, vol. LIII, pp. 103, 109.

[11] *Kingsley*, West African Studies, pp. 112 sq., 147 sq.,

[12] *Abercromby*, Pre- and Proto-historic Finns, vol. I, p. 178.

[13] As for the Votiaks, see *Wichmann*, Tietoja votjaakkien mytologiiasta; in Suomi, ser. III, vol. VI, pp. 16, 29, 45.

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Of the Finns proper Waronen [1] remarks that according to their earlier beliefs the dead relatives were looked upon in some cases as protectors of their former homes; and the same holds good of the early Aryans. [2]

According to Westermarck, however, »the dead are more commonly regarded as enemies than friends». [3] The malevolence of the dead is thus not restricted to strangers only. [4] In fact, speaking generally, whether survivors have paid reverence to dead kindred because of their supposed benevolence or out of dread of their anger, or on both grounds, as the case of the Veddas proves, or whether for other reasons, there are abundant instances of a reverent and obedient attitude of the living toward their dead, not merely among savages of a lower type, but also among peoples who have a comparatively high degree of civilization. Thus in addition to the instances referred to above, such a relation is observed to prevail or to have prevailed also in Samoa, [5] Tahiti, [6] the New Hebrides, [7] New Caledonia, [8] and in many other native groups in Polynesia and Melanesia, [9]

[1] *Waronen*, Vainajainpalvelus muinaisilla suomalaisilla, pp. 97, 123, passim; — *Abercromby*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 156 sq.

[2] *Hearn*, The Aryan Household, pp. 39, 41, 47, passim.

[3] *Westermarck*, The Moral Ideas, vol. II, p. 532; — *Karsten*, Origin of Worship, p. 115 sq.; — *Brinton*, Religions of Primitive Peoples, p. 71; — *Tylor*, Primitive Culture, p. 111 sq.

[4] See *e. g. Ellis*, Polynesian Researches, vol. I, p. 334 sq.; — *Thomson*, Savage Islands, p. 94; — *Taylor*, Te Ika a Maui, p. 18; — *Seligmann*, The Veddas, p. 127; — *Boas*, The Central Eskimo; in 6:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 591; — *Lumholtz*, Unknown Mexico, vol. I, p. 380 sq.; — *Casalis*, The Basutos, p. 249; — *Waronen*, Op. cit. p. 16 sqq., passim; — *Wichmann*, Op. cit. p. 45; — *Landtman*, Origin of Priesthood, p. 50.

[5] *Turner*, Nineteen Years in Polynesia, pp. 239, 336; — *Idem*, Samoa, p. 306; — *Featherman*, Social History of the Races of Mankind, vol. II, p. 158.

[6] *Ellis*, Op. cit. vol. II, p. 208.

[7] *Turner*, Samoa, pp. 318 sq., 326, 334; — *Idem*, Nineteen Years in Polynesia, p. 88.

[8] *Featherman*, Op. cit. vol. II, p. 91.

[9] *Meinicke*, Die Inseln des Stillen Ozeans, vol. I, p. 243; vol. II, pp. 116, 375, passim.

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among the Ainu in Sakhalin,[1] and the Manobo[2] of the Philippines, the Toradja[3] in Celebes, the Battaks[4] in Sumatra, as well as among the natives of Bengal.[5] The ancient Chinese rulers on going forth regularly announced the fact in the temple of their ancestors. On their return they likewise proceeded to the temple in order to give information. »For as filial children they could not bear to consider their parents as dead; wherefore they informed them of their departure and presented themselves to them on their return.»[6] Nay, even at the present day, ancestor-worship is one of the corner-stones of the Chinese social and political life.[7] This is true of Japan also.[8] — According to Dr. Dorsey, the Indians of North America have no forms of ancestor-worship.[9] Yet this does not exclude regard for the dead. Speaking of the installation of a Ponka chief, Dorsey himself says that the chief was told as follows: — »Your father was a chief, your elder brother was a chief, and your grandfather was a chief. May they continue to look directly down on you».[10] To his account of a direct relationship between dead ancestors

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[1] *Pilsudski*, Op. cit.; in Globus, 1909, vol. XCV, p. 72.

[2] *Semper*, Op. cit. p. 61.

[3] *Sarasin*, Celebes, vol. II, pp. 123, 130.

[4] *Burton* and *Ward*, Op. cit.; in Trans. Asiatic Soc., vol. I, p. 502.

[5] *Barbe*, Hill Tribes of Chittagong; in Journ. Asiatic Soc. Bengal, vol. XIV, part I, p. 383; — *Hodgson*, The Kocch, Bodo and Dhimal; in Op. cit. vol. XVIII, part II, p. 727; — *Hodson*, The »Genna»; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1906, p. 101; — *Lewin*, Chittagong, pp. 69, 98, 114; — *Shakespear*, Kuki-Lushai Clans; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1909, p. 376.

[6] *Medhurst*, Ancient China, p. 23; — *Chavannes*, Les Mémoires historiques de Se-Ma-Ts'ien, vol. IV, pp. 21, 27, 193, 470; vol. V., pp. 87, 239, 390 sq., 406.

[7] *Milne*, La vie réelle en Chine, p. 208 sqq.; — *Smith*, Chinese Characteristics, pp. 172, 184 sq.; — *Parker*, China, p. 274 sq.

[8] *Murray*, Japan, passim; — *Conybeare*, Ancestor-Worship; in Encyclopædia Britannica, vol. I, p. 945.

[9] *Dorsey*, Study of Siouan Cults; in 11:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 371.

[10] Op. cit. p. 421.

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and their survivors, other instances more or less to the same effect can be added. [1] And if we take other peoples, we meet with the same custom. This holds good of the natives of Africa [2] as well as of the primitive Aryan peoples. [3]

As for the duty of carrying out the ceremonies bound up with the relation between the living and the dead, they devolve upon the heads of the families, or upon the heads of larger units of kindred. In Samoa the father of the family was the high priest. The natives of New Caledonia »have no professional priests; the chief of the village or the oldest man of the family performs all ceremonial acts, and addresses the invocations to the spirits of the dead». [4] Among the Ainu in Sakhalin, old men make all the offerings to departed ancestors. [5] On the heads of the family devolved the duties towards the ancestral spirits, says Ellis, of the natives of Madagascar. [6] Similarly, Miss Kingsley states of the Negroes in the Calabar and Mpongwe districts that »the father of the house is the true priest of the family». [7] The oldest man who is »directly descended from the ancestor of

[1] *Powell*, Wyandot Government; in 1:st Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. LVII; — *Yarrow*, The Study of the Mortuary Customs of the North American Indians; in 1:st Ann. Rept. p. 98 sq.; — *McGee*, Siouan Indians; in 15:th Ann. Rept. p. 178; — *Bancroft*, The Native Races of the Pacific States, vol. II, p. 800 sq.; — *Fewkes*, Tusayan Ceremonies; in 19:th Ann. Rept. pp. 965, 1006.

[2] *Cole*, The Wagogo; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1902, p. 334; — *Johnston*, The Uganda Protectorate, vol. II, pp. 555, 587, 677; — *Livingstone*, Missionary Travels, p. 605; — *Kingsley*, West African Studies, pp. 131 sq., 147 sq., 160, 170; — *Steinmetz*, Rechtsverhältnisse, p. 297 sq., passim; — *Ellis*, Madagascar, vol. I, pp. 362, 364, 397.

[3] *Hearn*, The Aryan Household, pp. 118, 122, 126, passim; — *Fustel de Coulanges*, La cité antique, pp. 18, 35, 102, 107, 177 sq., passim; — *Grote*, History of Greece, vol. II, p. 432.

[4] *Featherman*, Op. cit. vol. II, p. 91.

[5] *Pilsudski*, Der Schamanismus bei den Ainu; in Globus, vol. XCV, 1909, p. 72.

[6] *Ellis*, Madagascar, vol. I, pp. 362, 397.

[7] West African Studies, p. 160. — As for Ashantee, see *Beecham*, Ashantee, p. 194.

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the clan» performed the offerings among the Votiaks, [1] and a similar custom prevailed among the early Finns [2], as well as among the ancient Aryans. [3]

In short, just as religion has strengthened the ties of integration, so it has brought about submission to the authority of the dead. At the same time it has also strengthened the paternal authority and that of old age in general. [4] What Pilsudski [5] says of the Ainu holds certainly good of other primitive peoples also: the best intermediators between the living and the dead are the old people who stand already with one foot in the grave and soon will entirely pass over to the other world where the departed ancestors dwell. Similarly, Messrs. Spencer and Gillen [6] state of the native of Australia that, as he grows older, he takes an increasing share in matters of a sacred and secret nature, until at last this side of life is occupied far more by these matters than by anything else. »They are all connected with the great ancestor of the tribe, and he is firmly convinced that when it comes to his turn to die his spirit part will finally return to his old *alcheringa* home, where he will be in communion with them . . . .» Moreover, old people do not derive their great authority merely from their connection with the spirit world; even their own curses are feared. [7]

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[1] *Abercromby*, The Pre- and Proto-Historic Finns, vol. I, p. 165; — *Wichmann*, Tietoja votjaakkien mytologiiasta, in Suomi, ser. III., vol. VI. pp. 21, 40.

[2] *Waronen*, Op. cit. p. 47.

[3] *Hearn*, Op. cit. p. 126, passim.

For further particulars see *e. g. Ellis*, Polynesian Researches, vol. II, p. 208; — *Marshall*, The Todas, p. 71; — *Barbe*, Hill Tribes of Chittagong; in Journ. As. Soc. Bengal, vol. XIV, part. II, p. 383; — *Hodson*, The Naga Tribes, p. 70; — *Parker*, China, p. 274 sq.

[4] *Spencer*, Principles of Sociology, vol. III, p. 53, passim; — *Vaccaro*, Les bases sociologiques du Droit et de l'Etat, pp. 225, 233.

[5] *Pilsudski*, Op. cit. p. 72.

[6] *Spencer* and *Gillen*, The Northern Tribes of Central Australia, p. 33 sq.

[7] *Westermarck*, The Moral Ideas, vol. I, p. 622 sqq.

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On the other hand the influence of religion is in this respect not restricted to kinship only. On the contrary, as Dr. Landtman observes, nature-worship cannot have been »ruled by any regard for family ties». [1] Hence a priesthood which is more or less independent of the regard for the dead must derive its sway over its community from other sources than those derived from kinship. [2] Be it, however, as it may with regard to the origins of priesthood, the fact remains that, speaking generally, savage magicians and priests have everywhere a considerable influence, not merely in cases relating to their own profession but also in all important matters of any kind. [3] Speaking of the Indians of British Columbia, Mayne observes that »the most influential men in a tribe are the medicine-men». [4] Among the Fuegians great respect is shown to the wizards. [5] Similarly of the Veddas we read that among them a shaman exerts a great deal of influence over his neighbours, who all recognize that he is more or less in constant communication with the spirits. [6] This is the case with the Australian natives [7] and many other primitive peoples. [8] Speaking of the Druids of ancient Scotland, Andrew

[1] *Landtman*, Origin of Priesthood, p. 53.

[2] Op. cit. passim.

[3] Op. cit. p. 18; — See also *Spencer*, Principles of Sociology, vol. III, part. VI; — *Westermarck*, The Moral Ideas, vol. I, p. 563.

[4] *Mayne*, Four Years in British Columbia, p. 260; — see also *Sproat*, Scenes and Studies of Savage Life, p. 167 sq.; — *Hooper*, Tuski, pp. 317, 320.

[5] *Snow*, Wild Tribes of Tierra del Fuego; in Trans. Ethnol. Soc. vol. I, p. 264.

[6] *Seligmann*, The Veddas, p. 41; cf. p. 86.

[7] *Howitt*, The Native Tribes of South-Eastern Australia, p. 301; — *Jung*, Weltteil Australien, p. 140; quoted by *Steinmetz*, Ethnologische Studien, vol. II, p. 40.

[8] *Martius*, Unter den Ureinwohnern Brasiliens, p. 31; — *Nordenskjöld*, Indianlif, p. 31; — *Turner*, Ethnology of the Ungava District; in 11:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 199; — *Bourke*, The Medicine Man of the Apache; in 9:th Ann. Rept. p. 505; — *Russel*, The Pima Indians, in 26:th Ann. Rept. p. 256; — *Swanton*, The Tlingit Indians; in 26:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 466, passim; — *Rochefort*, Iles Antilles, p. 359 sq.; — *Baumann*, Durch

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Lang asserts that judging by the analogy of similar medicine-men in various races, »they may have exercised a good deal of political authority», [1] while the political influence of the priests was almost absolute among the early Gauls [2], and considerable also among the early Germans. [3]

Subordination under strict authority is called forth likewise by the functions of the secret societies. As the authors who stress the constructive value of savage warfare pass in more or less complete silence over the integrating value of secret societies, they are bound to depreciate their great influence on the nature of primitive authority. [4] Yet when they are set side by side, the permanent rule of secret societies is undoubtedly in many instances of far greater importance than the occasional subordination of volunteers to the command of a war leader.

There is in savage life yet another authority, over-ruling all of those just mentioned; this is custom. »A custom», says Westermarck, »in the strict sense of the word, is not merely the habit of a certain circle of men, but at the same time involves a moral rule. There is a close connection between these two characteristics of custom, its habitualness and its obligatoriness. Whatever be the foundation for a certain practice, and however trivial it may be, the unreflecting mind has a tendency to disapprove of any deviation from it for the simple reason that such a deviation is unusual». [5] In the omnipotence of customs is another solution to the question of the authority of old men. They are acquainted with the habits of the forefathers, [6] and in many

Massailand, p. 187; — *Casati*, Ten Years in Equatoria, vol. I, p. 133, 304, passim; — *Johnston*, The Uganda Protectorate, vol. II, pp. 839, 851, 883, passim; — *Williams* and *Calwert*, Fiji and the Fijians, vol. I, p. 227.

[1] *Lang*, A History of Scotland, vol. I, p. 24.

[2] *Mommsen*, The History of Rome, vol. V, p. 25 sqq.

[3] *Wilser*, Die Germanen, p. 111.

[4] *Webster*, Op. cit. pp. 60, 74, and passim.

[5] *Westermarck*, The Moral Ideas, vol. I, p. 159; — *Bagehot*, Physics and Politics, p. 150 sqq.

[6] *Spencer* and *Gillen*, Across Australia, vol. II, p. 410; — *Iidem*, The Native Tribes of Central Australia, p. 11; — *Casalis*, The Basutos, pp.

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instances these in turn are supposed strictly to demand that no deviation from their own customs should take place; [1] nay, savage gods in general are often maintained to be the guardians of customs. [2]

One special group of primitive customs are those pertaining to the various forms of peaceful co-operation and mutual aid in general. The daily performance of acts for the common benefit, the strict observance, too, of rules as to strangers, and the following out of other customs must certainly foster a sense of obedience. Indeed, is it not directly on this permanent habit of subordination to rules for the peaceful benefit of the community that unorganized savage warfare mainly bases its own methods? Bearing in mind the inference above made with regard to the character of savage warfare, and remembering that there are many savage communities entirely unused to a subordination to warlike command, and that, from the point of view of integration, co-operation in peace is, as a rule, the source of co-operation in war, we must certainly conclude that in the case of primitive authority, too, the permanent habit of subordination to the rules set by customs in all the various forms of peaceful co-operation, is of far greater value than an occasional submission to a war leadership. This conclusion will presently find further support.

The authority of the heads of savage families and of elders in general prevails as a rule in all the departments of ordinary life, *i. e.* , in those matters also which are properly called political. Yet, however equally the rule may be shared by them,

228, 254; — *Dobrizhoffer*, The Abipones, vol. II, p. 95; — *Fletcher* and *La Flesche*, The Omaha Tribe; in 27:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 335, passim; — *Murdoch*, Ethnol. Results of Point Barrow Exp.; in 9:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 427; — *Pilsudski*, Op. cit. p. 72; — *Maine*, Village Communities, pp. 69, 111, 116 sq.; — *Frazer*, Totemism and Exogamy, vol. I, p. 283; — *Spencer*, Principles of Sociology, vol. II, part IV.

[1] *Westermarck*, Op. cit. vol. II, p. 519 sqq.

[2] Op. cit. vol. II, pp. 670, 728.

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their influence is not always of equal importance. Giddings observes that all animals exhibit an uncritical wonder at unusual displays of power or brilliancy, and express their deference to those who are admired or feared. [1] This is the case with the human race also; even the lowest men are aware of the difference in personal power between their superior and inferior fellows. Hence in the council of elders certain members gain reputation in a greater degree than others, and as soon as this takes place we meet with the first traces of a special chieftainship.

Some authors have denied that the Australian aborigines have chiefs, [2] other statements bear testimony to the opposite effect. Thus, speaking generally of these natives, Mathews observes that every local division of a tribe, no matter how few its members, has a leader who is recognized as such on account of his age or other special qualities. Moreover, if a number of local groups coalesce and constitute a larger unit, these several leaders or headmen not only retain their »patriarchal position» among their own people, but by common consent they superintend all the affairs of the entire unit. Yet if some other men possess magical powers, or if they are noted warriors or men of fluent speech or able song-makers, they might »by force of character become also headmen». [3] With regard to particular communities, the following quotations will throw light upon the matter. [4] »Throughout Australia and Torres Strait», Macgillivray observes, »the existence of chieftainship, either hereditary or acquired, has in no instance of which I am aware been clearly proved; yet in each community there are certain individuals

[1] *Giddings*, Elements of Sociology, p. 247.

[2] Quoted by *Wheeler*, The Tribe and Intertribal Relations in Australia, pp. 46, 48n.

[3] *Mathews*, Australian Tribes; in Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, vol. XXXVIII, p. 942 sqq.

[4] Steinmetz asserts that the most advanced chieftainship is to be met with in the South-East part of the continent, less in Central and Southern Australia, and least in Western regions. — Studien zur ersten Entwicklung der Strafe, vol. II, p. 41.

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who exercise an influence over the others . . . These so-called chiefs are generally elderly men, who from prowess in war, force of character, or acknowledged sagacity, are allowed to take the lead in everything relating to the tribe». Moreover, in Torres Strait such people, says the same author, are generally wealthy men, owners of several wives, etc. [1] According to Messrs. Spencer and Gillen, there is no one among the central tribes to whom the term of chief or head of the tribe could be properly applied, yet the elder men who are the heads of the local groups superintend all the matters relating to the great ceremonial gatherings. [2] They also take charge of the sacred store-house, which is their most important duty. [3] These chiefs, among the Arunta called *alatunja*, call together the elder men to settle all the civil and criminal matters, and their own opinion carries an amount of weight which is dependent on their reputation. Moreover, in some instances at least »the post is one which within certain limits is hereditary, passing from father to son». [4] Yet when large numbers of the tribe gather together, some of the oldest men are of little if any account, whereas others »not so old as they were, but more learned in ancient lore and skilled in matters of magic were those, who settled everything». [5] Among some of these groups the *alatunja* was at the same time the sole medicine man; in others special men had charge of these duties. [6] On the other hand, when small expeditions are sent to revenge the death of one of the members of the community, an able relative of the dead acts as the leader. [7] Of the natives

[1] *Macgillivray*, Voyage of »Rattlesnake», vol. II, p. 27 sq.; cf. also p. 8, and vol. I, pp. 148, 151; — Reports of the Cambridge Expedition to Torres Straits, vol. V, p. 265; cf. pp. 263 sqq., 273, 276.

[2] *Spencer* and *Gillen*, The Northern Tribes of Central Australia, p. 20 sqq.; — *Iidem*, The Native Tribes of Central Australia, pp. 10 sq., 16; cf. p. 280; — *Iidem*, Across Australia, vol. I, p. 232 sq.; vol. II, p. 256.

[3] The Northern Tribes, p. 28; — The Native Tribes, p. 11; cf. p. 154.

[4] The Native Tribes, p. 10.

[5] Op. cit. p. 12.

[6] Op. cit. p. 16.

[7] Across Australia, vol. II, p. 293; — The Northern Tribes, p. 25 sq.

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of Port Lincoln, Schürmann asserts that they have no chiefs or any acknowledged superior authority. Considerable deference is, however, shown to old men, this being due partly to »the respect which superior age and experience inspire», but it is at the same time »greatly increased and kept up by the superstitious awe of certain mysterious rites known only to the grown-up men». [1] Similarly, »it is remarkable», says Wyatt, of the Adelaide and Encounter Bay natives, »that none of the tribes appear to be under a chief». Yet some influence is exercised by the old men and especially by those among them possessing superior physical strength and courage, as also »by those who practise charms». [2] Among the Narrinyeri, says Taplin, each tribe has its chief, who is »the leader in war and whose person is carefully guarded in the battle by the warriors of his clan». On the other hand, the chieftainship is not hereditary, but elective. Owing to this, other able men also can be elected; thus once one of the chiefs »was not the most warlike or athletic, but was chosen by his tribe», Taplin remarks, »for his wisdom, moderation, and good temper». Besides, whatever may be the capacity of a warlike chief, »the most real authority exercised by the chief and his supporters is enforced by means of witchcraft». [3] In his description of the tribes of South-East Australia, Howitt observes that a man of persuasive eloquence, a skilful and brave fighting man and a powerful medicine man, was once the chief among the Dieri, [4] while, according to Gason, their chiefs are, as a rule, »natives of influence». [5] In the Tongaranga tribe of the Itchumundi nation authority is exercised by the headman and the elders, who manage all the affairs, such as »the allotment

[1] *Schürmann*, The Aboriginal Tribes of Port Lincoln; in *Woods*, Native Tribes of South Australia, p. 226.

[2] *Wyatt*, The Adelaide and Encounter Bay Aboriginal Tribes; in *Woods*, Op. cit. p. 168.

[3] *Taplin*, The Narrinyeri; in *Woods*, Op. cit. p. 32.

[4] *Howitt*, The Native Tribes of S. E. Australia, p. 297 sq.

[5] *Gason*, The Manners and Customs of the Dieyerie Tribe; in *Woods*, Op. cit. p. 263.

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of wives, ceremonies for making rain, and such like». [1] Among the Wümbaio, a chief must have age, personal prowess, talents as a leader, and a clever tongue. A magician would not necessarily be a headman on account of his skill, although that might happen. [2] The oldest man of the tribe among the Theddara was recognized as chief, yet whenever an attack was planned the ablest warrior acted, as a rule, as leader. [3] In the Ngarigo and Wolgol tribes, the headman combined the office with that of medicine-man, while some old men were war leaders. [4] Among the Southern tribes of the Kamilaroi the position of the two or three headmen of the tribal divisions was one of influence and authority depending above all upon the valour of the individual. Thus a distinguished warrior or orator would become a chief, and his son, if valiant, would possibly succeed him. »The oldest headman would be the chief or principal man in the council of elders. He could carry a measure by his own voice, as the Kamiloroi», says Howitt, »have great respect for age». [5] In the Southern Wiradjuri a headman »is always a medicine-man». Moreover, the office was hereditary, for a son would succeed to it if he possessed any oratorical or other eminent ability. [6] As for the Wakelbura tribe, the strongest and best fighting men were »listened to» in a debate, and the aged men had also some little authority. [7] Similarly in the Bigambui tribe, the headman was the best warrior. [8] Among all the Kulin tribes, the old men govern their tribe, yet some of them, called *Ngurungaeta*, are more influential than the others. »If a man was sensible, spoke straight, and did harm to no one, people would listen to him and obey him. Such a man would certainly become a *Ngurun-*

[1] *Howitt*, Op. cit. p. 301.
[2] Loc. cit.
[3] Op. cit. p. 302.
[4] Loc. cit.
[5] Op. cit. p. 302 sq.
[6] Op. cit. p. 303.
[7] Loc. cit.
[8] Op. cit. p. 304.

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gaeta, if his father was one before him». [1] Moreover, able warriors or orators could also ascend from the leadership of a local group to that of an entire tribe. [2] In the Yerakla-mining tribe the medicine-men are headmen. [3] This is the case also among the Yin tribe, although in order to be fitted for his office the chief, called *Gommera*, must be also aged, able to speak several dialects, a good fighting man, and above all able to perform »those feats of magic which the *Gommeras* exhibit at the initiation ceremonies». [4] Among the Geawel-gol the best warrior would be recognized as »principal adviser», and he would have authority by consent of the elders. Moreover, if his son, too, proved to be an able warrior, he might succeed his father in the leadership; otherwise a medicine-man might act as chief. In any case, however, this leader is only a *primus inter pares* and liable to be set aside by the old men, if his directions are disapproved of. [5] As for the Kurnai, Howitt observes that »a man's authority increased with years»; yet in one case at least this tribe had two chiefs: one was a great warrior, the other less so, »but he was also a great medicine-man». [6] Similar statements, broadly speaking, are given as regards the natives in other parts of Australia as well. [7]

Owing to the fact that the authors quoted by him have not always been fully reliable, Steinmetz sums up his inquiry into the character of chieftainship among these natives as follows: — The medicine-man is the most influential man in his tribe, though possibly the best hunter and warrior may compete with him in this respect; [8] while Wheeler asserts that »there seems

[1] Op. cit. p. 307.
[2] Op. cit. p. 308.
[3] Op. cit. p. 313.
[4] Op. cit. p. 314.
[5] Op. cit. p. 316.
[6] Op. cit. p. 317.
[7] *Westermarck*, History of Human Marriage, p. 45; — *Wheeler*, The Tribe and Intertribal Relations in Australia, p. 50 sq.
[8] »Der Zauberer ist die bedeutendste Person im Stamme, höchstens concurrirt mit ihm der beste Jäger und Krieger». — *Steinmetz*, Studien zur

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to be a strong local organization under headmen throughout Australia, the only difference being that in the central area the headmen are primarily totemic». [1]

In his description of the Wagawaga and Tubetube in New Guinea, Dr. Seligmann points out that they had no proper tribal or clan chiefs; certain men were, however, recognized as important. These were oldish men and their importance had not come to them from their maternal uncles, but was largely due to the prominent part they took in the feasts. »The fact that such men would readily be credited with some knowledge of magic would increase their reputation and cause their opinions to carry weight in the councils of the old men». Moreover, they were usually rich men. On the other hand, »there were no war chiefs, but merely leaders of individual war parties». Most of the wars were simply acts of revenge. »Accordingly a close kinsman of the deceased was appointed chief . . . and however well he conducted operations, it was only an accident that could again make him a leader of a war party». [2]

According to Messrs Sarasin, the Toala, the Troglodytes in Celebes, have a chief called *Balisao*, whose office is hereditary. A woman can become chief also, though in this case her husband has charge of the duties, which consist in settling small disputes and controlling the strictly monogamous matrimonial conditions and matters of property. [3] No wars are waged. [4] Together with *Balisao*, the eldest male member of the community or *Ada* makes the offerings in order to secure material prosperity to the people. [5] The so-called Lower Nagas have no chiefs, says Dalton. They appoint a spokesman, who has »the reputation of superior

ersten Entwicklung der Strafe, vol. II, p. 40; quoting *Jung*, Weltteil Australien, p. 140.

[1] *Wheeler*, Op. cit. p. 50. — See also *Thomas*, Natives of Australia, p. 143 sq.

[2] *Seligmann*, The Melanesians, p. 453.

[3] *Sarasin*, Reisen auf Celebes, vol. II, p. 276.

[4] Op. cit. vol. II, p. 277.

[5] Op. cit. vol. II, p. 290.

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wisdom, or perhaps, more frequently, the influence of wealth». [1] Of the Veddas Dr. Seligmann states that »there is no system of hereditary chieftainship». [2] Each group has its senior; [3] in one instance we read that »the most intelligent man... obviously ruled the community by force of character, coupled with the fact that he was a shaman». [4] According to other observers, a Vedda clan is governed by the eldest or most intelligent member; he has the charge of the division of food, he settles disputes, and he also represents the community when strangers are met. [5] Hence, Messrs. Sarasin remark, we find here the first traces of government. [6]

According to Nelson, the Alaskan Eskimo have no recognized chiefs except such as gain a certain influence through »wisdom, age, wealth, or shamanism». The old men are listened to with respect and among these again there are usually one or more in each village who by their knowledge of the traditions, customs and rites connected with the festivals, are deferred to and act as »chief advisers of the community». In some cases such headmen may be succeeded by their sons if these have the necessary qualities. [7] On the other hand, neither did they have any recognized war leaders; »each fought as he pleased with the

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[1] *Dalton*, Ethnology of Bengal, p. 42.

[2] *Seligmann*, The Veddas, p. 62.

[3] Op. cit. p. 38.

[4] Op. cit. p. 86.

[5] *Sarasin*, Ergebnisse naturwissenschaftlicher Forschungen auf Ceylon, vol. III, p. 486; cf. p. 482.

[6] »Wir sehen bei den Weddas nur die ersten Spuren einer Regierung, indem Alter, verbunden mit Intelligenz ein gewisses Ansehen mit sich bringt, mit welch letzterem indessen keine Vorrechte sich verbinden; es ist Ansehen vorhanden, aber keine Macht». — Op. cit. vol. III, p. 486; cf. p. 468.

[7] *Nelson*, Eskimo about Bering Strait; in 18:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 304. — For the Eskimo in general, see *e. g. Bancroft*, The Native Races of the Pacific States, vol. I, p. 65; — *Murdoch*, Ethnographical Results of the Point Barrow Expedition; in 9:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. pp. 42, 427; — *Rink*, The Eskimo Tribes, pp. 24, 26; cf. p. 16.

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exception that some of the older men had general supervision and control of the expedition». [1] Speaking of the medicine-man among the Ten'a Indians, Mr. Jetté states: — »For these tribes he is the nearest approach to a chief, a priest, and a physician: to a chief because he practically forms and models the public opinion, the only rule among the Ten'a, to a priest because he acts as the intermediary between the visible and the invisible world, to a physician, because his power enables him to cast away devils by which diseases are caused». [2] An old Omaha legend tells of the origin of an established government among them as follows: — The people said, »let us appoint men who shall preserve order». Accordingly they selected »the wisest, the most thoughtful, generous and kind», and these consulted together and agreed upon a council of seven who should govern the people. [3] On the other hand, we read of the Navaho Indians that »up to a comparatively recent period they have existed principally by warand plunder»; [4] yet they are without chiefs in the ordinary meaning of the term, although there are men who occupy prominent positions and exercise a kind of semi-authority, »chiefs by courtesy as it were,» says Mindeleff. [5] Wealth, however, gives »additional influence» to their class of aristocracy. [6] Of the neolithic Guyaki in Paraguay, Vogt states that they had a chief who was their priest, too. Thus, when the people were assembled, he ascended a high tree, and turning his eyes towards the sky, he prayed, especially in times of scarcity and when starting out to hunting. [7] The Fuegian clans have some

[1] *Nelson*, Op. cit. p. 329.

[2] *Jetté*, On the Medicine-Man of the Ten'a; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1907, p. 163 sq.

[3] *Fletcher* and *La Flesche*, The Omaha Tribe; in 27:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 74.

[4] *Mindeleff*, Navaho Houses; in 17:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 502.

[5] Op. cit. p. 486.

[6] *Davis*, El Gringo, p. 413; cf. p. 408.

[7] *Vogt*, Ethnographie der Guayaki Indianer; in Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1902, p. 37.

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sort of chiefs; [1] on the other hand in wars, »the restraint and direction of their elders, advised as they are by the doctors, is sufficient».[2] Among the Patagonians chiefs were richer than the other people [3] and were the leaders in war. [4] According to Krapf, the Wakamba have no firmly established government whatever. »Wealth, a ready flow of language, an imposing personal appearance, and above all, the reputation of being a magician and rain-maker, are the surest means by which a Mkamba can attain power and importance and secure the obedience of his countrymen». [5] Among the Wassandani and Wanege in East Africa the magicians and rain-makers are the sole chiefs, [6] while among the Hottentots »usually the person of greatest property is considered to be the chief». [7]

Moreover, the constant rise of new communities also calls forth new rulers. Thus, to quote some instances, an Eskimo may form a group and become as a matter of course its leader; but he has to provide for his group if he does not wish to see the people scattered. [8] An able man among the Ba-Yanzi in South-Western Congo »will often leave his village and set up as a petty chief on his own account». [9] Uganda is said to have originated through the success of a hunter in gathering around him Negroes, who finally invited him to become their chief.[10]

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[1] *Darwin*, The Descent of Man, vol. I, p. 167; — *Westermarck*, History of Human Marriage, p. 44 sq.

[2] *King* and *Fitzroy*, Voyages of the »Adventure» and »Beagle», vol. II, p. 179.

[3] Op. cit. vol. II, p. 152.

[4] Op. cit. vol. II, pp. 159, 164.

[5] *Krapf*, Travels and Missionary Labours in East Africa, p. 355.

[6] *Baumann*, Durch Massailand, p. 193.

[7] *Thomson*, Travels in Southern Africa, vol. II, p. 30.

[8] *Nelson*, Eskimo about Bering Strait; in 18:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 303.

[9] *Torday* and *Joyce*, Ethnology of the S. W. Congo; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1907, p. 139. See also p. 146.

[10] *Johnston*, The Uganda Protectorate, vol. II, p. 679 sq.

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The instances quoted throw some light upon the first beginnings of a chieftainship beyond the simple authority of elders. In some cases the eldest male member of the group was seen to be the leader; in others magicians, able orators, or the boldest warriors have won the sway over their people; in some again, wealth as such has dominated. On the whole, which of these various forms of rudimentary chieftainship has succeeded in becoming the most prevalent amongst savages? There is, of course, foremost the theory that owing to the incessant state of savage warfare the rule of the boldest warriors has become the normal type of savage chieftainship. [1] As soon, however, as it becomes evident that the warlike character of savage life has been greatly exaggerated and, further, that too much stress has been laid on the integrating value of primitive wars, there seems to be no sufficient reason to assume that wars could constitute so universal a phenomenon that protection against human foes is the main form of help which primitive communities require of their leaders, so that the war leaders gradually get an increasing sway over them. On the contrary, the fact observed above, that the war leader is, in some instances at least, the nearest relative seeking for revenge, shows at once that the more savage warfare consists of mere acts of revenge, the less does it tend to the rise of a firmly-established chieftainship. This inference is also corroborated by the fact that peaceful communities must also be held to have a tendency to obtain a more settled form of government than that simply of the rule of elderly men. Frazer, on the other hand, in strongly opposing »the idea that the first king was simply the strongest and bravest man of his tribe», [2] has been inclined, at least to some extent, [3] to the view that magicians as the most intelligent men in the group have been the earliest chiefs. [4] »Thus so far as the public profession of magic affected the constitution of savage society, it tended

[1] *See infra*, chap. I.

[2] *Frazer*, The History of Early Kingship, p. 36.

[3] *Frazer*, The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings, vol. I, pp. 332 sqq, 420 sqq. — *Idem.* Early Kingship, pp. 82.

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to place the control of affairs in the hands of the ablest man: it shifted the balance of power from the many to the one: it substituted a monarchy for a democracy, or rather for an oligarchy of old men». [1] According to the hypothesis of Webster, »probably the earliest ruler is often only the highest in the secret society; his power derived from his association with it and his orders executed by it». [2]

As far, however, as the instances just quoted yield any guidance, it seems difficult in this way to lay down a clearly-defined principle for the origin of primitive chieftainship. The occurrence of some magicians as chiefs does not explain the hold of certain able warriors, nor on the other hand does the authority of men skilled in ancient lore and sacred ceremonies give an immediate explanation of the great authority wielded by wealthy men. Thus an answer to the question, how the permanent chieftainship arose, must be wide enough not only to include all the various forms of the most primitive chieftainship just mentioned, but to cover likewise causes constant enough to bring about the emergence of a permanent chieftainship from these various tendencies to an advance on the mere rule of elders.

At the first glance the difference between the various forms of the first appearance of a special chieftainship may seem to be considerable. Yet it is more superficial than real. It is certainly true that the rule of the elders changes in the examples *pari passu* with the passing of the generations. The oldest we found were in some instances superseded by younger members who were more skilled in the ancient lore and the important ceremonies, while warriors might be succeeded by magicians. Yet behind all the cases there is to be found a leading principle.

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[1] *Frazer*, Early Kingship, p. 84.

Frazer's view that *e. g.* in Africa (Golden Bough, vol. I, p. 246 sqq.), besides priestly chiefs, war leaders are to be met with in the same communities has been anticipated, *e. g.* by Bastian. See for instance »Die deutsche Expedition an der Loango-Küste», vol. II, p. 230, and »Die Culturländer des Alten America,» passim.

[2] *Webster*, Secret Societies, p. 108; cf. pp. 93, 104, passim.

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The men who rise in influence above the other elders are thought to work for the benefit of their communities more successfully than the others; if not able or willing to do that, they will in turn lose their hold over the people. If, now, the life of savage men is not so entirely occupied by warlike activities as to call forth a lasting predominance of the strongest war leaders, there must be some other more constant features which appear to them, whether warlike or not, as more important, and therefore enable skilful individuals permanently to display their usefulness to the communities.

Contrary to the view that early integration was generally caused by co-operation in war, it was observed in the previous chapter that the main condition of primitive consolidation was the possibility of getting food. It must consequently be one of the main efforts of the men who have influence over their people, to procure those quantities of food the group required in order not to be compelled to scatter or to perish. Hence, as it was also noticed above, the men who successfully provided for their people in life were still thought after death to take care of those they left behind. If this is the case with individuals in general, it cannot be less true of those who have acted in their lifetime as the leaders of their communities. Speaking of the Maori, Shortland [1] observes that the *Atua*, or the spirits of the departed chiefs, had a special care for the prosperity of their survivors. Of the Nyanza, to the South of Lake Nyanza, we read that their departed chief is thought still to hold »a directing influence on the well-being of the tribe». [2] And the Ponka believe that the chiefs, »although long dead, are still living and still exercise a care over the people and seek to promote their welfare; so we make the offering of food, the support of our life, in recognition of them as still our chiefs and caring for us». [3] On the other

[1] *Shortland*, Traditions and Superstitions of the Maori, p. 210.

[2] *Stannus*, Tribes of British Central Africa; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1910, p. 300.

[3] *Fletcher* and *La Flesche*, The Omaha Tribe; in 27:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 310.

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hand, as was also observed above, [1] the dead are in many, if not most of the cases, regarded as malevolent towards the living, and must accordingly be appeased. Be this as it may, the relation of primitive peoples to their spiritual world, generally speaking, is of the greatest importance to them; their welfare depends upon the attitude of the unseen powers. Moreover, this holds good of all savage communities, whether warlike or peaceful, and it is ever in evidence.

If this be the case, we have, perhaps, the key to the various forms of rudimentary chieftainship. When the duty of attending and appeasing the unseen powers was, as regards the family, incumbent on the head, why, in the circle of the elders, should not the men more able than their fellows, similarly believe themselves to be responsible for a benevolent attitude of the spirit world towards their people that it may send them that well-being in material and other respects which the community has need of? And if this be the case with the relation of men to he spirits they believe in, it is not less true with regard to savag e belief in other supernatural powers. The savage belief in the supernatural is not limited to the conviction that their dead ancestors send to them, for instance, favourable weather to ripen their crops, or that they otherwise care for their material welfare; they firmly believe that by means of magic also, man can influence his welfare. Everywhere magicians are thought to bring about favourable weather, cause fruit and crops to ripen, and help the hunter and the fisherman; [2] why should the

[1] *Supra* p. 146.

[2] *Seligmann*, The Veddas, pp. 34, 128, 202 sq., 237, 273 sqq., 283; — *Spencer* and *Gillen*, The Northern Tribes of Central Australia, p. 285, passim; — *Howitt*, The Native Tribes of S. E. Australia, p. 394 sq.; — *Siebert*, Sagen und Sitten der Dieri; in Globus, vol. XCVII, 1910, p. 55; — *Codrington*, The Melanesians, pp. 192, 200 sq.; — *Turner*, Nineteen Years in Polynesia, p. 89; — *Idem*, Samoa, p. 345; — *McClintock*, The Old North Trail, p. 320 sq.; — *Lumholtz*, Unknown Mexico, vol. I, pp. 225, 311, 323, 331, 353, 432, 519, 552; vol. II, pp. 7 sq., 10, 18, 189; — *Dobrizhoffer*, The Abipones, vol. II, p. 67; — *Kidd*, The Essential Kafir, pp. 102 sq., 115 sq., 155,

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magician, when also a chief, not make use of this skill? And again, if savages pay great respect to the men who, by means of the supernatural, procure what they want for their welfare, is it not self-evident that the abundance of some individuals, when liberally distributed, similarly fosters a sense of dependence and obedience? To the savage mind the important thing is not to know in what form he obtains his livelihood, but the fact that he does indeed obtain it. This, too, is why every person, whether a chief or not, enjoys a high reputation who is successful in getting food. »Rain-making», says Grant, of the natives of South Africa, »is a greater power in the eyes of natives than that of the *assegai*».[1] Speaking of the Indians of North America, Powell states that he was »the most valuable person in the community who supplied it with the most of its necessities. For this reason the successful hunter or fisherman was always held

169; — *Krapf*, Travels, pp. 170, 252; — *Gottschling*, The Bawenda; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1905, p. 379 sq.; — *Garbutt*, Native Witchcraft; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1909, pp. 547 sq., 550; — *Hobley*, Kavirondo; in Geographical Journal, 1898, vol. XII, p. 368.

Of the influence of strangers on the weather, two instances may be quoted. Of the visit of M. Fallières to Algeria in April, 1911, a telegram to the *Times* states: — »It is a curious fact that wherever the President proceeds, his arrival is heralded by rainstorms. During the course of a railway journey yesterday, a halt was made at Sidi-bu-Ali . . . A number of Arabs informed the President that they were very glad to see him because he was wearing green spurs. This remark caused much astonishment, and the natives proceeded to explain that visitors were divided into two classes — those who wore green spurs and those who wore red ones. The former, according to the popular superstition, brought with them the rain, which was so beneficial to the crops, while the latter were looked upon with apprehension because of the drought which followed upon their visit.» — The *Times*, April, 22:nd, 1911.

Westermarck gives similar information as regards the natives in Morocco. — The Moral Ideas, vol. I, p. 582.

With regard to the belief of the Moors in the influence of magic in general on crops and the weather, see *Westermarck*, Ceremonies and Beliefs connected with Agriculture in Morocco, passim.

[1] *Grant*, Magato and his Tribe; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1905, p. 267.

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high in honour, and the woman who gathered great store of seeds, fruits or roots, or who cultivated a good cornfield, was one who commanded the respect and received the highest approbation of the people». [1] Owing to this tendency to appreciate the social value of material activity, we meet also among savages with hunting, industrial, or other similar chiefs. [2] On the other hand, it is worthy of remark that even the success of wealthy people may be ascribed more to their supposed skill in magic than to their industry and thrift. [3]

The instances quoted above show that the rank of chieftainship had, in some cases at least, a tendency to become hereditary if the successor proved to be an able man. And when once this had started, whether in the paternal or maternal line of descent, [4] the process was certainly likely to go further, along with the gradual growth in the framework of social organization. When a dead chief was supposed still to have control over the fate of the living, and when on the nearest relative there devolved the duty of making offerings to him, would it not be most likely to be through him that the ghost of the important ancestor was prepared to act for the benefit of the whole community? And when a magician or a wealthy man took care of his family in other respects, why should not his rank, his skill or wealth be inherited by an able relative? For the purpose of illustration, instances may be quoted. In his description of the Fijian system

[1] *Powell*, Indian Linguistic Families; in 7:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 35.

[2] *Von der Decken*, Reisen, vol. II, p. 105; — *Merker*, Die Masai, p. 236; — *Lenz*, Wanderungen in Afrika, p. 201; — *Williams* and *Calvert*, Fiji and the Fijians, vol. I, p. 71; — *Erskine*, Islands of the Western Pacific, pp. 167, 177, 181, 189; — *Spencer*, Principles of Sociology, vol. I, p. 551, vol. II, p. 195; *Fletcher* and *La Flesche*, The Omaha Tribe; in 27:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. passim; — *Kane*, Wanderings, pp. 309, 311; — *Dunn*, History of Oregon, p. 312; — *Bancroft*, The Native Races of the Pacific States, vol. I, p. 565.

[3] *Seligmann*, The Melanesians, p. 453.

[4] See *supra*, p. 141 sq.; — cf. also *Giddings*, Elements of Sociology, p. 254 sqq.

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of hereditary rule, Mr. Thomson states: — »Generations came and went; the tribe had increased from tens to hundreds, but still the eldest son of the eldest, who carried in his veins the blood of the common ancestor ... was venerated as the head of the tribe. The ancestor was not forgotten, but he was now translated into *Ka-lou-vu*» (*i. e.* Root God). »His descendant, the tribal chief, is set within the pale of *tabu*, his will may not be disobeyed ... without incurring the wrath of the unseen». [1] A similar statement is made by Mr. Kidd about the natives of South Africa: all the tribes are divided into clans, each of which consists of a group of families. Accordingly, a paramount chief has to »watch for the interests of the entire tribe; the petty chiefs have to watch the interests of the various clans; the headmen have to watch the interests of their respective groups of families, and the father has to watch the interests of his family.» Moreover, in some of the tribes the chief is still assisted by and responsible to the council of elders, in others he may already be an absolute tyrant. [2] To these instances a host of others more or less to the same effect could be added; [3] in fact, a considerable number of them will be presented in the following chapters.

On the other hand, too much stress must not be laid upon the importance of hereditary rights in the primitive chieftainship, as they by no means always reach such strength as not to be disregarded without much difficulty if peculiar circumstances demand it. Above all, the nearest heir must be an able man,

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[1] *Thomson*, The Fijians, p. 58 sq.

[2] *Kidd*, Kafir Socialism, p. 5.

[3] For further particulars, see *Turner*, Nineteen Years in Polynesia, pp. 280, 284; — *Featherman*, Social History of the Races of Mankind, vol. II, pp. 89 sqq., 155 sq., passim; — *Munzinger*, Ostafrikanische Studien, p. 232 sqq.; — *Northcote*, The Nilotic Kavirondo; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1907, p. 59 sq.; — *Featherman*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 8, passim; — *Pauthier*, Chine, p. 135; — *Dahn*, Die Könige der Germanen, vol. I, p. 25, passim; — *Freeman*, English Constitution, p. 9 sqq.; — *Skene*, Celtic Scotland, vol. III, pp. 140, 328; — *Mitchell*, History of the Highlands, p. 295; — *Spencer*, Principles of Sociology, vol. II, p. 343; vol. III, p. 423 sq.

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otherwise some other relative may be elected, [1] or some »pretender» or »reformer» may succeed in becoming chief. As will be seen later, [2] this can be done, especially by individuals more intelligent and able than the rest of the people, by magicians, warriors, or wealthy men, in short by such men in general as were noticed to have special influence in the rudimentary council of the elders. Nor is, indeed, the establishment of a hereditary chieftainship of vital importance to primitive rule. That savage communities recognize a permanent rule, is the paramount point in our investigation, not the rights of certain families to the supreme authority.

How far these various inferences, made on the basis of the instances quoted above which throw light upon the primitive chieftainship as just emerging from the rudimentary authority of elders, are in accordance with further facts, will be seen presently, when we come to those instances in which an already firmly-established chieftainship is to be met with. If in this case the holders of a permanent chieftainship are found to be responsible for the general welfare of their communities, that is, are seen worshipping and appeasing the invisible powers in order to keep their own people from supernatural danger, as well as giving them the power, through various means, natural or supernatural, to obtain their livelihood, then the main duty of the savage chieftainship has certainly been to preserve their communities rather in the general struggle for life than in a mere struggle against foes. Then also the character of these duties is in and by itself a definite answer to the question of the origin of primitive chieftainship.

[1] *Maine*, The Early History of Institutions, p. 117; — *Freeman*, English Constitution, vol. I, p. 29; — *Skene*, Celtic Scotland, vol. III, p. 328; and *infra*, chapters VII, VIII.

[2] See *infra*, chapter VIII.

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CHAPTER VII

THE CHARACTER OF PRIMITIVE CHIEFTAINSHIP

Corresponding to the distinction between a more primitive and a more advanced form of savage warfare, a distinction must also be made between an earlier form of savage chieftainship and a later one existing among those more advanced communities which wage wars for the purpose of booty and conquest. As the investigation into savage warfare was restricted in the previous chapters to the earlier and more rude forms of savage warfare, so also in the following chapters attention will be paid only to instances of the said primitive chieftainship and to such others where traces of the earlier stage are still to be seen.

Messrs. McKenney and Hall give the following account of tribal government among the North American Indians in general: — »Each tribe had two descriptions of officers, performing different duties, and acting independent of one another. The village or peace chiefs directed the civil concerns of the government. They were usually hereditary or elected from particular families. Among some of the tribes the descent was in the direct line from father to son; among others it was in the collateral line from the uncle to nephew ... Women were sometimes but not often eligible to authority ... The rank of these chiefs was fixed and generally one of them was the acknowledged head of the tribe, and the others were his counsel-

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lors ... These chiefs adjusted any disputes existing among the individuals or families of the tribe; assigned to all their proper hunting districts; received and transmitted messages from and to other tribes; conducted and controlled their great feasts and religious festivals, and concluded peace». [1] Moreover, they had an elective war captain or war chief and »in the selection of these warriors the accident of birth had no influence», but only the real capacity and prowess of the warriors. [2] It seems, however, as has been pointed out by Dr. Elander, [3] that the division in question was characteristic of the clan rather than the tribe — a confusion which occurs in the following statements as well. Among the Sauks, the position of peace chief was hereditary, while that of war chief was elective. [4] The former was »nominally the first man in the tribe». He presided at the councils, all matters of importance were carried out in his name, and he was »saluted by the patriarchal title of Father». [5] In his description of the political organization of the Ojibway, or Chippeway Indians, Mr. Jones [6] states that the office of civil chieftainship »is hereditary, but not always conferred on the eldest son. When a vacancy occurs, the surviving chiefs and principal men meet in council, and then select the most suitable person out of the family. The eldest son has the first consideration; but if he is deficient in any of the qualifications which they consider necessary, they select the next best qualified». [7] Further, »the office of war chief is not hereditary, but the tribe in council confer this honour on those who have distinguished themselves by bravery and wisdom. Such chiefs always take the lead in their wars, while the civil chiefs manage their general

[1] *McKenney* and *Hall*, History of the Indian Tribes of North America, vol. III, p. 10.

[2] Loc. cit.

[3] The Chief of the Indian Clan in North America, pp. 24, 38.

[4] *McKenney* and *Hall*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 71; vol. II, pp. 55, 68, 229.

[5] Op. cit. vol. II, p. 67.

[6] *Jones*, The Ojebway Indians, p. 107.

[7] Op. cit. p. 108.

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matters at home». Finally, »the civil chiefs, who in general inherit their chieftainship by descent, are not expected to go to the field of action. They seldom, however, neglect a good opportunity of displaying their wisdom, skill and bravery, and often accompany their people and engage in the conflict». But even in this case the elected war chief acts as the real leader. [1] This division of the chieftainship among the Ojibway is observed by Messrs. McKenney and Hall also. [2] The same order of things seems to have prevailed among the Menomini, [3] the Issati, the Nadouessians,[4] the Hurons, and also the Delaware Indians. [5] When the Senecas, the Onondagos, the Kayugas, the Oneidas, and the Mohawks founded the League of the Iroquois, which the Tuscaroras also joined, the civil government devolved on fifty hereditary *sachems*. [6] No one *sachem* could go out to war in his official capacity as a civil ruler. If disposed to take the war-path »he laid aside his civil office for the time being and became a common warrior». [7] Moreover, the Iroquois had no distinct class of war chiefs raised up and set apart to command in time of war. This again was due to the fact that »all military operations were left entirely to private enterprise and to the systems of voluntary service, the *sachems* seeking rather to repress and restrain than to encourage the martial ardor of the people». [8] There is hardly any doubt that, previous to the establishment of the league, the various units already had a civil government; because it seems absurd to suppose that these

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[1] Op. cit. p. 130.

[2] *McKenney* and *Hall*, Op. cit. vol. II, p. 177.

[3] *Hoffman*, The Menomini Indians; in 14:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 43 sq.

[4] *Hennepin*, Discovery of a Vast Country in America, vol. I, pp. 157 sq., 167, 175; vol. II, p. 74.

[5] *Carver*, Travels through the Interior of North America, p. 257; — *Bastian*, Die Culturländer des Alten America, vol. I, p. 652 n 1; cf. p. 668 n 4.

[6] *Morgan*, League of the Iroquois, p. 62 sq.

[7] Op. cit. p. 72.

[8] Op. cit. pp. 72, 339.

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fierce warriors would have consented to abolish an earlier military chieftainship in favour of a new civil form of government. [1] Morgan describes these units as divided into tribes, but here again it seems that these smaller components really were clans and that the league was subsequently founded by six tribes. In this case, it follows as a matter of course that the fifty *sachems* were simply so many clan chiefs, on whom devolved, as we have already seen, all the duties of peace chiefs. [2] Later on, however, *pari passu* with the increasing military activity, permanent leaders were required, and consequently two hereditary »supreme military chieftaincies» were established, both of which belonged to the Wolf and Turtle »tribes» of the Senecas. [3]

According to Mr. Mooney, [4] the governmental authority among the Cherokee Indians was vested in a hereditary peace chieftainship, whereas the war chief was elected. Moreover, their old peace chief, Yonaguska, at any rate, who died in 1839, was at the same time their high priest. [5] Other authors, like McKenney and Hall, [6] maintain that the peace chief could carry on blood-revenge. As to the Creek Indians, [7] we meet among them with the same division, yet the hereditary peace chief is reported to have acted occasionally as war leader also. Their principal leader was called »Great Sun». Their government »unlike the pure democraties . . . was strong and even despotic». The »Great Sun» was an »object of reverence and almost veneration, this being due to the fact that the sun was the great object of religious adoration». [8] In his description of the Semi-

[1] Op. cit. p. 101 n.

[2] Op. cit. p. 74; — *Frazer*, Totemism and Exogamy, vol. III, p. 7 sq.; — *Elander*, Op. cit. p. 33 sq.

[3] *Morgan*, Op. cit. p. 73.

[4] Myths of the Cherokee; in 19:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 162 sq.; — cf. *McKenney* and *Hall*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 185.

[5] *Mooney*, Loc. cit.

[6] *McKenney* and *Hall*, Op. cit. vol. II, p. 223.

[7] *Gatschet*, The Creek Indians, pp. 159, 169 sq.

[8] *McKenney* and *Hall*, Op. cit. vol. III, p. 41; cf. also vol. I, p. 14 sq. and vol. II, p. 68.

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noli, who belonged to the same Creek nation, Mr. Gatschet [1] writes: — »The executive officer of each town is the *miko* or chief, formerly called »king» by the whites. His duty is to superintend all public and domestic concerns ... When the *miko* dies the next of kin in the maternal line succeeds him, usually his nephew, if he is fit for the office ... The council appoints the great warriors». [2] According to MacCauley, [3] the hereditary chief is also the chief medicine-man of the community. Similarly, the Fox, or Musquakee, [4] and the Pawnee [5] Indians had their ordinary peace chiefs. Speaking of the social organization of the Kiowa, Mooney [6] affirms that their six groups »are not clans or gentes (social), based on marriage regulations, but sub-tribes (political), each division having had originally its own chief of the tribe, with certain peculiarities of dialect and sometimes its special 'medicine' or religious ceremonial». The tribal government was committed to the care of a head chief, together with the petty chiefs of the groups and war leaders. [7] According to Dr. Dorsey, among the Omaha »civil and religious government are scarcely differentiated, but military government is almost entirely so». [8] In civil affairs the chiefs exercise legislative, executive, and judicial functions. [9] As there is no distinct order of priests, some of the religious functions are performed by the regular chiefs, others by the keepers

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[1] *Gatschet*, A Migration Legend of the Creek Indians, p. 156.

[2] Op. cit. pp. 157, 159; cf. p. 168 sq.; — *McKenney* and *Hall*, Op. cit. vol. II, p. 189.

[3] *MacCauley*, The Seminole Indians; in 5:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 508 sq.

[4] *McKenney* and *Hall*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 113.

[5] Op. cit. vol. II, p. 163.

[6] *Mooney*, Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians; in 17:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 228.

[7] Op. cit. p. 233.

[8] *Dorsey*, Omaha Sociology; in 3:rd Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 356; cf. p. 363.

[9] Op. cit. p. 216.

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of the sacred pipes. [1] On the other hand, these chiefs, »being the civil and religious leaders of the people, cannot serve as captains or even as subordinate officers of a war party. Nor can they join such a party unless it be a large one». [2] Yet the peace negotiations were concluded by them. [3] Other observers, Miss Fletcher, and Mr. La Flesche, an Omaha himself, give the following particulars: The Omaha had earlier a hereditary chieftainship until a council of seven was appointed to take charge of all the matters pertaining to the tribe; two of these seven chiefs were of the highest rank. [4] Moreover, »upon the *Ho"'ga* (gens) devolved the leadership in the tribe», and the »gens» itself was divided into two »subgentes». The one of these was the keeper of the »Sacred Pole, which was allied to Thunder and the supernatural powers and symbolized the authority of the chiefs — an authority believed to be derived from *Wako"'da*» (the Great Spirit). To the other subdivision were committed the physical welfare of the tribe and the control of private war expeditions, which disturbed the tranquillity of the community. [5] As for the leadership of these war parties, it devolved on the originator of them. [6] »It was only in defensive warfare that a chief of the Council of Seven could go to war»; [7] hence they did not take part in any of the ceremonies on the eve of private warfare. [8] Once only in the history of the tribe was an individual charged with the supreme authority of the entire tribe during a war of revenge. But in this case also the temporary leader was at the same time the offended person, and moreover

1 Op. cit. pp. 356, 363.

2 Op. cit. pp. 217, 368. — Cf. also *Idem*, Siouan Sociology; in 15:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 214.

3 *Dorsey*, Omaha Sociology, p. 217; cf. p. 368.

4 *Fletcher* and *La Flesche*, The Omaha Tribe; in 27:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 208; cf. pp. 212, 594.

5 Op. cit. p. 154; cf. pp. 142, 194 sq.

6 Op. cit. p. 431 sq., passim.

7 Op. cit. p. 425. See also p. 211.

8 Op. cit. p. 434; cf. p. 431.

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in this exceptional case »had received authority from a sacred pack». [1] Similarly among the Dakota, [2] the peace chiefs governed all civil and religious matters, and only in exceptional cases could they lead in war; while among the Ponka[3] and Kansas[4] the leadership in war devolved on elected chiefs, the permanent rule on peace chiefs. With regard to the other tribes of the Siouan, [5] among the Saponi [6] the chief added to his dignity the sacred character of a medicine-man, and thus the chief was a priest as well as a king. [7] A hereditary chief of the Teton tribe, as described by Messrs. McKenney and Hall, had never been distinguished either in war or as a hunter. [8] Similarly among the Winnebagois the peace chieftaincy was hereditary. [9] A like form of chieftainship prevailed among the Iowa [10] also. According to Mr. Dorsey, among the Osage Indians »headmen of the gentes are a sort of priests». [11]

When we turn to the tribes living still further West and North, there is much reason to believe that this same division existed among the Shoshone or Snake[12] and the Utah Indians[13] also. Thus the Occineechi, or Oakinackens, had two chiefs, »the one having charge of their hunting and agriculture, the other leading in war», says Mr. Mooney. [14] Another observer, Ross, [15]

1 Op. cit. p. 407.

2 *Dorsey*, Siouan Sociology; in 15:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. pp. 214, 222.

3 Op. cit. p. 222.

4 Op. cit. p. 232.

5 *McKenney* and *Hall*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 61 sq.; vol. III, p. 34.

6 *Mooney*, Siouan Tribes, p. 39.

7 Op. cit. p. 40.

8 *McKenney* and *Hall*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 51.

9 Op. cit. vol. III, p. 39.

10 Op. cit. vol. II, p. 59.

11 *Dorsey*, War Customs; in American Naturalist, vol. XVIII, p. 117.

12 *Dorsey*, A Study of Siouan Cults; in 11:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 375.

13 *Bancroft*, The Native Tribes of the Pacific States, vol. I, p. 435.

14 *Mooney*, Op. cit. p. 54.

15 *Ross*, Adventures, p. 293.

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states that the village chief »is the head of the tribe ... and holds his office by lineal descent: the latter (the war-leader) is elective and chosen by the voice or whim of the majority of the people». Moreover, the peace chiefs were at the same time entrusted with priestly duties. [1] On the tribal chief of the Blackfeet devolved the duty of conducting the solemn »Sun dances»; [2] this was due to the belief that he derived his origin from the sun, accordingly he called the sun »my father». [3] Thus, here again we meet with the hereditary principle in connection with priestly duties. [4] According to Cox, among the Flathead Indians, the principal chief of the tribe inherits his position, while as war captain is elected »that warrior in whom the greatest portion of wisdom, strength and bravery are combined. The election takes place every year; and it sometimes happens that the general in one campaign becomes a private in the next. This 'war chief', as they term him, has no authority whatever when at home, and is equally amenable as any of the tribe to the hereditary chief». [5] Mr. Dunn adds of the peace chief that he »is generally at the same time priest». [6] Thus, he assembles them to prayer, in which they all join in an occasional chorus. »He then exhorts them to good conduct. These customs were adopted before the arrival of Christian teachers among them». [7] The same sort of political organization was established among the Kootanais Indians. [8] According to the careful observations

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[1] *Ross*, Op. cit. pp. 96, 288 sq.; — *Idem*, Fur Hunters, vol. II, p. 94.

[2] *McClintock*, Old North Trail, pp. 286 sq., 296; cf. p. 506.

[3] Op. cit. p. 32.

[4] Op. cit. pp. 20, 31, 77 sq., 92, 96, 104.

[5] *Cox*, Adventures on the Columbia River, vol. I, p. 241; — *Dunn*, History of Oregon, p. 311 sq.; see also p. 98; — *Kane*, Wanderings, p. 175.

[6] *Dunn*, Op. cit. p. 315.

[7] *Scouler*, The Indian Tribes, N.-W. Coast of America; in Journ. Ethnol. Soc. vol. I, p. 247.

[8] *Ross*, Fur Hunters, vol. II, p. 172 sq. —Cf. also as to the Indians inhabiting the lands north of the sources of the Mississippi, *McKenney* and *Hall*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 59.

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made by Mr. Speck in 1904—5 and 1908, the Yuchi Indians have, besides matriarchal clan divisions, also two different societies, *viz.* the Chief and the Warrior Society. [1] »The main recognized function of the Chief Society is to manage the governmental affairs of the town so that peace is preserved. They are above all conservative in everything. If anything, the chiefs hold themselves above the warriors in general esteem. They are the thinkers, the speakers, the dignified superiors of the town». [2] Similarly, »in all affairs the Chief Society takes precedence». [3] Moreover, the tribe is divided into three towns, in each of which the town chief »is one of the shamans who retains the knowledge of the plants and rituals, [4] whereas the town of the tribal chief is, on account also of his religious duties, the centre of religious and political activity». [5] The peace chief fixes the day for the beginning of the harvest, [6] and he conducts all the festivities of the tribe. [7] The entire Warrior Society could start for a war expedition, although war parties, as a rule, consisted of a few warriors only. [8] According to Bancroft, a chief of the Haidah Indians »seems to be the principal sorcerer and indeed to possess little authority save from his connection with the preterhuman powers». [9] On the other hand, war expeditions were headed by elected captains. [10] This division of the sacerdotal peace chieftaincy and the office of elective war leaders seems to have been common among all the Nootka. [11] Thus,

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[1] *Speck*, Ethnology of the Yuchi Indians, p. 74.
[2] Op. cit. p. 76.
[3] Op. cit. p. 77.
[4] Op. cit. pp. 132, 135.
[5] Op. cit. p. 83.
[6] Op. cit. p. 114.
[7] Op. cit. pp. 119, 122.
[8] Op. cit. p. 84.
[9] *Bancroft*, The Native Races of the Pacific States, vol. I, p. 150.
[10] *Sproat*, Scenes and Studies, pp. 28, 187.
[11] *Bancroft*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 193 sq.; — *Dunn*, History of Oregon, p. 253 sq.

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of the Ahts in Vancouver Island, Sproat states that the hereditary chief »never joins an embassy nor leads an expedition in war». [1] This function is left to the war chiefs, who are »as a rule chosen for their special fitness . . . and not at all on account of their rank». [2]

Among the Pueblos, says Bancroft, »an organized system of government existed at the time of Coronato's expedition through their country; Castañeda, speaking of the province of Tiguex, says that the villages were governed by a council of old men». A somewhat similar system prevails among these people at the present time; each village selecting its own chief and a council. [3] Among the Moquis, the chieftainship is hereditary and the chief is assisted by a council. [4] Another account gives the following information: — »Among the Hopi or Moqui Indians, one of the principal branches of the Pueblo people, the governing body is composed of a council of hereditary clan-elders and chiefs of the religious fraternities. Of these officials one is a speaker-chief and another a war-chief; but there has never been a supreme chief among the Hopi. Each village has its own hereditary chief, who directs certain communal works». [5] In his description of the Pueblos living in New Mexico, Davis states that they elected a peace chief and a war leader. Of the influence of the latter the same author writes: — »In the piping time of peace he is a mere nobody and has neither power nor dignity of office wherewith to console himself». [6] Among the Sia, and likewise among the other Pueblos, Mrs. Mathilda Coxe Stevenson observes that the *ti'ämoni*, by virtue of his priestly office, is ex-officio chief executive and legislator. [7] He takes part in

[1] *Sproat*, Op. cit. p. 114.

[2] Op. cit. p. 115 sq.

[3] *Bancroft*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 546.

[4] Op. cit. vol. I. p. 547.

[5] Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico, vol. I, p. 565; quoted by *Frazer*, Totemism and Exogamy, vol. III, p. 206.

[6] *Davis*, El Gringo, p. 143.

[7] *Coxe Stevenson*, The Sia; in 11:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 16.

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war expeditions in virtue of his priestly functions, while the war chief acts as the real leader. [1] According to the same author, »the government of Zuñi is hierarchical». The supreme power is vested in the Rain priesthood and Bow priesthood; the former elects and dismisses the civil chiefs. [2] The so-called shaman, or *maleokami*, of the Huichol Indians is their actual chief, on whom the duty devolves of fixing the dates for all the feasts and religious observances in accordance with communications he is supposed to receive direct from the gods themselves. [3] Similarly, among the Tarahumare Indians the actual chief makes a speech during communal or tribal festivals: — »Listen to me! because I am going to give you my words, to present to you the words which the one Above bids me to tell you». [4]

Of the chieftainship in ancient Mexico and Peru there is information practically to the same effect. Previous to the arrival of the Spaniards, Nicaragua was divided into small provinces, each of which was inhabited by communities having languages of their own. They were governed by *huehues* or old men, who were elected by the people, whereas these rulers themselves elected a war leader. This official, Mr. Bancroft adds, »they had no hesitation in putting to death when he exhibited any symptoms of insubordination or acquired a power over the army which seemed dangerous to the public good». [5] On the other hand, in the provinces of Chicuimula, Nietlan was a great religious centre; there the political power was also vested in a sacerdotal hierarchy hereditary in one family. In fact, this form of political organization seems to have been the most common

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[1] Op. cit. p. 18.

[2] *Coxe Stevenson*, The Zuñi Indians; in 23:rd Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 289.

[3] *Lumholtz*, Unknown Mexico, vol. II, p. 151. The chief is elected, but how the author does not describe.

[4] Op. cit. vol. I, p. 348. At private festivals the shaman is the orator, but at communal or tribal festivals the chief announces the will of the deities.

[5] *Bancroft*, Op. cit. vol. II, pp. 645, 740 sq.

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among the Maya nation. Thus all the more or less mythical founders of the early Maya civilization were at the same time secular kings and high priests, and this state of things went on till the arrival of the Conquistadores. [1] »In Yucatan the Itzas at Chichen were ruled in the earlier times by a theocratic government, and later the high priest of the empire ... became king of the Izamal, which became the sacred city, the headquarters of ecclesiastical dignitaries». [2] Similarly, the Zapotecs were entirely under the sway of the political power of their sacerdotal rulers, yet the people were much attached to this order of things. [3] Yopaa, one of their principal cities, was ruled absolutely by a pontiff, in whom the Zapotec monarchs had a powerful rival. »It is impossible» says Bancroft, »to over-estimate the reverence in which this spiritual king was held». [4] The principal dignity was hereditary in one family. [5] Speaking of the so-called Isthmian Indians in general, the same author observes that they had hereditary chiefs, but that at the commencement of a campaign special war leaders were »nominated by the head of the tribe to lead the men in battle and conduct the operations». [6] Other, authors give similar particulars. Thus, the Chibchas were earlier ruled by a priest-king, whereas a special »crown general» acted as the commander of the army. [7] This was the case also with regard to the early political organization of other neighbouring communities. [8] Cholula preserved the character of a temple town and a priestly form of government till the arrival of the Conquistadores. [9] According to Clavigero, Chiapan was

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[1] *Bancroft*, Op. cit. vol. II, p. 648.
[2] Op. cit. vol. II, p. 647.
[3] Op. cit. vol. I, p. 665.
[4] Op. cit. vol. II, p. 142.
[5] Op. cit. vol. II, p.143.
[6] Op. cit. vol. I, p. 753; cf. pp. 764, 769 sq.
[7] *Bastian*, Die Culturländer des Alten America, vol. I, p. 396; vol. II, pp. 192, 196.
[8] Op. cit. vol. I, pp. 302, 305; vol. II, p. 396 sq., passim.
[9] Op. cit. vol. I, p. 627.

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not governed by a king but by two military chiefs, elected by priests. Thus they remained until they were subjected by the last kings of Mexico. [1]

When after the death of Acamapitzin, the first king of Mexico, the noblemen elected his son Huitzilihuitl as his successor, the new ruler was addressed by one of the electors in the following words: — »Remember that we are under the protection of the great god Huitzilopochtli, whose image you are and whose place you fill. The dignity, to which you have been raised by him, should serve, not as an excuse for indolence and effeminacy, but as a spur to exertion». [2] He was succeeded in 1409 by his brother Chimolpopoca and, says Clavigero, »from thence it became the established law to make the election of one of the brothers of the deceased king and on failure of brothers of one of his grandsons». [3] Accordingly, his successor was his brother Itzcoatl, who for thirty years had been the chief of the army. [4] Indeed, after the death of Chimalpopoca the custom prevailed of electing no one to the throne who had not first been the commander of the army. [5] Yet the king was not the more regarded as the military ruler of the State; on the contrary, he was above all a priestly sovereign on whom devolved the celebration of the most solemn sacrifices to their gods. [6] Thus the successor of

[1] *Clavigero*, History of Mexico, vol. I, p. 106 sq.

[2] Op. cit. vol. I, p. 131.

[3] Op. cit. vol. I, p. 138.

[4] Op. cit. vol. I, p. 156.

[5] Montezuma I. was succeeded by his cousin Axayacatl, the commander of the army. His successor was his brother Titzoc who also had been the supreme chief of the army. — *Clavigero*, Op. cit. vol. I, pp. 183, 187, 197, 200.

[6] *Clavigero*, Op. cit. vol. I, pp. 301, 310; — *Bancroft*, Op. cit. vol. II, p. 322. Speaking of the election of Huitzilihuitl, Bastian observes: — »Indess bewahrte die Königswürde einen vorwiegend priesterlichen Character oder vielmehr eines Friedensfürsten indem neben dem König Huitzilihuitl noch im Besonderen ein Kriegsfürst ernannt würde in Itzcoatl». — Op. cit. vol. I, p. 625; cf. p. 396. — See also *Acosta*, History of the Indies, vol. I, p. 488 sqq.

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Itzcoatl, his cousin Montezuma I. became as king the high priest of Huitzilopochtli, [1] and as for Montezuma II. »he was likewise priest and revered for his gravity, his circumspection, and his religion». [2] In fact, such was the honour in which the religious side of the kingship was held that the kings »were each made pontiff before the royal crown was placed upon their head». [3] It is thus evident that the so-called chief priest was merely a vicar of the ordinary king, who continued till the arrival of the Spaniards to perform all the most important sacrifices. [4] This feature of the Mexican kingship can be traced back not merely to Huitzilihuitl. Even in still earlier ages the tribal chiefs were at the same time priests, [5] and when we are told that the later kings were much feared even by the priesthood »on account of their supernatural power», [6] there is much reason to believe that this fear was likewise a survival from still earlier ages and a tribal organization.

In his description on the political institutions of the Incas, d'Orbigny remarks: — »Le gouvernement monarchique des Incas était de tous peut-être le plus solidement établi, puisque, les chefs héréditaires ... réunissaient le pouvoir religieux au pouvoir civil, obtenant à la fois l'adoration et l'obéissance des peuples qui leur furent soumis; aussi leur autorité était-elle sans limites». [7] Moreover, the Inca derived his power from the sun — a feature to be met with among the civil and religious chiefs of the North American Indians. [8] According to the same author,

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[1] *Bastian*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 625 sq.

[2] *Clavigero*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 207.

[3] *Bancroft*, Op. cit. vol. II, p. 201.

[4] Op. cit. vol. II, p. 202.

[5] *Ratzel*, Völkerkunde, vol. I, p. 625; — cf. *Bancroft*, Op. cit. vol. II, pp. 139, 143.

[6] *Bancroft*, Op. cit. vol. II, p. 648.

[7] *d'Orbigny*, L'Homme Americain, vol. I, pp. 224 sq., 297.

[8] *Bastian*, Op. cit. vol. I, pp. 477, 484, 539 sq.; vol. II, p. 132. — See also *Garcilasso de la Vega*, The Royal Commentaries, vol. II, p. 155 sq.; — *Acosta*, History of the Indies, vol. I, pp. 411, 426 sqq.

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the chiefs of the ten tribes of the Chiquitos »cumulaient les fonctions de médecins, de sorciers, et par conséquent, joignaient à leurs fonctions politiques des fonctions religieuses qui leur donnaient la prépondérance». [1] Among the Chaco Indians [2], and similarly among the Moxos, there was a comparatively clearly marked difference between the medicine chiefs and the war leaders. [3] The council of elders, among the Charruas [4], elected war leaders; this was the case, too, with the Toba.[5] — The Tricimas living along the left bank of the Amazon from Toreto to Japura are divided into hordes each of them »having a chief and a medicine man or priest of their superstition». [6] It seems likely that this is simply the common division — a war leader and an ordinary secular and religious chief. At any rate this division prevailed among the Macamecrams. [7] Among the Bororo [8] and Aueti [9] the chief is at the same time their sorcerer. The Araucanians are divided into clans having hereditary chiefs, *Toqui* or *Ulmen*, »who exercise a species of patriarchal authority». [10] Moreover, several *Toquis* together form a special »Council of Peace to which under circumstances is entrusted the general supervision of the nation». The Council is in turn presided over by one of the chiefs, who consequently, as the »Grand *Toqui*», is the highest officer of the State. [11] As soon, however, as hostilities are resolved upon, this council of the hereditary chiefs becomes powerless, and the authority is left to a special

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[1] *d'Orbigny*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 227; vol. II, pp. 140, 168.
[2] Op. cit. vol. II, p. 139.
[3] Op. cit. vol. II, p. 214.
[4] Op. cit. vol. II, p. 90.
[5] Op. cit. vol. II, p. 101.
[6] *Orton*, The Andes and Amazon, p. 320.
[7] *Martius*, Unter den Ureinwohnern Brasiliens, p. 16.
[8] *Steinen*, Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Braziliens, p. 515.
[9] Op. cit. p. 344 sq.
[10] *Smith*, The Araucanians, p. 241; — *Latcham*, Ethnology of the Araucanos; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1909, p. 355.
[11] *Smith*, Op. cit. p. 242.

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war leader elected among the ablest men of the entire nation. [1] When the war is ended, the »Council of Peace« once more becomes supreme and the Grand *Toqui* is once again the head of the government. [2]

As regards the character of primitive chieftainship in Western Africa, Beecham states that, in the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Ashantee kings, when entering upon war expeditions, were employed in »religious preparations during a period of several weeks. Not only in the capital, but at several other places, the king presented fetish offerings in furtherance of the undertaking». [3] Among the Efik and Ekoi tribes, »medicines were the property of, or controlled by, the chiefs». [4] The government of the Mandingo Negroes »was originally of a patriarchal character; the oldest member of the clan was both civil and religious head of the community», [5] and a general council discussed all matters of importance. The form of their government, therefore, was above all a peace-organization, although at an earlier time they were frequently engaged in war either for offensive or defensive purposes. [6] In the Eggarah country the chieftainship was hereditary in the female line, [7] whereas temporary leaders were entrusted with the command of war expeditions. [8] According to Hecquard the Banjar Negroes »sont gouvernés par un chef qui, étant à la fois roi et grand-prêtre, a de très-grands privilèges». [9] Among the Peulhs in Gambia the

[1] *Molina*, History of Chili, vol. II, p. 68 sq.; — *Bastian*, Die Culturländer des Alten America, vol. I, p. 22; cf. p. 640; — *Smith*, Op. cit. p. 243; — *Latcham*, Op. cit. p. 355; — *d'Orbigny*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 404.

[2] *Smith*, Op. cit. p. 244; — *Molina*, Op. cit. p. 69.

[3] *Beecham*, Ashantee and the Gold Coast, p. 207.

[4] *Parkinson*, A Note on the Efik and Ekoi Tribes; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1907, p. 266.

[5] *Featherman*, Social History of the Races of Mankind, vol. I, p. 306.

[6] Op. cit. vol. I, p. 307.

[7] *Allen* and *Thomson*, The Expedition to the River Niger, vol. I, p. 325.

[8] Op. cit. vol. I, p. 326.

[9] *Hecquard*, Voyage sur la côte et dans l'interieur de l'Afrique Occidentale, p. 113.

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political organization was theocratic. »Malgré leur fierté guerrière, ils subissaient l'influence des marabouts, qu'ils chargèrent de tous les soins du gouvernement». [1] Similarly, describing these institutions in Futa Djallon, Hecquard states: — »L'almami, à la fois roi et grand-prêtre, juge toutes les affaires en dernier ressort». He presides over the meetings of the old men, who decide all matters of importance. Thus, »l'almami ne peut faire la guerre, car le conseil a le droit de lui refuser des hommes et des subsides». [2] On the other hand, in Bondu, »l'almami est à la fois chef de la religion et de l'Etat; seulement ce prince est absolu et règne affranchi de tout contrôle». [3] Besides, these chiefs have a council of elders to settle the matters together with themselves. [4] As for war, »il est rare que ces chefs se fassent à la guerre», [5] they appoint special war leaders. [6] Speaking of the Cross River Negroes, Mr. Partridge asserts that among them the magicians and the chiefs are the officiating priests at religious ceremonies; [7] hence the chiefs are looked upon as semi-divine persons vested with magic influence. [8] Lenz observes that among the warlike Fans the chief of a village or of a group of villages is at the same time the *Oganga*, and he is thus, the author remarks, a priestly king. [9] This holds good also of theIninga Negroes. [10] In earlier times Angoy was governed by women-chiefs, who at the same time performed religious ceremonies. [11] In Ondonga, according to the Finnish missionary

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[1] *Hecquard*, Op. cit. p. 314.
[2] Op. cit. p. 317; cf. p. 359.
[3] Op. cit. p. 389.
[4] Op. cit. pp. 113 sq., 380.
[5] Op. cit. p. 187.
[6] Op. cit. p. 188.
[7] *Partridge*, Cross River Natives, p. 294.
[8] Op. cit. pp. 315, 318, 322.
[9] *Lenz*, Skizzen aus Westafrika, p. 87.
[10] Op. cit. p. 204.
[11] *Bastian*, Die deutsche Expedition an der Loango-Küste, vol. I, p. 217; cf. p. 250; see also vol. II, pp. 23, 40, passim.

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Mr. Rautanen, the chief appointed special war leaders to conduct the operations. [1] The Ba-Yaka of the Congo Free State are ruled by a hereditary chief whose power is absolute, and who at the same time is the principal magician. [2] Similarly among the Ba-Yanzi, the great chiefs are, as a rule, the head fetishmen. [3] Messrs. Torday and Joyce point out that one of them was »considered the greatest magician in the country». [4]

According to Mr. Kidd, [5] the Kafirs have hereditary chiefs vested with great magical power. Speaking of the Basutos, Casalis states that they had some chiefs who had attained their dignity »by force of arms, but the greater number are the descendants of those families of the tribes who claim the right of primogeniture». Moreover, these peoples had »an almost superstitious respect for their sovereigns». [6] On the other hand, special men were entrusted with the command of the fighting forces. [7] Among the Wadoe [8] the wizards are village chiefs. Similarly among the Wagogo and Wetumba, »offices of priest and chief are united in the same person». [9] In his description of the social organization of the Masai, Dr. Thomson states that they are divided into »about twelve principal clans or sub-tribes and numerous smaller tribes». The head of the tribe, who is called *lybon*, is above all a medicine-man. »The efficacy of the *lybon*, or medicine-man, lies not in any innate ability of his

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[1] *Steinmetz*, Rechtsverhältnisse, p. 336.

[2] *Torday* and *Joyce*, Ethnography of the Ba-Yaka; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1906, p. 51.

[3] *Torday* and *Joyce*, On the Ethnology of S. W. Congo; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1907, p. 139; cf. p. 141.

[4] Op. cit. p. 140.

[5] *Kidd*, The Essential Kafir, pp. 13, 307; — cf. *McLean*, Kafir Laws, p. 23; — *Garbutt*, Native Witchcraft; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1909, pp. 535, 541, 548.

[6] *Casalis*, The Basutos, p. 214.

[7] Op. cit. p. 222.

[8] Les Annales de la Propagation de la Foi, vol. LIV, p. 361; cf. p. 359.

[9] *Cole*, The Wagogo; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1902, p. 338.

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own, but in his power of intercession with *Ngai*, who works through him and imparts magical virtues to various objects». [1] On the other hand, warfare is conducted by »an elder» or »a senior warrior» [2] or *»el oinok»*, [3] because the hereditary head [4] of the tribe is not any more than his nearest relatives, allowed to take part in active hostilities. [5] With regard to the fact that this form of the political organization of the Masai is merely of a late growth, whilst they formerly were governed by an *ol airohani*, [6] it should be noticed that the change cannot have been a considerable one, as their organization has still those features which are characteristic of the chieftainship among the natives of Africa in general. [7] The change must have been limited to the substitution of Kidonoi and his successors for the old ruling family, and the means by which this trick was carried out was simply the clever whim of Kidonoi in declaring himself to be the chosen of the Lord. A similar political organization was prevalent among the Nandi, says Captain Vandeleur. [8] The government of the Karaguahs is an absolute despotism. The

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[1] *Thomson*, Masai Land, p. 260. — Captain Merker observes of the Masai chiefs: — »Despotismus und Grausamkeit, wie wir sie bei alten Neger-Herrschern finden, ist ihm fremd. Er ist weniger ein Regierender als vielmehr ein Nationalheiliger oder ein Patriarch, von seiner geheiligten Person spricht das Volk in scheuer Ehrfurcht und kein Unberufener wagt es, dem Gewaltigen unter die Augen zu treten». — Die Masai, p. 18. — Similarly, Mr. Baumann affirms :— »der oberste Laibon, gewissermassen ein Masai Papst». — Durch Masailand, p. 164. — Cf. *Hinde*, Last of the Masai, p. 22; — *Johnston*, The Uganda Protectorate, vol. II, p. 830; — *Vandeleur*, Campaigning on the Upper Nile, p. 109.

[2] *Hinde*, Last of the Masai, p. 58; — *Thomson*, Op. cit. p. 254.

[3] *Johnston*, Op. cit. II, p. 810; — *Merker*, Op. cit. p. 86.

[4] *Merker*, Op. cit. pp. 19, 274.

[5] Op. cit. p. 18.

[6] Op. cit. p. 273; — cf. *Johnston*, Op. cit. vol. II, p. 834 sq.

[7] In addition to the quotations above made, cf. also *Kallenberg*, Auf dem Kriegspfad gegen die Massai, p. 93 sq.

[8] *Vandeleur*, Campaigning on the Upper Nile, p. 117; — cf. *Johnston*, Op. cit. vol. II, p. 882 sq.

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chief is not only the ruler of his people; he practises also the magic arts. [1] Among the Vataturu the rank of witch-doctor is hereditary; the chiefs, above all the *Sagiro*, whom all the Wataturu recognize as their masters, »are nothing else than High-Priests». [2] On the other hand, among the Wafiumi the witch-doctor decides when warfare is to be entered upon, and he also acts as the leader of the enterprise. [3] Speaking of other peoples related to the Masai, the Wambugwe and Warangi, Baumann maintains that the original form of government among them was »the family republic» as it still exists in the district of Wabwa. The prodigious (ungeheure) power of the witch-doctors, as well as the hereditary character of their rank enable them easily to become petty rulers or chiefs. [4] Yet the power of the chief is largely limited by the council of elders which has to give its consent in most matters. [5] As to the Avemba, the king generally acted as intermediary between his people and the local guardian spirits *milungu;* he sent sacrifices and prayed to the spirits of his ancestors on their behalf, »though he left the management of the ritual to the priest». [6] Among the Bahima, [7] Acholi, [8] and Kikuyu, [9] chiefs were generally medicine-men.

Describing the Sandeh Negroes, Schweinfurth writes: — »Notwithstanding the general warlike spirit displayed by the Niam-niam, it is a very singular fact that the chieftains very rarely lead their own people into actual engagement». They are accustomed to lie concealed in anxious suspense in order to be

[1] *Featherman*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 118.

[2] *Baumann*, Durch Massailand, p. 173.

[3] Op. cit. p. 179.

[4] Op. cit. p. 187.

[5] Op. cit. p. 188.

[6] *Sheane*, Avemba Religion and Superstitious Observances; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1906, p. 154.

[7] *Johnston*, The Uganda Protectorate, vol. II, p. 632.

[8] Op. cit. vol. II, p. 779.

[9] *Tate*, Further Notes on the Kikuyu Tribe; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1904, p. 263.

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ready at once to run away with their wives and treasures if the war expedition happens to prove disastrous. [1] Among the Galla the chiefs who bear the title of *keyn*, *heütsh*, *lubo*, or *mooty*, are elected, [2] yet on them devolves the duty of performing sacrifices. [3] As regards the Bageshu inhabiting the regions of Mount Elgon, the chiefs of the clans perform the sacrifices and ceremonies in connection with the initiation festivities. [4] Similarly the warlike Latookas, [5] Wakamba, [6] and Wanyoro [7] are ruled by chiefs who profess to be initiated into the secret arts of sorcery and magic. Hence, in speaking of the political organization of the natives over the whole of East and part of West Africa, Sir H. H. Johnston writes with reference to the Bantu word *Ba-fumo* as follows: — »This is a very interesting point. The singular of this word would be *'mu-fumo'*. This is a widespread word all through East Africa, from Zanzibar and the opposite coast land down to the Zambezi and across the southern half of Africa to parts of the Congo and Angola. It is perhaps the most widely-spread Bantu word, meaning 'chief'. Some have thought that this word was connected with a root meaning 'spear' in some Bantu languages; but it would seem from survival in such an archaic dialect as Kavirondo that the original meaning of the word was 'medicine man' just as the big chiefs among the Masai are also the great medicine men». [8]

[1] *Schweinfurth*, The Heart of Africa, vol. II, p. 22; — *Featherman*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 25.

[2] *Faetherman*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 782.

[3] Op. cit. vol. I, p. 784. »The *lubo* who conduct the sacrifices and prayers act also as augurs and soothsayers». According to Jerome Lobo, who visited the Galla people in 1622, the title of the chief was *lubo*. — *Lobo*, A Voyage to Abyssinia, p. 11.

[4] *Roscoe*, Notes on the Bageshu; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1909, pp. 185 sq., 194.

[5] *Featherman*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 82.

[6] Op. cit. p. 85.

[7] Op. cit. p. 111.

[8] *Johnston*, The Uganda Protectorate, vol. II, p. 750. — Bastian is of the same opinion that »das alle primitiven Staatsverhältnisse durchwaltende

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This character of chieftainship is to be found among many Mohammedan communities also. Among the Kabyls, the villages are governed by the *thedjemâith* or *djemâa*, and the meetings of this village assembly are presided over by *l'amin* or the elected chief [1] of the community, who belongs to one of the most influential families. His duties are above all those of a peace chief. »Il prend les mesures nécessaires à sa sûreté, surveille ses intérêts, prévoît ses besoins, maintient l'ordre, et fait rentrer dans la bonne voie ceux qui voudraient s'en écarter». [2] As regards warfare, he is the leader of his own men, [3] whereas the war leader of the tribe »est un fonctionnaire nommé pendant la guerre par les notables». [4] Similarly, »l'amin de la confederation est nommé dans les mêmes circonstances». [5] Thus only the office of village chiefs is permanent. [6] — In his description of the political organization of the inhabitants of Madagascar previous to the French rule, Ellis states that »the king of Madagascar in addition to his other dignities and responsibilities is high-priest of the realm». [7] According to an old story this order of thing was due to the fact that »a king of ancient times, observing the influence obtained by masters of families in consequence of their acting as their own priests and consecrating their own

Priesterkönigthum stand auch in ganz Afrika in Kraft». — *Bastian*, Die deutsche Expedition an der Loango-Küste, vol. II, p. 230. — Cf. also *Ratzel*, Völkerkunde, vol. II, p. 166, passim; — *Steinmetz*, Rechtsverhältnisse, pp. 42, 117, 167, no distinction between peace chief and war leader; as to the division, see passim; — *Roscoe*, Baganda, pp. 134, 186, passim; — *Speke*, Discovery of the Sources of the Nile, pp. 146, 168, 180 sq., 197, 213, 218, 226, 279, 289, 298, 335, 349, 351, 392, 407, 418, 426, 450; — *Post*, Afrikanische Jurisprudenz, vol. I, p. 277 sqq.; — *Paulitschke*, Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas, pp. 241, 256.

[1] *Hanoteau* and *Letourneux*, La Kabylie, vol. II, p. 7.
[2] Op. cit. p. 26.
[3] Op. cit. p. 27.
[4] Op. cit. p. 68.
[5] Op. cit. p. 69.
[6] Op. cit. pp. 28—33.
[7] *Ellis*, Madagascar, vol. I, p. 359.

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household gods, adopted the idea of consecrating an idol for the people, calling them his family and children». [1]

As regards chieftainship among the Maori, the descriptions given by our authorities differ somewhat from one another. Thus speaking of the ruling families of the Maori, Mr. Hammond [2] states: — »The eldest brother of the oldest families ranked as *Tumu whakarae* or king. [3] The younger brother, if suitable by force and intelligence, took the position of *ariki* or priest, and it generally prevailed that the son succeeded to the father's position». In another description the same author maintains: — »*Tumu whakarae* was the person of highest rank, the ruler and supreme head of the tribe. He never moved from home and was always well guarded». Further, »the *ariki* came next in rank and was usually of the same reigning family as the *Tumu whakarae*, often the second son in the family, and to this official was entrusted the sacred lore of the tribe». [4] According to Dieffenbach [5] and Colenso [6] the *ariki* [7] was a tribal chief »the first-born (male or female) by the eldest branch; the lineal heir or heiress». On the other hand, Mr. S. Percy Smith observes that the *ariki* or first-born son in some exalted line of descent »was a priest besides

[1] *Ellis*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 397.

[2] *Hammond*, Atua Maori; in Journ. Polyn. Soc. vol. VIII, p. 90.

[3] In the Maori language *Tumu* means »a chief or principal person; the master of the territory». In the other Polynesian languages it means origin, root, source, etc. In Hawaian language it is »applied to chiefs because they nourished or fed men». In Mangareva language it means father etc. — See *Tregear*, Comparative Dictionary, p. 551 sq.

[4] *Hammond*, The Tohunga Maori; in Journ. Polyn. Soc. vol. XVII, p. 165.

[5] *Dieffenbach*, Travels in New Zealand, vol. II, p. 112.

[6] *Colenso*, Maori Races; in Trans. New Zealand Institute, vol. I, p. 21.

[7] »*Ariki*, a first-born, male or female, in a family of note; hence chief; priest . . A leader . . A title of the chief in the *Wharekura* (temple); next in dignity after the high-priest». — »*Wharekura* = a kind of college or school in wich the sons of priest chiefs (*ariki*) were anciently taught . . The *Wharekura* appears sometimes to have been used as a council chamber or hall of parliament, where the chiefs of tribes assembled». — *Tregear*, Op. cit. p. 613.

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being the hereditary chief of his clan». He had peculiar powers, and accordingly on him devolved certain religious duties which none other could perform. »It is true», Mr. Smith adds, »that the *ariki* might not be a man of wisdom or an able leader, but nevertheless he did not thereby lose his high position in the tribe». The priestly character of this chieftainship is shown also by the fact that the »first-born daughter of a long line of chiefs called a *tapairu* (sometimes a *marei-kura*) alone could perform parts of certain ceremonies, and hence was she a priestess». [1] Mr. Gudgeon affirms that the chiefs were simply »elevated by the voice of the tribe in a position of authority». [2] Yet even he admits that »the *ariki* as the eldest born of the tribe is sacred and regarded almost as a god»; [3] and in another connection: — »he was of old regarded almost as a god inasmuch as he represented all that there was of *mana* and sacredness of his tribe; he was the shrine of an hereditary *Atua*, the guardian spirit of the tribe, and could therefore at any time communicate with the tribal gods». [4] And Polack observes that among the most influential in a native assembly are those who »unite in their own persons the hereditary power of chieftainship and adoption of the priesthood». [5] On the other hand, concerning the leader of war expeditions we read that he was »not necessarily an *ariki* . . .-

[1] *Smith*, Tohunga Maori; in Trans. New Zealand Institute, vol. XXXII, p. 268.

[2] *Gudgeon*, Maori Wars; in Journ. Polyn. Soc. vol. XVI, p. 34.

[3] Loc. cit. — »In the good olden days . . the *tohunga* was by far the most important man in a Maori tribe, and this was especially the case when it happened that the same man combined the exalted rank as a chief with the priestly power and knowledge with which all *tohungas* were gifted. Given this combination of rank and knowledge, and such a man would be known as the *Ariki*, or supreme head of the tribe». — *Gudgeon*, The Tohunga Maori; in Journ. Polyn. Soc. vol. XVI, p. 63; cf. p. 66.

[4] *Gudgeon*, Maori Religion; in Journ. Polyn. Soc. vol. XIV, p. 114; — *Idem*, Tipua Kura; in Journ. Polyn. Soc. vol. XV, p. 38.

[5] *Polack*, Manners and Customs of the New Zealanders, vol. I. p. 147; cf. vol. I, pp. 23 sqq., 40, 59; vol. II, pp. 211, 245; — *Shortland*, Maori Religion, p. 27 sq.

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although by his renown as a warrior he may have gained great influence over the tribe». [1] Similarly Mr. Elsdon Best observes: — »A chief endowed with great prestige in war, or with a supposed supernatural power — as the *waka* or medium of a war god — might become leader of the collected tribal divisions in war. But on the conclusion of the fighting his temporary authority over the whole tribe would end, or be much lessened». [2] This is the view of some other authors also. Ordinarily the *ariki* were not war captains and they were not required, unless prompted by their own inclination, to join the war party. [3] Hence, it was but rarely that the troops were commanded by their *ariki* in person. [4]

From these statements it appears that the *ariki*, in some tribes at least, were the hereditary peace chiefs of the communities, and that they were also priests and sacred personages, on account of their descent and their supposed connections with their ancestors. This is also corroborated by the tradition that when the Maori first arrived at New Zealand from their mythical native country Hawaiki, the leader was also their chief priest. [5] At the same time, as we have seen, it did not devolve on the *ariki* in virtue of their position to act as war leaders; on the contrary, it was persons who had distinguished themselves as great

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[1] *Dieffenbach*, Travels in New Zealand, vol. II, p. 115.

[2] *Best*, Notes on the Art of War; in Journ. Polyn. Soc. vol. XII, p. 40.

[3] *Featherman*, Op. cit. vol. II, p. 198.

[4] Op. cit. vol. II, p. 203; — cf. also *Dieffenbach*, Travels, vol. II, p. 112; — *Pakeha Maori*, Old New Zealand. p. 34. — Speaking of the Ngati-Porou tribe, Mr. Gudgeon asserts that their chief Te-Kania-Teikirou »was not a warrior, but nevertheless the greatest chief of New Zealand». — The Toa Taua; in Journ. Polyn. Soc. vol. XIII, p. 238.

[5] *Smith*, Hawaiki; in Journ. Polyn. Soc. vol. VIII, p. 39. — See also *Cowan*, The Coming of Tainui; in Journ. Polyn. Soc. vol. XIV, p. 96 sq.; — *Smith*, The Tohunga Maori; in Trans. New Zealand Institute, vol. XXXII, p. 255 sq.

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warriors or priests, as representatives of war gods, that commanded the war expeditions. [1]

In his description of the natives of Rarotonga, Mr. S. Percy Smith gives information from which it seems reasonable to conclude that their chiefs have since remote ages been at the same time religious rulers. When Tangua came about 1250 A. D. to Rarotonga from Tahiti, this chief proceeded at once to build many *marae* or enclosures for his gods, »to each of which he appointed guardians whose names are given, many of which are borne by the *mataipos* [2] or chiefs at this day». [3] Similarly one of his contemporaries, Iro a son of Pou-ariki, was skilled in various sorts of magic, incantations, ceremonies, etc. all of which he learnt from his father. [4] The chieftainship had been hereditary within the Makea family since the thirteenth century, [5] and at the present day the ruling *ariki* is still the chief pontiff. [6] In early times the inhabitants of Niue had no other form of government than the rule of the chiefs of families. Later on however — as Mr. S. Percy Smith thinks, through outside influence, probably through communications with Tonga or Samoa — the people acquired the institution of »kingship». One of the leading families was chosen by the whole of the people to become *apatu-iki* [7] or the chief of chiefs. [8] On the *apatu-iki* devolved the duty of presiding over the *fono* or council of the minor

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[1] This bi-partition of the Maori chieftainship has been likewise pointed out by *Ratzel*, Völkerkunde, vol. I, p. 266 sq.

[2] *Smith*, Arai-Te-Tonga; in Journ. Polyn. Soc. vol. VIII, p. 218. The *ariki* means high chief; the *mataipos* minor chiefs.

[3] Op. cit. p. 36; cf. p. 38.

[4] Op. cit. p. 40 sq.

[5] *Smith*, History and Traditions of Rarotonga; in Journ. Polyn. Soc. vol. VIII, p. 61.

[6] *Smith*, Arai-Te-Tonga; in Journ. Polyn. Soc. vol. VIII, p. 219; — *Meinicke*, Die Inseln des Stillen Ozeans, vol. II, p. 147.

[7] *Smith*, Niue Island and its People; in Journ. Polyn. Soc. vol. XI, p. 170.

[8] Op. cit, p. 171.

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chiefs [1] and of performing certain religious functions. »I witnessed», says Mr. Smith, »an ancient custom in which the present king Tokia took part and acted in what may be called the chief priest's office». [2] In the custody of the *apatu-iki* was also the sacred object which brought blessing upon the whole island. [3] As regards the leadership of war expeditions, the *patu* or family chiefs acted in this capacity in former days. [4] According to Mariner, the Tongans were ruled by a great divine chief or *Tooi Tonga* and a minor divine chief *Veachi*, both of whom were superior to the war captain. [5] In their prayers it was counted as a merit for the war chief to have been obedient to the sacerdotal rulers. [6] Gradually, however, this order of things changed. The war chieftainship, observes the French Admiral Jurien de la Gravière, was not established till comparatively late times, when wars became frequent. At the end of the eighteenth century the chiefs were already fighting each other, [7] and finally after the death of the old *Tooi Tonga*, Finow junior, on becoming war chief about 1810, entirely abolished the sacerdotal rule. [8] Meinicke states that in Tahiti the chief priest elected the king. [9] According to other observers, Ellis [10] and Jurien de la Gravière, [11] the chief was at the same time the chief priest. Thus the king of whom Meinicke speaks was certainly a mere

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[1] Op. cit. p. 175.

[2] Op. cit. p. 198.

[3] Op. cit. p. 176.

[4] Op. cit. p. 178.

[5] *Mariner*, The Natives of the Tonga Islands, vol. I, p. 132; cf. also pp. 119, 130 sq., 195, 342; — *Bastian*, Die deutsche Expedition, vol. II, p. 288; — *Meinicke*, Op. cit. vol. II, p. 81.

[6] *Mariner*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 96; vol. II, p. 213; — *Featherman*, Op. cit. vol. II, pp. 119, 128.

[7] *Jurien de la Gravière*, Souvenirs d'un amiral, vol. I, p. 186 sq.

[8] *Mariner*, Op. cit. vol. II, pp. 2 sq., 81 sq., 144; — *Erskine*, The Islands of the Western Pacific, p. 126 sq.

[9] *Meinicke*, Op. cit. vol. II, p. 180.

[10] *Ellis*, Polynesian Researches, vol. I, pp. 64, 79 sq.

[11] *Jurien de la Gravière*, Loc. cit.

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war leader. In Samoa the chiefs were of old considered peculiarly sacred; in fact all the chiefs, whether heads of families or petty chiefs of villages or still higher chiefs, were priests in virtue of their office. [1] Turner states that in Tokelau Island the *Tui Tokelau* or king »was high priest as well», [2] and the same was the case, too, in the Humphrey Islands. [3] In the Sandwich Islands the king »personating the god uttered the responses of the oracle», [4] and at the same time he also acted as commander of the army, or appointed some other person in his place. [5]

Taking the political organization of Mbau as a characteristic instance of the constitution of Fijian communities, Mr. Basil Thomson observes that first in rank was the *Roko Tui Mbau*, or sacred lord of Mbau, who never engaged personally in war. [6] Next in rank came the *Vu-ni-Valu*, or Root of War, or Skilled in War. [7] While the office of the former was based upon old patriarchal organization and hereditary succession, [8] that of the latter was of comparatively late growth. [9] Similar information about the government of the Fijians has been given by many other observers. [10] As regards the Mountain tribes

[1] *Turner*, Nineteen Years in Polynesia, pp. 241, 342; — *Idem*, Samoa, p. 18 sqq.; — *Pritchard*, Polynesian Reminiscences, pp. 106, 108, 110. — *Meinicke* writes: — »In jedem Dorfe war der oberste Häuptling Priester des Dorfgottes». — Op. cit. vol. II, p. 114.

[2] *Turner*, Samoa, pp. 268, 270 sq.

[3] Op. cit. p. 278.

[4] *Ellis*, Polynesian Researches, vol. II, p. 235; — see also pp. 206, 208 sq., 217; — *Jurien de la Gravière*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 186 sq.

[5] *Ellis*, Hawaii, p. 124.

[6] *Thomson*, The Fijians, p. 61.

[7] Op. cit. p. 61; cf. p. 23.

[8] Op. cit. p. 57 sqq., 355 sq.

[9] Op. cit. pp. 60, 366.

[10] »The sacred king was called *Roko Tui Bau* (»The reverenced king of Bau»), who seems to have been connected by office with gods .... His person was peculiarly sacred. He never personally engaged in war .... Next in rank was the more powerful, though somewhat less sacred, king called *Na Vu-ni Valu* (»The Root of War») .... He was the commander in times of war, the great state executive officer in seasons of commotion,

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of Vitu-levu, who are said not to make wars of conquest, the chief, to whom religious veneration also is paid, can issue no important orders without the consent of the elders. [1] In Nateva Island the *turanga levu* was the »great chief», while *turanga ni avalu* was the »fighting chief». [2] In New Caledonia, although a firmly-established feudal system prevailed, the »hierarchical» chiefs did not take direct part in warlike activities, which were in the charge of special war leaders. [3] In his description of the Roro-speaking tribes in New Guinea, Dr. Seligmann states that each clan or local group of a clan has its headman or *ovia itsipana*, and next to him comes a second chief or *ovia awarina*, who fulfils certain functions of his own and enforces the orders of the former chiefs. [4] Moreover, each community has one or more war chiefs, *ovia ahuahu*, »who were never clan chiefs (*ovia itsipana*) but on the other hand were generally, though perhaps not invariably, *ovia awarina*». In fact, the author adds, these latter were »so generally confused with *ovia ahuahu* that it is a question whether any *ovia awarina* was not formerly a potential or actual war chief». Yet these war chiefs must not be confused with the *paiha* war chiefs who are »experts in battle magic and who assure success in war». [5] The *ovia ahuahu* was merely »the organiser of his clan in war», and his authority on the battle-field was entirely subordinated to that of the *paiha* chief who was »responsible for the disposition of the whole force while in the presence of an enemy». As for these *paiha* chiefs, the same author proceeds, it must be noted that apart from their magical functions, »*paiha* chiefs are either *ovia itsipana* or *ovia awarina*»

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and the prime minister of all the political departments». — *Waterhouse*, The king and People of Fiji, p. 14; — *Seeman*, Viti, p. 263; — *Erskine*, Op. cit. p. 246 sq.; — *Williams* and *Calvert*, Fiji and the Fijians, vol. I, pp. 23 sqq., 219; — *Ratzel*, Völkerkunde, vol. I, p. 267.

[1] *Erskine*, Op. cit. p. 430.

[2] Loc. cit.

[3] *Rochas*, La Nouvelle Calédonie, pp. 207, 243 sq., 245.

[4] *Seligmann*, The Melanesians, p. 216.

[5] Op. cit. p. 217.

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Moreover, the rank of *ovia itsipana* was hereditary, even in the female line. The latter office was not always hereditary. [1] The Mekeo have hereditary clan chiefs (*lopia fäa*), hereditary war leaders (*io lopia*), and priestly war experts (*faia lopia*), who exercise their power »to give victory to the community». [2] The hereditary peace chief (*lopia fäa*) »would not as a rule take any part in a fight, unless the battle were the result of a surprise attack at night». [3] A more or less similar division of the functions of the chiefs is to be met with among other natives of New Guinea, too. [4] Thus, *e. g.*, the Mafulu mountain people have hereditary clan chiefs, but no special war chiefs. On the eve of battle »the leadership will generally fall upon someone who at the moment is regarded as a strong and wise fighter»; at any rate the permanent clan chiefs »are not war chiefs». [5] According to Codrington, »a Florida *Vunagi*» (*i. e.* chief) »kept order in his place, directed the common operations and industries, represented his people with strangers, presided at sacrifices, and led in war». [6] On the other hand, at Saa the chief's power was derived from his descent. He might be acquainted with magical knowledge and supernatural beings, and was »in fact pretty sure to have them .... but no wealth or success in war could make a man a chief at Saa if not born of the chief's family». [7] As for other neighbouring communities, the power of the chiefs »lies entirely in the belief that they have communications with

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[1] Op. cit. p. 218; cf. pp. 218 n, 220, 261, 295.

[2] Op. cit. p. 342; cf. p. 367.

[3] Op. cit. p. 344. — See also *Seligmann* and *Strong*, Anthropo-geographical Investigations in New Guinea; in the Geographical Journal, vol. XXVIII, 1906, p. 233.

[4] *Seligmann*, The Melanesians, pp. 373, 456, 692, 697; — *Meinicke*, vol. I, p. 127 sqq.; — *Dempfwolff*, Aussterbende Naturvölker; in Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1904, p. 403; — *Abel*, Savage Life, pp. 37, 138.

[5] *Williamson*, The Mafulu Mountain People, p. 19 sqq.; cf. pp. 114, 125 sq., 144 sqq., 165 sq., 182.

[6] *Codrington*, The Melanesians, p. 47.

[7] Op. cit. p. 50 sq.

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supernatural ghosts, *tindalo*, and have the *mana*, whereby they are able to bring the power of the *tindalo* to bear». Moreover, they may make their sons, nephews, or grandsons acquainted with this skill, and a hereditary succession is thereby established. [1]

Speaking generally, there are abundant statements to the effect that all over the Southern Pacific native chiefs are above all peace chiefs vested with the duties of a civil and sacerdotal character, while war operations are led mainly by experts chosen by reason of their skill and force. [2]

According to the Spanish missionaries, the aborigines of the Philippines were divided into clans having chiefs of their own. These chiefs, or *ba-ganis*, performed religious functions and were the leaders of war expeditions. [3] In Celebes the priestly duty devolved on the *kabosenja* or the chiefs [4] of the savage villages. Among the Dyaks of Borneo the *Orang Kaya* was the hereditary [5] chief of the tribe. He made the offerings on behalf of his community; on the other hand, special leaders acted as the commanders of war parties. This is true not merely of the Sea Dyaks [6] as well as of the Land Dyaks, [7] but also of the nomadic Punans, whose tribal chiefs were similarly called *Orang Kaya*. [8] Moreover, certain communities at any rate, had also special trading chiefs who were anxious to prevent war. [9] Among the Bataks of Sumatra the village chiefs are, as a rule, priests

[1] Op. cit. p. 52; cf. pp. 120, 132.

[2] For further particulars see *e. g. Ellis*, Polynesian Researches, vol. II, pp. 431, 346 sq., 359, 486; — *Jurien de la Gravière*, Souvenirs d'un amiral, vol. I, p. 186 sq.; — *Meinicke*, Die Inseln des Stillen Ozeans, vol. I, p. 66; vol II, pp. 117, 376, 381; — *Ratzel*, Völkerkunde, vol. I, pp. 267 sq., 270 sq., 298, passim

[3] *Semper*, Die Philippinen, p. 62.

[4] *Sarasin*, Celebes, vol. I, pp. 227, 335; vol. II, p. 130; cf. p. 122.

[5] *Boyle*, Adventures, p. 218.

[6] *Low*, Sarawak, p. 183 sq.; cf. pp. 193, 209.

[7] Op. cit. pp. 251 sq., 255, 288 sqq.

[8] *Furness*, Home-Life of Borneo Head-Hunters, p. 179 sq.

[9] Op. cit. p. 185.

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also; [1] they are assisted by the council of elders in all matters of importance. Although the villages generally constitute independent communities, yet the Bataks acknowledge the supremacy of a single chief, who maintains no outer appearance of superior civil or military power. His supremacy is founded purely on supernatural considerations, hence his title *Cartuwah*, or »invested with supernatural power.» [2] In his description of the wild tribes of the Malay peninsula, Mr. Skeat states that among the tribes which belong to the Semang, Sakai, and Jakun groups, »the chiefs of the tribe were often, if not always, medicine men or magicians, their power in this respect being greatly feared». [3] As for the tribes in Selangor Pahang, and other parts of Negri Sembilan and of Sungei Ujong, these often have three different chiefs. The *Batin*, or the highest, is »respected by the people as their head». The right of succession to the chieftainship »descends to the eldest male child of the late chief's sister». These tribes possess no idea of warfare, affirms Mr. Knocker, [4] and evidently therefore have no war captains. Even as late as the middle of the last century Siam was ruled by a superior and a minor king. [5] The latter was above all the mili-

[1] *Burton* and *Ward*, Batak Country in the Interior of Sumatra; in Trans. R. Asiatic Soc. vol. I, p. 513.

[2] Op. cit. p. 512.

[3] *Skeat*, The Wild Tribes of the Malay Peninsula; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1902, p. 136.

[4] *Knocker*, The Aborigines in Sungei Ujong; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1907, p. 293 sq.

[5] Although in China as well as in Japan the government known to history owed its origin to causes characteristic of a later stage of political development, their leading traits were, however, largely influenced by those characteristics of primitive chieftainship with which we have been dealing in this chapter. Thus, in China the Emperors were, since the most remote times, the spiritual rulers of the people, also performing all the most important sacrifices to their tutelary gods. — Cf. *Medhurst*, Ancient China, pp. 128, 140, 176, 182 sq., 191, 211, 217, 222, 255 sqq., 301, 353, 371 sqq., 378 sqq.; — *Chavannes*, Mémoires historiques de Se-Ma-Ts'ien, vol. I, pp. 37, 40, 138, 207 sqq.; vol. II, pp. 95 n, 514; vol. III. p. 205 sqq., passim. —

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tary commander. This order of things had prevailed since remote ages. [1] The clan chiefs of the Meitheis in Manipur »are priests and assume charge of the tribal worship, while the *Raja*, the head of the whole confederacy, is the high priest of the country». [2] Next in rank to these chiefs is »the *Senapati* or commander-in-chief». [3] Among the Kukis and Lushais, the clan chief is »looked upon with the greatest respect and almost superstitious veneration». [4] He performs all the sacrifices; [5] in fact, »he is much more a priest than a potentate». [6] Speaking of the Bodo and Dhimal tribes, Mr. Hodgson observes that »it is not improbable there was a time when the civil heads of the community were likewise its ecclesiastical directors». [7] There is much reason to believe that the political organization of the other neighbouring communities, such as the Santals, [8] Khands, [9]

As for Tibet, see *Waddell*, On the origin of the Grand Lamas; in Journ. Asiatic. Soc. 1910, vol. I, p. 70 sqq.

Until the great revolution in 1868, the civil and sacerdotal duties in Japan were vested in the *Dairi* or *Mikado*, while the *Shogun* acted as military ruler. — Cf. »Japan. Eine Schilderung . .» pp. 20 sqq., 31, 35, 39; — *Murray*, Japan, pp. 126 sqq., 141 n, 148 sqq., 277, 429; — Quarterly Review, July, 1904, p. 269; — Cambridge Modern History, vol. XI, p. 824 sqq.; — *Okuma*, Fifty Years of New Japan, vol. II, p. 579.

[1] *Bowring*, The Kingdom and People of Siam, vol. I, p. 446.

[2] *Hodson*, The Meitheis, p. 109; — *Idem*, The Native Tribes of Manipur; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1901, p. 303 sq.

[3] *Hodson*, The Meitheis, p. 60.

[4] *Stewart*, Notes on the Northern Cachar; in Journ. Asiatic Soc. Bengal, 1855, vol. XXIV, p. 625. — »The Kuki chief is conspicuously the secular head of his village». — *Hodson*, Head-hunting among the Hill Tribes of Assam; in Folk-Lore, vol. XX, p. 132 sq.

[5] *Stewart*, Loc. cit. — *Dalton*, Ethnology of Bengal, p. 45; — *Shakespear*, The Kuki-Lushai Clans; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1909, p. 374.

[6] *Stewart*, Op. cit. p. 620.

[7] *Hodgson*, The Kocch, Bodo and Dhimal; in Journ. Asiatic Soc. Bengal, vol. XVIII, part II, p. 721; — cf. *Dalton*, Op. cit. p. 85.

[8] *Hunter*, Rural Bengal, vol. I, p. 216 sq.; — *Dalton*, Op. cit. p. 213.

[9] *Dalton*, Op. cit. p. 295.

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Korwas, [1] Karens, [2] Mundaris, [3] Kumis, [4] Chukmas, [5] and others[6] has been similar to those described above.

A peculiar form of government exists among the inhabitants of the Chumbi Valley. According to Mr. Walsh, it has been in force »from time immemorial, and is probably of very great antiquity». [7] The villages are governed by elected *Tshopas*, or village chiefs, while two elected *Kongdus* constitute the government of the entire community. These *Kongdus*, however, maintain that they hold their office by the direct will of the local deity *Yat Lha*, who is supposed to have conducted the election. [8] Their duties are civil and religious at the same time. [9] Among the Cohatars living in the Neilgherry Hills, the man who has charge of the temples and is the officiator at the festivals »is among themselves considered not only as their priest, but as their chief or head». [10] As for the Todas, their government is based upon clan organization and the priestly management of all important matters. [11] No war leaders are required, as the tribe does not carry on any wars.

The earliest known political conditions in Chaldea show us the country divided into small States, each headed by a city made famous through the sanctuary or temple of the local

[1] Op. cit. p. 229.

[2] Op. cit. p. 116.

[3] Op. cit. pp. 165, 168.

[4] *Lewin*, Hill Tracts of Chittagong, p. 91.

[5] Op. cit. pp. 67, 69.

[6] *Dalton*, Op. cit. pp. 60, 159, 186, 247. See also *Lewin*, Op. cit. pp. 37, 80, 84, 88, 94, 96, 102; — *Hodson*, The Naga Tribes, pp. 73, 79.

[7] *Walsh*, Elective Government in Chumbi Valley; in Journ. Asiatic Soc. Bengal, 1906, p. 303.

[8] Op. cit. p. 304 sq.

[9] Op. cit. p. 306 sq.

[10] *Harkness*, Neilgherry Hills, p. 76.

[11] *Rivers*, The Todas, pp. 34 sqq.; 183, 203, 271 sq., 446 sq., 452, 504, sq., 550, 556 sq., 643 sq., 679 sq.; — *Harkness*, Neilgherry Hills, pp. 17, 20, 63 sq., 66; — *Marshall*, The Todas, pp. 17, 20, 42, 123, 136, 156, 234; — *Shortt*, Hill Tribes of the Neilgherries; in Trans. Ethnol. Soc., vol. VII, p. 241.

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deity, and ruled by a *patesi*, a title which is thought to mean priest-king. [1] Of a similar character was the early political organization in Assyria also. [2] When the kingship was established among the Hebrews its duties were above all military, while the prophets or priestly rulers of the State carefully guarded their supreme privileges.[3]

There seems to be little doubt that the early Greeks were ruled by chiefs who were charged with duties not different from those we have already found to be prevalent among other primitive societies. Aristotle states that the oldest form of Greek kingship was purely patriarchal. [4] The kings were religious, civil, and military rulers at the same time. [5] According to Grote[6] »the king is spoken of as constituted by Zeus the great judge of the society. He has received from Zeus the sceptre, and along with it the powers of command and sanction». Hence, as Fustel de Coulanges observes: [7] — »Ce ne fut donc pas la force qui fit les chefs et les rois dans ces anciennes cités. Il ne serait pas vrai de dire que le premier qui y fut roi fut un soldat heureux. L'autorité découla du culte du foyer». [8] Thus, in Sparta, says Herodotus [9], the two hereditary kings made offerings to *Zeus Lacedaimon* and *Zeus Uranius*, and kept in memory prophecies and oracular answers. Moreover, they were judges in many

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[1] *Ragozin*, Chaldea, pp. 204, 235.

[2] *Ragozin*, Assyria, pp. 2, 10, 15.

[3] *Ragozin*, Op. cit. p. 10; — *Tacitus*, History, V, 3, 8; — I. Samuel, VIII, 20.

[4] Grote justly remarks: — »The political condition which Grecian legend everywhere presents to us is in its principal feature strikingly different from that which had become universally prevalent among the Greeks in the time of the Peloponnesian war». — History of Greece, vol. II, p. 3.

[5] *Aristotle*, Politics, III. 14.

[6] *Grote*, Op. cit. vol. II, p. 15; cf. pp. 5, sq., 16.

[7] *Fustel de Coulanges*, La cité antique, p. 225; cf. pp. 204 sq., 228 sq.

[8] See also *Tittman*, Darstellung der griechischen Staatsverfassungen, p. 83; — *Frazer*, Early History of Kingship, pp. 29, 34; — *Letourneau*, Evolution politique, p. 303.

[9] *Herodotus*, History, VI, 56 sq.

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cases and presided at the assembly of elders. In war they acted as leaders, [1] yet their authority was, at any rate, based more upon divine and hereditary right than upon warlike activity. [2] »Their pre-eminent lineage», Grote observes, »connected the entire State with a divine paternity», and through their monthly sacrifices they ensured divine protection to the whole community. [3] In Athens, of the nine *Archons*, three were of a higher rank. The *Archon Eponymos* determined all disputes relative to the family, the gens and the phratry; he was the legal protector of orphans and widows. The *Archon Basileus* enjoyed authority in complaints respecting offences against religious sentiments and in cases of homicide. The *Polemarch* was the leader of the army and a judge in disputes between citizens and non-citizens. Moreover, each of these *Archons* had particular religious festivals assigned to him, which it was his duty to superintend. [4] Previous to the establishment of these nine *Archons* annually elected, Athens was ruled by one hereditary *Archon*, and still earlier by hereditary kings.[5] It is most probable that on these early kings devolved the same duties as were afterwards divided between the various *Archons*. Thus the kingship of Codrus and his predecessors was undoubtedly of the

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[1] *Thucydides*, History of Peloponnesian War, II, 9, 48; IV, 2; V, 34, 66, 75; VII, 19; — Spencer points out that »it was usual for the Greek king to delegate to his heir the duty of commanding his troops». — Principles of Sociology, vol. II, p. 481.

[2] The Spartan kings merely directed the operations, while the definite decisions devolved on the people. — *Thucydides*, History of Peloponnesian War, I, 80, 87; V, 59, 60, 63, 66; against this VIII, 5; — cf. also *Tittmann*, Op. cit. p. 123.

It is also noteworthy that the Spartan kings did not command the fleet, this duty being entrusted to special captains elected for the purpose for life. — *Aristotle*, Politics, II, 9.

[3] *Grote*, Op. cit. vol. II, pp. 274, 384; — cf. *Fustel de Coulanges*, Op. cit. p. 309.

[4] *Grote*, Op. cit. vol. II, p. 448; — *Tittmann*, Op. cit. pp. 163, 232.

[5] *Maine*, Early History, p. 35; — *Grote*, Op. cit. vol. II, p. 424 sqq.

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same patriarchal character [1] as we have seen prevailing in so many primitive communities. [2]

According to Mommsen, in early Rome »the clans were quite neutralized and it exhibited an association not of clans but of citizens». [3] Yet the election of kings lay with the council of elders, on which, in the case of a vacancy, the interim kingship devolved. These elders again were clan chiefs and the *interrex* was one of them. [4] The office of king might lawfully be filled by any Roman who had come of age; noble descent and kinship with earlier rulers were, however, recommendations, but not necessary conditions. [5] As for the duties of the king, he was the chief judge of the entire community; [6] he commanded the army, but he could also charge another suitable person with this duty. [7] Moreover, »he held intercourse with the gods of the community, whom he consulted and appeased (*auspicia publica*), and he nominated all the priests and priestesses». [8] As regards the real significance of this latter feature of early Roman kingship, Mommsen observes that it would at any rate be a great error to regard the Roman constitution as a theocracy because »among the Italians the ideas of god and king never faded away into each other as they did in Egypt and the East». [9] It should, however, be borne in mind that theocracy does not necessarily involve the idea that the ruler himself is considered to be a god. It is quite sufficient that he is supposed to derive his supreme power from divine sources, and from this point of view early Roman kingship had certainly a civil and religious rather than a warlike character. There is no information to the effect that

[1] *Fustel de Coulanges*, Op. cit. p. 224.

[2] For further particulars see *Curtius*, Griechische Geschichte, vol. I. p. 281; — *Farnell*, Cults of the Greek States, vol. I, pp. 41, 59, passim.

[3] *Mommsen*, History of Rome, vol. I, p. 30 sq.

[4] Op. cit. vol. I, pp. 83, 96 sq., 99 sq.

[5] Op. cit. vol. I, p. 84. — Cf. *Fustel de Coulanges*, La cité antique, p. 475.

[6] *Mommsen*, Op. cit. vol. I, pp. 82, 189 sq.

[7] Op. cit. vol. I, pp. 83, 91.

[8] Op. cit. vol. I, pp. 81, 220.

[9] Op. cit. vol. I, p. 84.

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the early rulers were elected merely on account of their military renown;[1] on the contrary, as was shown above, other persons could also be entrusted with the leadership of the army, while Mommsen himself admits that the costume of the king »was the same as that of the supreme god; the chariot even in the city, where everyone else went on foot, the ivory sceptre with the eagle, the vermilion-painted face, the chaplet of oaken leaves in gold, belonged alike to the Roman god and to the Roman king». [2] So also when the kings were replaced by consuls, a new office of *rex sacrificulus* and later on that of *pontifex maximus*, were created, in order that »the gods might not miss their accustomed mediator». [3] In fact, if even so late as during the rule of the Roman Emperors the office of *pontifex maximus* became again united to that of the Emperor, [4] how much more in

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[1] Cf. *Plutarch*, Numa. — Illustrative in this respect is a comparison between Aristotle's description of the character of the Spartan kingship and Numa's remark as to the difference between a general and a king. According to the former, the kingly power with the Spartans was »chiefly that of a general», while Numa points out that Rome had far more need of a general than of a king. If the character of the kingship in these ancient States had been mainly warlike, no such distinction as these remarks indicate, could have been made. — *Aristotle*, Politics, III, 14; — *Plutarch*, Numa, 5.

[2] Op. cit. vol. I, p. 83 sq. — »The highest of the priests was not merely inferior in rank to the king, but might not even give advice to him unasked. It was the province of the king to determine whether and when he would take an observation of birds; the 'bird-seer' simply stood beside him and interpreted to him, when necessary, the language of the messenger of heaven». — Op. cit. vol. I, p. 220. — See also *Plutarch*, Camillus, 7; — *Livy*, Hist. Libri, X, 7.

[3] *Mommsen*, Op. cit. vol. I, pp. 316, 324.

[4] Op. cit. vol. IV, pp. 460, 491; vol. V, pp. 329, 331 333 sq., and passim.

Barry derives the origin of Papal authority from the priestly kingship of Numa. »Theodosius gave up all pretence to be the High Priest of a heathen worship, and the title passed to the Bishops of Rome». — *Barry*, Papal Monarchy, p. 14. — Cf. also *Scholz*, Die Publizistik zur Zeit Philipp des Schönen, p. 143.

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primitive times, when religion had its full sway over the people [1] must the sacerdotal character have been predominant in the kingly office? [2]

Speaking of the early Germans, Tacitus states that the chiefs »owe their election to the nobility of their birth; the generals are chosen for their valour. The power of the former is not arbitrary or unlimited; the latter command more by warlike example than by their authority». [3] According to Caesar, the civil duties of government devolved on the chiefs of the communities, while in time of war special war captains were elected. [4] In his careful investigation into the political organization of the early Germans, Dahn observes that the chiefs of the republican communities [5] were elected on account of their nobility or wealth. [6] Their duties consisted in making offerings to the gods, presiding over the assemblies of their community, and, perhaps, leading their own men on war expeditions; the highest war chief of an entire tribe, the *Herzog*, [7] at any rate was, it is certain, elected. On the other hand, among the communities in which the chieftainship was based upon an hereditary principle, the chiefs or kings were above all sacerdotal and civil rulers, [8] while the war leaders were elected. [9] Other authors give particulars more or

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[1] Cf. *Lecky*, History of European Morals, vol. I, p. 108 sq.

[2] *Fustel de Coulanges*, La cité antique, pp. 204 sq., 222, 228 sqq., 315 sq.; — *Frazer*, Early History of Kingship, p. 250 sq.

[3] *Tacitus*, Germania, 7.

[4] *Caesar*, De Bello Gallico, VI, 22, 23.

[5] According to Dahn, the republican form of early German government was due to the increase in the influence of the other families which constituted the community, when *pari passu* the old ruling family lost its earlier power. — Die Könige der Germanen, vol. I, p. 31 n.

[6] *Dahn*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 23.

[7] Op. cit. vol. I, pp. 17, 22.

[8] *Dahn*, Zur Geschichte des Statsbegriffs der Germanen, p. 537 sq.; — *Idem*, Die Könige der Germanen, vol. I, pp. 23, 26 sqq., 80 sqq.; passim.

[9] *Dahn*, Die Germanen. pp. 68, 86; — *Idem*, Die Könige der Germanen, vol. I, p. 23.

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less in conformity with these views. Thus Phillips[1] and H.Müller [2] maintain that the early German chieftainship had above all a sacerdotal character. Lamprecht observes of the early hereditary chieftainship that it was at its origin already combined with priestly duties,[3] while Kauffmann not merely lays great stress upon this character of the chieftainship among the early Germans, but distinctly maintains the theory of the predominance of their warlike duties to be an entirely wrong assumption. All warlike activities were, as a rule, foreign to the permanent chiefs, because elected war leaders were charged with the command in such undertakings.[4] — In so far as it is possible in view of these different statements, to get a true view of the character of early German chieftainship, there seems to be much reason to suppose that the chiefs obtained their position in virtue of descent from deified ancestors,[5] and that, when wars were waged, the leadership was generally entrusted to the most suitable warrior within the community. This is the view also

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[1] *Phillips*, Deutsche Geschichte, p. 103; — Erb- und Wahlrecht, pp. 8, 10; quoted by *Dahn*, Op. cit. I, p. 27 n. 1.

[2] *Müller*, Lex Salica, p. 179 sq.; quoted by *Dahn*, Loc. cit.

[3] »Täuscht nicht alles so war die Verbindug von Königtum und Priestertum eine ursprüngliche . . . Ist dies der Fall, so . . . wäre sein Priestertum ein durchaus originares, ein wesentlicher Bestandteil des Königtums überhaupt». — *Lamprecht*, Deutsche Geschichte, vol. I, p. 134 sqq.

[4] »Auf die militärischen Talente kam es nach der Auffassung der Germanen beim Könige nicht eben an, denn für ihre kriegerischen Unternehmungen pflegten sie einen besonderen Heerführer zu bestellen». — *Kauffmann*, Balder, p. 218 sq.; cf. p. 208, passim; — *Idem*, Altgermanische Religion; in Archiv für Religionswissenschaft, vol. XV, 1912, p. 618. — Cf. also *Stubbs*, Constitutional History of England, vol. I. pp. 29 sqq., 34 sqq.

[5] »Die Funktionen des Königs sind keine andern als die des Stammesgottes, dessen Abkömmling im König sich darstellt». — *Kauffmann*, Balder, p. 218. — »It is certain that the Teutons of old held in honour nobilitas alongside of virtus, and at a later period as well attached great importance to descent from noble ancestors». — *Chantepie de la Saussaye*, The Religion of Teutons, p. 100; cf. p. 103. — See also *Dahn*, Die Germanen, p. 86; — *Nitzsch*, Geschichte des deutschen Volkes, vol. I, p. 73.

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of Dr. Elander,[1] who has found many important points of resemblance between the peace chieftainship and war leadership of the North American Indians and those of the early Germans.

Speaking of the early Anglo-Saxons, Freeman writes: — »Our own Old-English kings, like all other Teutonic kings, were anything but absolute rulers; the nation chose them and could depose them ... Yet still the king, as the king, was felt to hold a rank differing in kind from the rank held by the highest of his subjects. Perhaps the distinction mainly consisted in a certain religious sentiment which attached to the person of the king and did not attach to the person of any inferior chief».[2] Of the early Scandinavians, Strinnholm observes that the king of Upsala was, by virtue of his divine descent, considered the most worthy to sacrifice for the whole nation,[3] and even rulers as late as Dyggwe the Eighth and his successors derived their greatest authority from their sacerdotal duties.[4] In Norway it was the king or *Jarl* who conducted the sacrifices at the *Thing*, presided at the festive meal, and made the libations;[5] while in Iceland »the *godhi* combined priestly and political functions.»[6]

Among the ancient Gauls, the primitive chieftainship was to be met with during the Roman rule in the northern parts of the country only. The political unit was the clan and the chieftain-

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[1] *Elander*, The Chief of the Indian Clan in North America, p. 75 sq.

[2] *Freeman*, The Growth of the English Constitution, pp. 29, 31.— Cf. also *Idem*, The History of the Norman Conquest, vol. I, pp. 78, 133 sq.; — *Green*, History of the English People, vol. I, p. 17; — *Stubbs*, Constitutional History of England, vol. I, p. 76, passim.

[3] »Der Drott von der Upsala, als der von den Göttern abgestammte, wurde für den Würdigsten gehalten ihnen für das Glück und das Wohl des ganzen Volkes zu opfern, wesshalb er als der Opferpriester des ganzen Reiches den höchsten Opferdiensten vorstand». — *Strinnholm*, Wikingszüge, vol. II, p. 37; cf. also pp. 18, 20.

[4] »Noch immerwährend beruhte seine vornehmste Macht auf dem Grundsteine der Religion». — *Strinnholm*, Op. cit. vol. II, p. 38.

[5] *Chantepie de la Saussaye*, The Religion of the Teutons, p. 366.

[6] Op. cit. p. 366 sq.

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ship was patriarchal with its council of the elders. [1] In the southern parts the rule of an elected »judgment-worker», or *Vergobretus*, had been substituted for the primitive form of government, while special war leaders were appointed in charge of the military duties. [2] This latter form of government, however, represents a more advanced form of government than that which is the subject of our inquiry.

The ancient laws of Ireland do not give any clear description of the political organization of the early Irish communities.[3] Yet nowhere do we meet with facts indicating that it was originally based upon military rule. On the contrary, it is likely that the higher chiefs were occupied with civil and religious duties, whereas military command devolved on minor chiefs. Thus the king in ancient Erin was, »in Eastern fashion,» believed to be gifted with peculiar wisdom as a judge among his people; and it was a part of his duty, as well as one of the chief of his prerogatives, to give judgment in any cases of difficulty brought before him. [4] So also, he had »a right of lighting up religion» [5], or »enacting the performance of specific religious duties». [6] As regards war chiefs, Sir Henry Maine assumes that the tribal chief »was priest and judge as well as captain of the host». [7]

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[1] *Mommsen*, History of Rome, vol. V, p. 19; — *Maine*, Early History of the Institutions, p. 35.

[2] *Fustel de Coulanges*, Institutions de l'ancienne France, p. 8, passim; — *Mommsen*, Op. cit. vol. V, p. 21. — Cf. also *Caesar*, De Bello Gallico, I, 2, 9, 16, 30; II, 4 sq., 28; III, 17, 23; V, 5, 27, 54; VII, 28, 31 sqq., 36, 55, 75; VIII, 21 sq.

[3] Ancient Laws of Ireland, vol. III, pref. p. XXVI.

[4] *O'Curry*, Lectures on the Manuscript Material of the Ancient Irish History, p. 43; — cf. Ancient Laws of Ireland, vol. IV, p. 335; — *Maine*, Early History, p. 36; — *Joyce*, Social History of Ireland, vol. I, p. 92, passim.

[5] Ancient Laws of Ireland, vol. IV, p. 335.

[6] Op. cit. vol. IV, pref., p. 203; cf. also vol. I, p. 15; vol. II, pref., p. 6; and vol. IV, p. 51.

[7] *Maine*, Op. cit. p. 35.

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Yet the Ancient Laws of Ireland do not mention the war leadership among the duties of the kings. When several tribes cooperated, a »special king of companies» acted as the commander, [1] and when a single tribe carried on war, a minor, so-called *flaith* chief was the leader. [2] Among the Gaelic race in Scotland the original social unit appears to have been the *tuath* or tribe. [3] The chief of the *tuath* was *Righ* or *Ri*, and the *Toiseach* or *Toshach* was the war leader. [4] The *Ri* or king »held that position not merely by election, but as the representative in the senior line of the common ancestor, and had a hereditary claim to their obedience». [5] His primary function was judicial. [6] Mr. Andrew Lang describes this early political organization as hierarchical. [7] Later on a great change took place; [8] the *tuaths* disappeared and were succeeded by the clans, [9] which had been developed within the tribe. *Ceann-cinnidh* or *Ceanncine* was the hereditary clan chief, *Ceanntighe* was the chieftain or head of a family, while a captain acted as the war leader of the clan. [10] As for the political organization in ancient Wales, it was based on kinship, the chiefs deriving their authority from patriarchal sources and not directly from warlike superiority. On the whole,

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[1] Ancient Laws of Ireland, vol. IV, p. 331.

[2] »There are four '*deis*' rights prescribed for '*flaith*' chiefs. The ancient protection of the people (or territory) is his office in the territory, together with the office of leader or tanist-leader of the army, whichever office it may be». — Op. cit. vol. IV, p. 321.

[3] *Skene*, Celtic Scotland, vol. III, p. 136 sq.

[4] *Lang*, A History of Scotland, vol. I, p. 133; — *Skene*, Op. cit. vol. III, p. 62; — Dictionary of the Gaelic Language, vol. II, p. 210.

[5] *Skene*, Op. cit. vol. III, p. 140.

[6] Op. cit. vol. III, p. 141.

[7] *Lang*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 81.

[8] Op. cit. vol. I, p. 133.

[9] *Skene*, Op. cit. vol. III, p. 335 sqq.

[10] *Mitchell*, History of the Highlands and Gaelic Scotland, p. 296; — *Skene*, Op. cit. vol. III, p. 328; — Dictionary of the Gaelic Language, vol. I, pp. 204—206.

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it may have had a great resemblance to that prevalent in ancient Ireland previous to the wars of conquest. [1]

Among the ancient Finns, [2] as well as among the early Esthonians [3] and Lapps, [4] the political organization was based upon kinship, the heads of the communities were charged with the general management of affairs and on them devolved at the same time the priestly functions also. [5] It is probable, Koskinen assumes, that elected leaders headed the war expeditions. [6] Similarly, in the case of the Finno-Ugrian peoples in Northern Russia, the patriarchal character of their chieftainship has been pointed out by various authors. [7]

In many instances it has been seen that the civil and sacerdotal duties of the chieftainship in primitive communities have been vested in one person, who often obtained his office by hereditary right, while another person was elected to lead war expeditions. In other instances it was seen that one and the same chief was entrusted with all these functions. As regards these latter cases it remains to inquire into the causes why the civil and priestly rulers have also acted as war leaders.

Authors who maintain that bravery is the sole quality which enables a savage to become a chief do not pay proper attention to the fact that primitive wars are not carried on merely by weapons and physical strength, but often by magic means also, and with the help of the unseen powers. In fact we scarcely meet

[1] *Seebohm.* The Tribal System in Wales, pp. XXXII sqq., 22 sqq., 54, 61, 73 sq., 88 sqq., passim; — *Skene*, Celtic Scotland, vol. III, pp. 198 sq., 205 sqq.

[2] *Yrjö-Koskinen*, Suomal. heimojen yhteisk.-järjestyksestä, p. 182 sqq., passim.

[3] Op. cit. p. 108 sqq.

[4] Op. cit. p. 84 sqq.

[5] Op. cit. p. 81.

[6] *Koskinen*, Suomen kansan historia, p. 20 sq.

[7] *Castrén*, Nordiska Resor och Forskningar, vol. I, p. 298 sqq.; — *Müller*, Der Ugrische Volksstamm, vol. I, part II, p. 394, passim; — see also *Yrjö-Koskinen*, Op. cit. passim. — *Pallas*, Reise durch verschiedene Provinzen des Russischen Reiches, vol. II, p. 256, passim.

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with any savage warfare in which superstitious customs do not play a considerable part. [1] Hence, it follows that magicians and priests, or the chiefs themselves, often take part in warfare in order to display their skill in supernatural methods for the benefit of their own war party. Thus, speaking of the Maori, Mr. S. Percy Smith observes: — »I have said that Maori priests were warriors ... There are innumerable instances of priests leading their tribes in time of war, and I think this is a custom dating from very ancient days». [2] Similarly, Mr. Eldson Best states that, according to Maori belief, the deified ancestors warned the seer in his sleep when the community was in danger. »Hence a seer was often both priest and fighting general of a tribe». [3] Thus in 1864, when the Maori decided to fight the *Pakeha* (Europeans), a seer of this kind »was priest and prophet of the force and took prominent part in the fighting». He was a medium of the ancient and powerful war god *Te Potuatini*. [4] So also Te Hakae was the chief and priest of the fort as well as the seer and magician, who defended his fort by means of magic. [5] These *tohunga* or priests and skilled artificers [6] of the Maori were not alone in the discharge of these duties. [7] In some instances

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[1] *Holsti*, Some Superstitious Customs in Primitive Warfare, passim; — *supra*, p. 56 sqq.

[2] *Smith*, Tohunga Maori; in Trans. New Zealand Institute, vol. XXXI, p. 258.

[3] *Best*, Notes on the Art of War; in Journ. Polyn. Soc. vol. XI, p. 54; cf. p. 68; — *Gudgeon*, The Toa Taua; in Journ. Polyn. Soc. vol. XIII, pp. 245, 261.

[4] *Best*, Op. cit. vol. XI, p. 60; cf. vol. XII, p. 66; vol. XIII, p. 76.

[5] Op. cit. vol. XII, p. 214.

[6] *Tohunga* means in Maori language »a skilled person .. a priest .. a wizard»; — *Tregear*, Maori-Polynesian Comparative Dictionary, p. 524.

[7] For further particulars see *Smith*, Wars of the Northern against the Southern Tribes; in Journ. Polyn. Soc. vol. XIII, pp. 39 sq., 48; — *Idem*, The Tohunga Maori; in Transactions of the New Zealand Institute, vol. XXXII, p. 256; — *Best*, Notes on the Art of War; in Journ. Polyn. Soc. vol. XII, p. 33 sqq.; — *Hammond*, Atua Maori; in Journ. Polyn. Soc. vol. VIII, p. 91 sqq.

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we read that they »were assisted by chiefs» [1] when performing rites before the commencement of hostilities. Moreover, we saw above that on these ordinary chiefs devolved certain important functions of a priestly character. [2] Hence, as Gudgeon relates of some tribes, before proceeding on a war expedition, »all the great fighting men of the tribe were required to squat down in line while their *Ariki* would pass them in succession between his legs in order to ward off all possible misfortune from these valuable men». [3] When performing this he, the sacred *Ariki*, was certainly acting on behalf of the hereditary *Atua*, the guardian spirit of the tribe, with whom he could communicate at any time. [4] Similarly, Mr. Best remarks that such a clan chief endowed with great prestige in war, or with a supernatural power — as for example the *waka* or medium of a war god — might easily become leader of the »collected tribal divisions in war. But on the conclusion of the fighting his temporary authority over the whole tribe would end or be much lessened». [5] There are many other similar statements to the effect that *Ariki*, when acting as war leaders, used above all to perform rites in order to invoke supernatural aid or used to destroy the enemy by means of magic. [6]

[1] *Polack*, Manners and Customs of the New Zealanders, vol. I, p. 130.

[2] See *supra*, p. 192 sq.

[3] *Gudgeon*, Mana Tangata; in Journ. Polyn. Soc. vol. XIV, p. 64.

[4] *Gudgeon*, Tipua Kura; in Journ. Polyn. Soc. vol. XV, p. 38; — cf. *Idem*, Maori Religion; in Journ. Polyn. Soc. vol. XIV, p. 114; — *Idem*, The Toa Taua; in Journ. Polyn. Soc. vol. XIII, p. 264; — *Taylor*, Te Ika a Maui, pp. 80, 93, 319, 322, 330.

[5] *Best*, Notes on the Art of War; in Journ. Polyn. Soc. vol. XII, p. 40.

[6] *Wheeler*, Sociology of the Maori, I. Manuscript; — *Hammond*, Op. cit.; in Journ. Polyn. Soc. vol. VIII, p. 91 sq.; — *Smith*, Wars of the Northern against the Southern Tribes; in Journ. Polyn. Soc. vol. XIII, p. 48; — *Polack*, Manners and Customs, vol. I, p. 40; — *Taylor*, Te Ika a Maui, pp. 80, 93.

»In those brave days of old», an old Maori told Mr. Best, »the gods of the Maori assisted them to overcome their foes». — Te Whanga; in Journ. Polyn. Soc. vol. X, pp. 161, 163. — Cf. also *Best*, Notes on the Art of War; in Journ. Polyn. Soc. vol. XI, p. 54.

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We have thus seen that when elected war leaders are entrusted with the command, this is not always due to their martial qualities, but very often also to their supernatural powers. Similarly, when the tribal or, more probably, the clan chiefs called *Ariki*, acted as war leaders, this was often at least due to their relationship with the gods whose assistance was required.

Speaking of the *taopu* or village maiden in Samoa, Mr. S. Percy Smith observes that she is always of high birth, chosen for that reason and for her good looks. She »sometimes leads her clan on the battle field, where her person is sacred»; she represents the highest class of woman-chieftains. [1] Here again we meet with war leaders who do not derive their power from military capacity. According to Inglis, in the New Hebrides, »formerly the principal chiefs exercised the priestly rather than the kingly power, though both offices were frequently combined in the same person». [2] This undoubtedly means that the priestly rulers acted in many cases as war leaders also. It was observed above that the *ovia ahuahu*, or the war chiefs of Roro-speaking communities in New Guinea, were in a subordinate position, as the *paiha*, or experts in battle magic, had the supreme command, and as a rule the ordinary chiefs, *ovia itsipana*, acted in this capacity. [3] Similarly, among the Mekeo it devolves on the chiefs to lull the enemy into security by magic means in order to facilitate the nightly assault.[4] Among the aborigines in Torres Strait the war expedition started in two columns, »the head of each column being a noted warrior, each of whom carried a magical emblem . . . which was supposed to give victory»[5] The clan chiefs of the savage inhabitants of the Philippines,

Shortland observes that Maori wars were »always carried on under the supposed patronage of guardian spirits and in conformity with fixed laws». — Traditions and Superstitions, p. 230.

[1] *Smith*, Hawaiki; in Journ. Polyn. Soc. vol. VII, p. 161.

[2] *Inglis*, In the New Hebrides, p. 24.

[3] See *supra*, p. 198.

[4] *Seligmann*, The Melanesians, p. 346.

[5] Reports of the Cambridge Expedition to Torres Sraits, vol. V, p. 299.

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when acting as war captains, carried sacred designs in order to ensure success. [1] The chiefs of the wild tribes in the Malay Peninsula are supposed to be invested with the power of killing their enemies by magic. [2] According to Stewart [3], the chief of the Kukies was »much more a priest than potentate», yet, Lewin [4] maintains, he acted as war leader also. [5] In Madagascar the highest idol was brought with the war party whenever the sacred king acted also as the commander-in-chief. [6] Among the Kafirs, »if the chief wishes to counteract the magic used against his nation by some rival tribe, he is bound to use his fullest knowledge of magical practices to hinder the enemy and strengthen his own people». [7] So also the chief who did not command the war party personally had to perform one of the last sacred ceremonies in order to raise the courage of the army and to make it victorious. [8] Speaking of the Sük and Turkana, Sir H. H. Johnston observes that among these peoples the medicine men are very often the chiefs or leaders of war parties by virtue of their power in occult arts. [9] The priestly chiefs of the Masai never took part in war expeditions; yet they gave orders and directed the operations of the army in conformity with super-

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[1] *Semper*, Die Philippinen, p. 62.

[2] *Skeat*, Wild Tribes of the Malay; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1902, p. 136.

[3] *Stewart*, Notes on the Northern Cachar; in Journ. Asiatic Soc. Bengal, 1855, vol. XXIV, p. 608.

[4] *Lewin*, Chittagong, p. 100 sq.

[5] Speaking of the Lushai chiefs as war leaders, Mr. Shakespear remarks that he once asked a chief how many enemies he had killed. »On my expressing surprise at his admitting that he killed none, he naively remarked, you see, we chiefs always go last, shouting 'Forward, forward', and by the time I reached the village, the people had always run away.» — *Shakespear*, Lushei Kuki Clans, p. 59.

[6] *Ellis*, Madagascar, vol. I, p. 410.

[7] *Kidd*, The Essential Kafir, p. 148.

[8] Op. cit. p. 307.

[9] *Johnston*, The Uganda Protectorate, vol. II, p. 851.

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natural information; [1] while among the Wafiumi the witch-doctor decides when warfare is to be entered upon, and he acts also as the leader of the enterprise. [2] Of the Ba-Huana we read that their chiefs have a special war council; in war their duty is to be ambassadors, and their persons are respected also by the enemy. [3] Among the Negroes of Gambia, the chief, when sending his warriors for an expedition under the command of captains, performs certain rites in order to encourage them. [4] Beecham states that in the beginning of the nineteenth century the Ashantee kings, when entering upon war expeditions, were employed »in religious preparations during a period of several weeks. Not only in the capital, but in several other places, the king presented fetish offerings in furtherance of the undertaking.» [5]

Of the Abipones, Dobrizhoffer writes: — »That they may not be deceived in their opinions they make one of their jugglers the ruler of the expedition». [6] Thus they readily admitted that the Guaycunis were more formidable than they themselves, this being the case »not because they excel them in goodness of arms, strength of body, or courage of mind, but because they enter the fight attended by far more skilful jugglers». [7] Among the Sia and other Pueblos, the *tiämoni*, by virtue of his priestly office, is »ex-officio chief executive and legislator; the war priest (he and his vicar, being the earthly representatives of their war

[1] *Merker*, Die Masai, pp. 18, 86; — *Vandeleur*, Campaigning on the Upper Nile, p. 134.

Von der Decken observes that the Masai chief »mit seiner Zauberkunst die Feinde zurückschlägt und vernichtet».— Reisen, vol. II, p. 24; — *Hinde*, The Last of Masai, p. 23.

[2] *Baumann*, Durch Massailand, p. 179.

[3] *Torday* and *Joyce*, Ba-Huana; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1906, p. 289.

[4] *Hecquard*, Voyage sur la côte et dans l'interieur de l'Arique Occidentale, pp. 97, 100.

[5] *Beecham*, Ashantee and Gold Coast, p. 207.

[6] *Dobrizhoffer*, The Abipones, vol. II, p. 375.

[7] Op. cit. vol. II, p. 422.

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heroes) having immediate control and direction of the military and of tribal hunts». The people have, however, elected war captains also. [1] Among the ancient Mexicans [2] and in Yucatan, the sacrificer as well as the war captain was called *Nacon.* [3] Speaking of an Omaha war party, Dr. Dorsey says that the war leader had, as a rule, a sacred bag, which he opened with its mouth towards the foe, »that the wind might waft the magic influence of the bag to the lodges and make the sleepers forget their weapons and warlike spirit». [4] Describing more closely these »Sacred War Packs», Miss Fletcher and Mr. La Flesche state that no war expeditions started out until the Thunder-god had given his sanction through these sacred things. When this had taken place and when the leader and his followers had received full instructions from the keeper of one of these Sacred Packs, and, moreover, when they had secured one or more of the sacred birds to act as a medium between the party and the Thunder-god, they felt themselves ready »to face any danger; and in any event the responsibility for their acts rested with the supernatural agencies they had invoked». [5] Every war expedition of the Creek [6] Indians had its special *hopya* or »charmer at a distance». Among the Dakota, »the war chief who leads the party to war is always one of their medicine men, and is believed to have the power to guide the party to success, or save it from defeat.» [7] So also of Sitting Bull, »the great medicine-man» of the Sioux who died in 1890, we read: — »Although a priest rather

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[1] *Coxe Stevenson*, The Sia; in 11:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. pp. 16, 18.

[2] *Bastian*, Die Culturländer des Alten America, vol. I, p. 611.

[3] Op. cit. vol. I, pp. 613 n 2, 645 n 1.

[4] *Dorsey*, Omaha Sociology; in 3:rd Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 327.

[5] *Fletcher* and *La Flesche*, The Omaha Tribe; in 27:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 416.

[6] *Gatschet*, Creek Indians, p. 165.

[7] *Schoolcraft*, Information respecting the Indian Tribes, vol. IV, p. 495; quoted by *Spencer*, Principles of Sociology, vol. II, p. 339.

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than a chief he had gained a reputation in his early years by organizing and leading war parties». [1]

Passing over to the so-called Aryans, in Sparta, as we have seen above, [2] the people decided upon peace and war, [3] the *Ephors* collected the army, [4] while the kings were entrusted merely with its command. This again, was undoubtedly less due to their military renown than to the fact that all the operations had to be conducted in conformity with divine directions. [5] »Zeus,» observes Farnell, [6] »was the leader of the host, to whom the king sacrificed, and from whose altar, if the signs were favourable, he carried fire away with him to the enemy's frontier». [7] So also the Roman kings, and even the consuls, did not on the battle-field stand for their own military skill only; in fact, as Fustel de Coulanges justly observes: — »Privée de son chef, l'armée est en même temps privée de la protection céleste; avec le consul sont partis les auspices, c'est-à-dire la religion et les dieux.» [8] Similarly Mommsen observes of Scipio that after the end of the second Punic war, »the youthful conqueror moved in splendid procession through the decorated streets of the capital, to deposit his laurels in the house of the god by whose direct inspirations, as the pious whispered to one another, he had been

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[1] *Mooney*, Ghost Dance Religion; in 14:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 860.

[2] See *supra*, p. 204.

[3] *Grote*, History of Greece, vol. II, p. 277.

[4] Op. cit. II, p. 275 sqq.

[5] Op. cit. vol. II, p. 275, passim.

[6] *Farnell*, The Cults of the Greek States, vol. I, p. 59; cf. also vol. V, pp. 358, 404.

[7] Speaking of the commanders-in-chief of the Phocian Confederacy, Tittmann remarks: — »Sonderbar ist, dass dieses Amt wie erblich war; indem man nicht nur die Brüder nach einander sondern auch den Sohn des einen wählte, der noch so jung war, dass er eines Vormundes bedurfte». — *Tittmann*, Darstellung der griechischen Staatsverfassungen, p. 709.

[8] *Fustel de Coulanges*, La cité antique, p. 230.

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guided in counsel and in action». [1] And it is known that even later the Roman commanders paid often more attention to sacrifices than to actual fighting. [2] As for the early Scandinavians, Strinnholm points out that the kings of Upsala were the most natural war leaders because of their descent from the old deified ancestors who were also supposed to take part in the fighting. [3] Moreover, in general the kings of the early Scandinavians were thought by means of their great magic skill to be able among other things to blunt swords, still the waves of the sea, and develop the power and strength of eight men.[4]

From these facts it appears that in those cases where not merely civil and priestly but also military duties devolve on primitive chiefs, this has often been due to their supernatural power and not simply to their martial qualities. They have acted as leaders of their warriors because of their chieftainship in its general aspect.

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[1] *Mommsen*, History of Rome, vol. II, p. 368. — Cf. also vol. I, p. 100 and passim; — *Gibbon*, The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, vol. I, p. 16 sq.; — *Tacitus*, History IV, 85; — *Idem*, Germania, 33.

[2] Cf. *Spencer*, Principles of Sociology, vol. III, p. 111.

[3] *Strinnholm*, Wikingszüge, vol. II, p. 37.

[4] *Kauffmann*, Balder, p. 176; cf. p. 207 sqq.

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CHAPTER VIII

THE CHARACTER OF PRIMITIVE CHIEFTAINSHIP

(*Continued*)

In a previous chapter it was observed that primitive communities do not require protection merely against human foes, but also against invisible agents and hostile powers which fill the savage mind with a sense of dependence and fear. In all the instances just quoted it was noticed also that primitive chiefs are charged with the making of offerings and other similar duties in order to secure the benevolence of these powers. So also we pointed out that, together with these supernatural factors, scarcity of food is a foe of capital importance to all savage communities whether warlike, in the ordinary sense of the word, or not. In the following pages it will be seen more clearly than above, that among the priestly duties of primitive chiefs some very important ones are directed to procuring special assistance and blessing in this respect also; similarly when the savages, after a good harvest, desire to show their gratitude towards their invisible benefactors, it devolves on the chiefs to perform the ceremonies required or otherwise to act as mediators. Nay more, the chiefs themselves are considered ultimately to be responsible for the material welfare of their people; hence in the case of failure and famine they are seriously punished.

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Among the pagan Eskimo in Greenland the most skilful harpooner of the clan was considered to be its chief as well as its wizard, *Angekok*, who knew how to decoy large flocks of seals. [1] As regards the Iroquois, there seems reason to suppose that previous to the establishment of the league the *sachems* were charged with the duty of procuring rain. [2] Among the Blackfeet the chiefs prayed during the Sun-dance ceremonies »that their children might live to be old and always have plenty of food», [3] or »Mother Earth have pity on us and give us food to eat»,[4] or also »May our medicine provide us with food». [5] The Omaha paid the greatest reverence to their »Sacred Pole». When it was to be painted with fat as the emblem of abundance, and red, the colour of life, the mixture therefore symbolizing »abundant life», the chiefs by means of smoking were praying and »asking of a blessing». [6] Among the Indians of British Columbia the chiefs performed religious ceremonies in order »to invoke the aid of the deity for fine weather, plenty of fish, etc.» [7] Thus *e. g.* the Stseélis observed certain first-fruits ceremonies; for example, when the salmon »run» commenced, the first one caught was always brought to the chief. He subsequently called the people together »for prayers and dancing. Only the chief himself prayed». [8] Similar customs, on the whole, prevailed among

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[1] »Er war zugleich der Zauberer, der Angekok, und wusste mit den Geistern Oceans, der weissen Berge des Inlandseises, der Länder jenseits des Meeres in Verbindung zu treten; er verstand zahlreiche Robbenscharen anzulocken . . .» — Globus, vol. LXIX, 1896, p. 223.

[2] *Morgan*, League of the Iroquois, p. 196; cf. pp. 71, 185, 220 sqq.

[3] *McClintock*, Old North Trail, pp. 288, 297.

[4] Op. cit. pp. 32 sqq., 93.

[5] Op. cit. pp. 80, 85.

[6] *Fletcher* and *La Flesche*, The Omaha Tribe; in 27:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. pp. 238 sqq., 283, 286 sqq., 599.

[7] *Mayne*, Four Years in British Columbia and Vancouver Island, p. 81; — *Dunn*, History of Oregon, p. 252 sq.

[8] *Tout*, Report on the StsEélis Tribe; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1904, p. 330.

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the Statlumh tribe.[1] Describing the ceremonies called *Hako* among the Pawnee Indians, Miss Fletcher states that every rich man was entitled to arrange them,[2] yet, if he himself was not the chief, he had to ask the chief to perform them together with the *Hurahus* or the man conversant with the rites.[3] With the *Hako* they prayed »for the gift of life, of strength, of plenty, and of peace».[4] Of the Hopi, an old tale informs us that »the village chief was called *Tapolo*, but he was not at peace with his people, and there was quarrelling and trouble. Owing to this conflict only a little rain fell».[5] Among this people rain-cloud spirits are regarded as ancestral beings.[6] Even at the present time, the clan chiefs of Hopi take part in ceremonies which aim at procuring rain and improving the growth of the crops.[7] Among the Sia Indians the civil and religious head used to be elected from the corn clan; once, however, they elected him »from the coyote clan, but he proved not to have a good heart, for the cloud people refused to send rain and the earth became dry».[8] The Zuñi Indians recognize the supreme political authority of the rain-priesthood, which nominates and dismisses the civil head of the community. On this priesthood devolve all the ceremonies which are required to procure rain and fertilize the soil.[9] Similarly the chief of the Seri Indians

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[1] *Tout*, Report on the StatlumH; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1905, p. 140.

[2] *Fletcher*, The Hako; in 22:nd Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. pp. 19, 26.

[3] Op. cit. pp. 58, 60 sq., 63, 96, 100 sqq., 123, 203 sqq., 244 sqq., 256 sqq., 309 sq.

[4] Op. cit. pp. 24, 145, 148, 198, 280 sqq.

[5] *Fewkes*, Tusayan Ceremonies; in 19:th Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethnol. p. 603.

[6] Op. cit. p. 1008; — cf. *Fewkes*, Tusayan Ceremonies; in 16:th Ann. Rept. p. 300 sq.

[7] Op. cit.; in 16:th Ann. Rept. pp. 274 sqq., 302 sqq.; — Op. cit.; in 19:th Ann. Rept. pp. 965, 972 sqq., 978, 1007 sqq.

[8] *Coxe Stevenson*, The Sia; in 11:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 16.

[9] *Coxe Stevenson*, The Zuñi; in 23:rd Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. pp. 163, 166, 180, 289 sqq.

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had the duty of procuring the food supply, stilling storms at sea, protecting the fields from the drought, etc. [1] Among the Huichol Indians, their spiritual head produced rain. [2] Speaking of the kings of ancient Mexico, Gomara states that the new kings, when ascending the throne, were »made to swear . . to make the sun to go his course, to make the clouds to pour down rain, to make the rivers run and all fruits to ripen». [3] The Najobo Indians, even as late as the middle of the last century, worshipped an idol called Montezuma. »It is», says Davis, »greatly in vogue in a dry time, when it is brought forth from the sanctuary and with dancing and other rites they invoke it in favour of rain». [4] According to Fewkes, [5] the chiefs of the early aborigines in Porto Rico had a special influence upon the growth of crops; this was the case also with the early inhabitants of Haiti. [6] The Incas were similarly considered to be responsible for rain. [7]

Among the aborigines of the Gold Coast in West Africa, the chiefs perform those ceremonies which are required »pour obtenir une année prospère et d'abondantes récoltes». [8] Describing his duties, a chief among the Cross River Negroes observed: —»By the observance and performance of these ceremonies I bring game to the hunter, cause the yam crop to be good, bring fish to the fisherman, and make rain to fall». [9] This was the case

[1] *McGee*, The Seri Indians; in 17:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 276.

[2] *Lumholtz*, Unknown Mexico, vol. II, pp. 7 sq., 18, 189.

[3] *Clavigero*, History of Mexico, vol. I, p. 340; — *Diaz*, Histoire véridique de la Nouvelle-Espagne, p. 249; — *Bancroft*, The Native Races of the Pacific States, vol. II, p. 146; — *Brinton*, Hero-Myths, p. 121 sq.

[4] *Davis*, El Gringo, p. 395; cf. p. 394.

[5] *Fewkes*, The Aborigines of Porto Rico; in 25:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 66.

[6] Op. cit. p. 64. — As for the Antilles, see *Rochefort*, Îles Antilles de l'Amerique, p. 361.

[7] *Letourneau*, Evolution politique, p. 119; — *Bastian*, Die Culturländer des Alten America, vol. I, p. 464.

[8] *Hecquard*, Voyage sur la côte de l'Afrique Occidentale, pp. 64 sqq., 113.

[9] *Partridge*, Cross River Natives, p. 202; cf. p. 205 sqq.

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with the Loango chiefs also.[1] Thus, speaking not merely of the Ovakumbi Negroes, but of the whole of equatorial Africa, the missionary, Father Wunenburger, observes: — »Une superstition commune aux différents peuples de l'Afrique équatoriale attribue aux simples roitelets du pays, le pouvoir exclusif de faire tomber la pluie, et dans les cas extrêmes, à certains rois plus privilégiés».[2] According to Mr. Kidd, »tradition always places the power of making rain as the fundamental glory of ancient chiefs and heroes» among the Kafirs; hence, as Mr Kidd adds, »it seems probable that it may have been the origin of chieftainship. The man who made rain would naturally become the chief».[3] It follows as a matter of course that the chiefs were anxious to maintain their favoured position of being the only persons vested with this special power.[4] Moreover, the Kafirs do not begin the harvest and the feast of first-fruits before the permission of the chief has been obtained. This custom has been designed »probably, partly as a *taboo* to prevent the squandering of the tribal food supply, and partly as a means of insuring that the *amatongo*, or ancestral spirits, shall get their due and be kept well disposed towards the tribe».[5] Similarly, among the Matabele peoples, the chiefs make rain[6] as well as perform the ceremonies and thanksgivings for good harvests, etc. »O Grands Esprits de mon père et de mon aïeul, je vous rends grâce de ce que l'an dernier vous avez accordé à mon peuple plus de blé qu'aux Machonas, mes ennemis. Cette année aussi, en reconnaissance des douze boeufs noirs que je vais vous consacrer, faites que nous soyons les mieux nourris . . .»[7] Among the

[1] *Bastian*, Die deutsche Expedition an der Loango-Küste, vol. I, p. 353; vol. II, pp. 230 sq., 253.

[2] Les Missions Catholiques, vol. XX, p. 262.

[3] *Kidd*, The Essential Kafir, p. 114.

[4] Op. cit. pp. 114, 155.

[5] *Kidd*, Kafir Socialism, p. 7; — *Casalis*, The Basutos, p. 215.

[6] Les Annales de la Propagation de la Foi, vol. LIII, pp. 262 sq., 267 sq.

[7] Op. cit. p. 268 sq.

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Mavenda in the Transvaal, »in the early spring of every year some twenty or thirty head of cattle are slain under the direction of the chief when they pray for peace, prosperity, and plenty». [1] The chief is also rain-maker; in fact, as Mr. Grant observes, rain-making is »a greater power in the eyes of natives than that of *assegai*». [2] They have also the feast of first-fruits with its important sacrifices, which latter, however, devolve more on the clan chiefs than on the tribal head. [3] Speaking of the natives of Mashonaland, Garbutt states that as a rule »the king is the chief rain doctor». [4] According to Livingstone, the chief of the Bangai was in virtue of his priestly duties in general the professional rain-maker. [5] The natives of the entire Nyanza district »sont persuadés que la pluie elle-même ne tombe que grâce aux sortilèges, et c'est au chef de la tribu qu'incombe la mission importante de la faire tomber. Si elle n'arrive pas à temps, tout le monde de se plaindre. Plus d'un roitelet est chassé de ses Etats pour cause de sécheresse». [6] Similarly among the Wagogo and the Wetumba, »the chief power of the chiefs is derived from their art of rain-making». [7] The chiefs also lead the way in sowing, and perform the ceremonies in connection with the beginnings of harvest. [8] Of the Wanika, Krapf states that wizards are charged with rain-making, yet »they call upon the chiefs to offer up a sacrifice». [9] The sacerdotal chiefs of the

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[1] *Grant*, Magato and his Tribe; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1905, p. 270.

[2] Op. cit. p. 267.

[3] *Gottschling*, The Bawenda: in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1905, p. 379 sqq.

[4] *Garbutt*, Native Witchcraft: in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1909, p. 550.

[5] *Livingstone*, Missionary Travels, p. 604 sq.

[6] Les Annales de la Propagation de la Foi, vol. LX, p. 110.

[7] *Cole*, The Wagogo of German East Africa; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1902, p. 321; cf. p. 338.

[8] Op. cit. p. 319.

[9] *Krapf*, Travels and Missionary Labours in Eastern Africa, p. 170.

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Wakuafi,[1] Masai,[2] Wataturu,[3] Wambugwe and Warangi[4] procure rain. Among the Lendu, »the rain maker is either a chief or almost invariably becomes one».[5] According to Casati, the chief of the Mambettu procured rain.[6] Speaking of the people of Unyoro, the same author observes: — »A native complained to me of the obstinate drought. 'And who is it', I demanded, 'that regulates the fall of rain in this country?' '*Makama*, (the king) he replied».[7] As regards the Lattooka, their chief, Lugar, was once driven away after the failure of his effort to cause rain to fall. A few days afterwards, however, when a great quantity of rain fell, the exile was recalled.[8] Of the Lur, Casati states that their chief, Wadelai, was a stranger to war, »whereas he was an universal rain enchanter».[9] According to Von der Decken,[10] when the Galla are suffering from drought the chief, assisted by elders, performs ceremonies in order to relieve the distress. Describing the natives living in the regions of the White Nile, Brun Rollet states that they have no other kings than those invested with the powers of making rain. Hence, if »après avoir fait leur offre et reitéré leur demande, la pluie ne tombe pas, ils (the people) se rendent auprès du roi et lui fendent le ventre, lequel suivant eux, renferme les tempêtes . . .»[11] Of

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[1] *Von der Decken*, Reisen, vol. II, p. 24.

[2] *Johnston*, The Uganda Protectorate, vol. II, p. 830.

[3] *Baumann*, Durch Massailand, p. 173.

[4] Op. cit. p. 188.

[5] *Johnston*, Op. cit. vol. II, p. 555.

[6] *Casati*, Ten Years in Equatoria, vol. I, p. 133.

[7] Op. cit. vol. I, p. 134; vol. II, p. 57; — *Featherman*, Social History of the Races of Mankind, vol. I, p. 111.

[8] Op. cit. vol. I, p. 132; — cf. also *Featherman*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 82.

[9] Op. cit. vol. I, p 327. — Speaking of the Bari the same author observes: — »Their respect and veneration for the dispensers of rain are greater than those felt for the chiefs of the country». — Op. cit. vol. I, p. 304.

[10] *Von der Decken*, Op. cit. vol. II, p. 375; — cf. *Featherman*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 784.

[11] *Brun Rollet*, Lettres par . .; in Bulletin de la Société de Géographie, 1852, p. 421 sqq.

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the Barea and Kunama in Abyssinia, Munzinger gives information to the same effect; if the chiefs called *Alfai* are not successful in rainmaking and in driving away grasshoppers, they are stoned to death. [1]

Describing the feast of the first-fruits among the Tongans, Mariner states that portions of the fruits of the earth and other eatables »are offered to the gods in the person of the divine chief *Tooitonga*, which allotment is made once a year». The object of this ceremony, according to the same observer, is to »insure the protection of the gods, that their favour may be extended to the welfare of the nation generally and, in particular, to the productions of the earth». [2] Hence, if this offering were neglected the vengeance of the gods would fall in a signal manner upon the people. [3] Similarly in Rarotonga, the *ariki* or chief acted as mediator between the people and the gods at the festival of first-fruits. [4] Of the natives of the Humphrey Island, we read that the chief »prayed for ordinary supplies of food and life and health». [5] In Samoa the village chiefs received the first-fruits. [6] Turner visited Niue Island in 1854, when the natives had no king. »Of old they had kings, but as they were high priests as well, and were supposed to cause the food to grow, the people got angry with them in times of scarcity and killed them; and as one after another was killed, the end of it was that no one wished to be a king». [7] We noticed above, that the Fijian chiefs were civil and religious rulers, while the leader-

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[1] *Munzinger*, Ostafrikanische Studien, p. 474.

[2] *Mariner*, The Natives of the Tonga Islands, vol. II, p. 207; cf. also the following pages ;— *Featherman*, Social History of the Races of Mankind, vol. II, p. 135.

[3] *Mariner*, Op. cit. vol. II, p. 84.

[4] *Smith*, Arai-Te-Tonga; in Journ. Polyn. Soc. vol. XII, p. 218; — *Idem*, Hawaiki; in Journ. Polyn. Soc. vol. VII, p. 197.

[5] *Turner*, Samoa, p. 279.

[6] *Turner*, Nineteen Years in Polynesia, pp. 88, 327.

[7] *Turner*, Samoa, p. 304 sq.

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ship of war expeditions devolved on special war captains. [1] In order to procure rain, the chief herald of the hereditary rulers prayed: — »Be gracious, ye lords the gods, that the rain may cease and the sun shine forth». [2] But at the festival of the first-fruits the chief himself performed the ceremonies required, *i. e.* the fruits were given to him and then carried to the temple. The aim of the offering was »to persuade the ancestors to grant abundant increase». [3] Speaking generally, similar customs prevailed in New Caledonia also. [4] In the New Hebrides the departed chiefs are supposed especially to preside over the growth of the yams and the different fruit-trees. The first-fruits are presented to them. All being quiet, the chief acts as high priest, and prays aloud thus: — »Compassionate father, here is some food for you; eat it, be kind to us on account of it». [5] In Murray Islands, at the beginning of harvest, all the people assembled for worship, »when the *Ad* [6] would be worn on the head of the tribal chief». He was also presented with the first-fruits. [7] Dr. Seligmann writes of a clan-chief among the Roro-speaking tribes in New Guinea »who has for generations had power over the weather and is firmly believed to procure rain at will». [8] The chief of the Mowat tribe in New Guinea is supposed to have the power of »affecting the growth of crops for good or bad, also of coaxing the dugong and turtle to come from all parts and allow them-

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[1] See *supra*, p. 197.

[2] *Williams* and *Calvert*, Fiji and the Fijians, vol. I, p. 144; see also pp. 230, 233.

[3] *Thomson*, The Fijians, p. 64.

[4] *Rochas*, La Nouvelle Calédonie, p. 276 sq.

[5] *Turner*, Nineteen Years in Polynesia, p. 88; — *Idem*, Samoa, p. 319.

[6] Certain objects were regarded as sacred, says Mr. Hunt, and were known by the generic name *Ad*. When the chief spirit of the natives was benignant, merciful and helpful, he was then known as *Agud*. The *Ad* of *Agud* consisted of a figure of man made of turtle shell. — *Hunt*, Notes on the Murray Islands; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1898, p. 6 sq.

[7] Loc. cit.

[8] *Seligmann*, The Melanesians, p. 291.

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selves to be taken». [1] This is the case also with other chiefs in the same island; they have influence over the rain and the fish Thus, according to Chalmers, a man was chief because he had power over the sea in calm or storm. Another man was »great because his power is for plantations and is able to give an abundance of all kinds of food, and can bring rain and sunshine». [2] In Bartle Bay, the position of a chief and that of a wizard were combined in the same person, the chief having also special influence upon the crops. [3] Similarly, in the Marshall Bennett Islands, the clan chiefs made the gardens of their clans productive by means of charms. Each crop had its special spell. [4] Among the early inhabitants of Formosa, the old men, the rulers of the communities, had to see that all men were entirely naked at the season of growing crops, otherwise the gods would not have given rain nor would the rice have grown. [5] According to Low, the Dyak chiefs prayed »that the next *Padi* harvest might be abundant, that their families might be increased with male children, and that their pigs and fowls might be very prolific; it was in fact a prayer for general prosperity to the country and tribe». [6] As regards the Hill tribes, not merely the stars and gods, but also the chiefs themselves »are requested to shed their beneficent influence over the seed *Padi* and to render the season propitious to its growth». [7] So also the chief performs the ceremonies in connection with the beginning of harvest. [8] Similarly, Furness observes that the chiefs of the Dyaks are responsible for rain. [9]

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[1] *Beardmore*, The Natives of Mowat; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1890, p. 464.

[2] *Chalmers*, Toaripi; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1898, p. 334.

[3] *Seligmann*, Op. cit. p. 456.

[4] Op. cit. p. 702.

[5] *Hulsius*, Beschreibung der zweyen Insulen Formosa und Japan, p. 39 sq.

[6] *Low*, Sarawak, p. 255.

[7] Op. cit. p. 251.

[8] Op. cit. p. 251 sq.

[9] *Furness*, Home-Life of Borneo Head-Hunters, p. 28.

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Among the Tangkhuls, Nagas and Angamis in Manipur the sacerdotal chiefs of the villages have special influence upon the growth of crops and upon rain. [1] If the other artificers fail, the *Raja*, the descendant of semi-divine ancestors, must play his part. On a high hill he performs a magic rain-compelling rite. Every year a great procession worships at this hill, »but its special efficacy depends upon the presence of the *Raja*». [2] Among the Meitheis in Manipur the clan chiefs officiate at the annual ceremonies which are connected with the crops, while *Meithei Ningthou*, or the *Raja* of the entire people, intercedes in cases of prolonged drought only. [3] Similar customs are prevalent among the natives of Assam [4] and Bengal also. [5] The Bagadas of the Neilgherry Hills have a proverb, »Where no master is, there the harvest will be bad». [6] So also among the Cohatars the chief prays »for prosperity to the community during the ensuing year». [7]

As regards the Chinese rulers, as early as 2200 B. C. an old saw bade them see to it that »the elements of water, fire, metal wood, and earth with grain be well regulated». [8] Hence we read of the Emperor K'ou: — »Tout ce qu'éclairent le soleil et la lune, tout ce qu'atteignent le vent et la pluie se soumet à lui sans exception». [9] Similarly an instructive passage concerning

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[1] *Hodson*, The Native Tribes of Manipur; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1901, p. 308.

[2] Op. cit. p. 303.

[3] *Hodson*, The Meitheis, pp. 108, 110 sq.

[4] *Hodson*, The »Genna» amongst the Tribes of Assam; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1906, pp. 96, 101, passim.

[5] *Shakespear*, The Kuki-Lushai Clans; in Journ. Athrop. Institute, 1909, p. 382; — *Dalton*, Ethnology of Bengal, p. 91; — Les Annales de la Propagation de la Foi, vol. LIII, p. 180; — *Hodgson*, The Kocch, Bodo and Dhimal; in Journ. As. Soc. Bengal, vol. XVIII, part II, p. 708.

[6] *Metz*, The Tribes Inhabiting the Neilgherry Hills, p. 91.

[7] *Harkness*, Neilgherry Hills, p. 76.

[8] *Medhurst*, Ancient China, p. 44 sq.; — *Chavannes*, Mémoires historiques de Se-Ma-Ts'ien, vol. I, pp. 33, 37.

[9] *Chavannes*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 40.

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the Emperor Tsin-Che-Hoang-Ti runs: — »Son action modératrice s'excerce en obéissant aux saisons, toutes les productions abondent et se multiplient». [1] According to Marco Polo, the early Tartar rulers used to make offerings because »the Earth and the Air and the False Gods shall have their share of it and the spirits likewise that inhabit the Air and the Earth. And thus those beings will protect and bless the Kaan and his children and his wives and his folk and his gear and his cattle and his horses, his corn, and all that is his». [2] Of the ancient Egyptians, Ammianus Marcellinus observes that they were accustomed to attribute calamities like defeat in war and famine to their rulers. [3] The early Germans used to depose their kings if under their rule the state met »with any disaster in war, or if the earth failed to produce a good crop». [4] Further, the kings had in every way to make use of their magic skill to the benefit of their people. [5] Similar customs prevailed among the early Scandinavians. [6] According to the ancient laws of Ireland, there were seven proofs which attested the falsehood of any king. Of these the four last were »dearth in his reign, dryness of cows,

[1] Op. cit. vol. II, p. 147. — See also *Medhurst*, Op. cit. pp. 145, 215, 351 sq., 391.; — *Pauthier*, Chine, p. 135.

[2] *Yule*, Marco Polo, vol. I, p. 301; cf. p. 309.

[3] *Ammianus Marcellinus*, History, XXVIII, 5, 14.

[4] *Ammianus Marcellinus*, Loc. cit.. — Lamprecht writes: — »jeder Unwille der Gottheit (wurde) vom unbefriedigten Volke dem königlichen Hause zur Last gelegt und nicht selten fielen darum Könige bei öffentlichem Unglück, bei Misswachs und Hungersnot, bei Niederlage und Sterben, der Wut des Volkes zum Opfer». — Deutsche Geschichte, vol. I, p. 134; — *Chantepie de la Saussaye*, The Religion of the Teutons, p. 366; — *Dahn*, Zur Geschichte der germanischen Gottesurtheile, p. 537; — *Mogk*, Menschenopfer bei den Germanen; in Archiv für Religionswissenschaft, 1912, vol. XV, pp. 427, 433 sq.

[5] *Kauffmann*, Balder, pp. 208 sqq., 215, passim.

[6] »So opferten die Schweden ihren Drott Domalder den Göttern zur Versöhnung nach langjährigem Misswachs für ein gutes Jahr». *Strinnholm*, Wikingszüge, vol. II, p. 34 n.; — *Chantepie de la Saussaye*, Op. cit. p. 372; — *Kauffmann*, Balder, p. 174 sq.

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blight of fruit, scarcity of corn». [1] Hence the book of *Uacongbhail* gives the following description of Cormac the king of Erin: — »The world was full of all goodness in his time; there was fruit and fatness of the land and abundant produce of the sea, with peace and ease and happiness in his time». [2] As regards first-fruits, [3] every great chief was entitled to them, »because they remove foul weathers by their good customs». [4]

It was pointed out above that in close connection with those instances in which the chiefs are invested with the duty of exercising a special influence over the weather, the growth of crops, fishing etc., there are cases showing that the possession of wealth is in itself sufficient to entitle a man to become chief, or that the possession of wealth is in many cases required even of a chief who derives his authority mainly from other sources, as for example from inheritance. According to Rink, the arrangement of feasts and the distribution of wealth created social prominence among the Eskimo. [5] So also among the Tacullies »any person may become a *miutu* or chief who will occasionally provide a village feast». [6] Of the Kutchin Indians, Bancroft states that they have scarcely any government; their chiefs are elected »on account of wealth or ability». [7] Among the Fox Islanders, those who have numerous families and are skilful and suc-

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For the right of the old Anglo-Saxon *Witan* to depose the kings, see *Freeman*, Norman Conquest, vol. I, p. 113 sq.; — *Idem*, English Constitution, pp. 29, 39, 167 n. 48.

[1] Ancient Laws of Ireland, vol. IV, p. 53; cf. vol. V, p. 451. — See also *Joyce*, Social History of Ancient Ireland, vol. I, p. 56.

[2] *O'Curry*, Lectures on Ancient Irish History, p. 44.

[3] Ancient Laws of Ireland, vol. III, p. 25; — cf. *Skene*, Celtic Scotland vol. II, p. 71.

[4] For further particulars see *Westermarck*, The Moral Ideas, vol. II, p. 609; — *Frazer*, The Golden Bough, vol. II, p. 459 sqq.

[5] *Rink*, The Eskimo Tribes, p. 28 sq.

[6] *Bancroft*, The Native Races of the Pacific States, vol. I, p. 132.

[7] Op. cit. vol. I, p. 132.

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cessful in hunting and fishing are elected to be chiefs. [1] Among the Tlingit [2] and Haidahs, [3] rank and power depend greatly upon wealth, which consists of implements, wives and slaves. Although the Haidah chiefs are at the same time »sorcerer-chiefs», [4] yet their rank increases *pari passu* with the number of feasts arranged by them. [5] Speaking of the Statlumh Indians, Mr. Tout states that the office of tribal chief is theoretically elective and practically hereditary, especially among the lower tribes. The chief is as a rule »the wealthiest man in the tribe». As for succession, both father and son pave the way by a generous distribution of presents. [6] Similarly there is every reason to believe that, previous to the arrival of Missionaries, the Siciatl Indians used to elect their chiefs on account of their feast-giving; [7] hence even a stranger could become a ruling chief by this means. [8] According to the same author, a similar order of things was prevalent among the Stseélis Indians; succession, however, was more firmly established, so that if a reigning chief died, leaving only a young son behind him, the wealthiest man of the village would act as »seat warmer» for the boy, until he could succeed to his father's place. Moreover, »it was *de rigueur* for a chief to return more than the value of anything he took or received». [9] Among the Chinook each band or village was

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[1] *Coxe*, Russian Discoveries between Asia and America, pp. 120, 181, 218 sqq.

[2] *Swanton*, The Tlingit Indians; in 26:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 448 sq.

[3] *Bancroft*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 167.

[4] Op. cit. vol. I, p. 172; cf. p. 168.

[5] *Swanton*, Op. cit. pp. 434, 439, 448.

[6] *Tout*, Report on the Ethnology of the StatlumH; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1905, p. 130.

[7] *Tout*, Report on the Ethnology of the Siciatl; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1904, pp. 22, 25.

[8] Op. cit. p. 22.

[9] *Tout*, Ethnol. Report on the StsEélis Tribe; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1904, p. 317.

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usually ruled by a chief, »either hereditary or elected for his wealth and popularity, who exerted over his tribe influence rather than authority, but who was rarely opposed in his measures». [1] Of the Aht Indians in the Vancouver Islands, Sproat observes that the person who gives away the most property receives the greatest praise and »in time acquires almost as a matter of course, but by the voice of the tribe, the highest rank obtainable by such means». [2] Yet this rank is only for life and is different from the ancient tribal ranks. As a matter of fact, even these hereditary rights involve the duty of distributing wealth. Hence the head chief, though frequently receiving presents from his tribesmen, is not expected to remain wealthy, as he has to entertain visitors and make large distributions to his own people. [3] Of the Nootka Indians in general, Bancroft observes that the accumulation of property beyond the necessities of life is only considered desirable for the purpose of distributing it at great feasts and thereby acquiring a reputation for wealth and liberality. [4] »To enter the rank of the medicine-men or to attain rank of any kind, property must be sacrificed». [5] The great feasts during which this distribution of wealth takes place are given periodically by the head chiefs. [6] Thus among the Indians of Salish stock as well as among the Nootka tribes in British Columbia, chieftainship is mainly based upon wealth; even in the case of hereditary succession the chiefs distribute their property for the benefit of their tribesmen. [7]

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[1] *Bancroft*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 240.

[2] *Sproat*, Scenes and Studies of Savage Life, p. 113.

[3] Op. cit. p. 114.

[4] *Bancroft*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 191.

[5] Op. cit. vol. I, pp. 192, 194.

[6] Op. cit. vol. I, p. 201.

[7] Cf. *Cox*, Adventures on the Columbia River, vol. I, p. 321; — *Dunn*, History of Oregon, p. 252 sq.; — *Tout*, Report on the Ethnology of the StathumH; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1905, p. 130.

»The chiefs are considered in proportion to their riches; such a chief has a great many wives, slaves, and strings of beads — he is accounted a

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According to Bancroft, hereditary chieftainship is almost unknown among the Northern Californians. »If the son succeeds the father it is because the son has inherited the father's wealth and if a richer than he arise, the ancient ruler is deposed and the new chief reigns in his stead». [1] Among the Tolewas in Del Norte, »money makes the chief». [2] At Trinidad Bay, »the chief obtains his position from his wealth». [3] In his description of the Blackfeet Indians, Mr. McClintock states that generous distribution of wealth creates social rank. [4] »A chief must be kind-hearted and open-handed, ever ready to share his food supply with the poorest of his tribe». So also, it devolves on him to entertain strangers and delegations from other tribes. [5] Similar customs prevailed among the Omaha. Open-handedness increased a man's social rank, [6] and the chiefs were expected largely to distribute gifts to their people [7], as well as to entertain strangers and arrange feasts. [8] According to Hunter, the Kickapoo, the Kansas and Osage Indians had no hereditary peace chiefs. [9] Yet »the chiefs and candidates for public preferment render themselves popular by their disinterestedness and po-

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great chief», says Franchère of the Columbian Indians in general. — Voyage to N. W. Coast of America, p. 250; — *Mayne*, Four Years in British Columbia, p. 263 sqq.; — *Paul Kane*, Wanderings, p. 239; — *Bancroft*, Op. cit. vol. I, pp. 217, 240; — *Frazer*, Totemism and Exogamy, vol. III, pp. 261, 304 n, 353 sq.

[1] *Bancroft*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 347.

[2] *Powers*, Some Accounts of the Habits, Customs, Traditions and Language of the Californian Indians; quoted by *Bancroft*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 348 n.

[3] *Hubbard*, in Golden Era, March 1856; quoted by *Bancroft*, Loc. cit.

[4] *McClintock*, Old North Trail, pp. 253, 257, 276 sqq.

[5] Op. cit. p. 189.

[6] *Fletcher* and *La Flesche*, The Omaha Tribe; in 27:th Ann. Rept. p. 520 sqq., passim.

[7] Op. cit. pp. 202, 212, 378, 495 sqq., 632; — *Dorsey*, Omaha Sociology; in 3:rd Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 217.

[8] *Fletcher* and *La Flesche*, Op. cit. p. 212.

[9] *Hunter*, Manners and Customs of Several Indian Tribes, p. 322.

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verty. Whenever any extraordinary success attends them in the acquisition of property, it is only for the benefit of their most meritorious adherents; for they distribute it with a profuse liberality, and pride themselves in being estimated the poorest men in the community». [1] Although, among the Assiniboin, the office of a civil and that of a warrior chief may have been united in one person, in which respect their chieftainship would differ from that found among the other Siouan tribes, [2] nevertheless his position depended above all upon his generosity. »A chief would be deposed for any conduct causing general disgust or dissatisfaction, such as incest (marrying within his gens) or lack of generosity . . . To preserve his popularity a chief must give away all his property, and he is consequently always the poorest man in the band». [3] So also of the Kansas we read that the civil chieftainship depended upon distribution of wealth. [4] Similarly among the other Indian tribes, who once inhabited the Mississippi regions, the chiefs were expected generously to distribute their wealth to their tribesmen. [5] So also of the Ojibway Indians, Jones [6] observes that the rank of the hereditary peace chief depended upon his hospitality; while of the peace chief among the Sauks we read that he is usually poor, because he is »compelled to give away his property in hospitality or benevolence . . . must entertain his people occasionally with feasts and be liberal in giving presents». [7] Among the Apache a

[1] *Hunter*, Op. cit. p. 325; — *Dorsey*, Siouan Sociology; in 3:rd Ann. Rept. p. 232.

[2] See *supra*, p. 174 sqq.

[3] *Dorsey*, Op. cit. p. 224.

[4] Loc. cit.

[5] *Mooney*, Siouan Tribes, p. 54; — *McKenney* and *Hall*, History of the Indian Tribes, vol. I, p. 111; — *Hennepin*, Discovery of a Vast Country in America, vol. I, p. 142; — see also for Indians in general, *Ratzel*, Völkerkunde, vol. I, p. 563.

[6] *Jones*, The Ojebway Indians, p. 108.

[7] *McKenney* and *Hall*, Op. cit. vol. II., p. 68.

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man's social position was created by the number of his wives and his ability to sustain a large family.[1]

Speaking of the aborigines of Brazil, Martius[2] remarks that among the Tupis, Mundrucus, and others, the wealth of the chiefs, and the generous use of it for the common benefit, created deference. Similarly, among the Bakairi[3] and Yaulapiti[4] the care for the general material welfare of his people is the main duty of the chief. As regards the Chaco Indians in Paraguay, each village has its *cacique*, who is »almost always noted for his untidiness, laziness and dirt». This is due to the fact that he is supposed to give rather than to receive presents; hence, »should he outdo his followers in finery, the natural inference would be that he was stingy and kept his good things for himself».[5] Such an order of things prevailed among the Lengua Indians also. A young chief once asked a missionary: — »Why do you not give me presents? My followers expect me to give them things, and I do so; you are my chief, but I find you do not give me any presents».[6] According to Dobrizhoffer, the Abipones »require at the *cacique's* hands whatever they take it into their head to wish for, believing that his office obliges him to satisfy the petitions of all».[7] In fact, a *cacique* never dared to wear new clothes, because of the begging of his people.[8] Of the aborigines of Chile, Molina observes that they were not governed by military rulers; »on the contrary it would seem as if wealth had been the means of exalting the ruling families to the rank which they occupy».[9]

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[1] *Bancroft*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 512.

[2] *Martius*, Unter den Ureinwohnern Brasiliens, p. 18.

[3] *Steinen*, Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Braziliens, pp. 59 sqq., 85, 89 sq.

[4] Op. cit. p. 113. — »Es ist erstaunlich welche Unterschiede es sogar bei diesen Naturvölkern zwischen Arm und Reich giebt»; p. 112.

[5] *Grubb*, Among Paraguayan Chaco, p. 102 sq.

[6] *Hawtrey*, The Lengua Indians; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1901, p. 292.

[7] *Dobrizhoffer*, The Abipones, vol. II, p. 106.

[8] Op. cit. vol. II, p. 107.

[9] *Molina*, History of Chili, vol. II, p. 19.

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Among the Koorankos in Senegambia, the chiefs are elected on account of their personal talents and merits; generally, however, a wealthy person exercises the greatest influence. [1] Of the peoples living in the regions of the Niger River, we read that they have many hundreds of petty chiefs. »La royauté est accessible à tout le monde; l'unique moyen est d'immoler un ou deux êtres humains. C'est le signe de la puissance et de la richesse». [2] Among the Jekris, Sobos, and Ijos the village heads are either old or wealthy men. The Jekris have a head chief for the whole tribe, »but the richest man is the most looked up to». [3] A chief of the Cross River Negroes once told Mr. Partridge: — »I am not yet made a really great chief. I am not rich enough to retire into a compound. I must go to market and get property». [4] According to Mr. Tessman, the chiefs of the Pangwe derive their influence from having many wives, *i. e.* from wealth. [5] Among the Ba-Mbala in Congo the richest man of the community is its chief. Moreover, the villages are, as a rule, small and it often happens that a man who has become rich enough leaves his village with his wives and slaves, and establishes a village of his own, with himself as ***Fumu*** or chief. [6] So also upon the death of a ***Fumu*** the power devolves upon the individual who comes next in wealth; there is no form of election. [7] Of the Betchuana, Burchell states that the word *kosi* »has a double acceptation, denoting either a chief or a rich man». [8]

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[1] *Featherman*, Social History of the Races of Mankind, vol. I, p. 325.

[2] Les Annales de la Propagation de la Foi, vol. LX, p. 46.

[3] *Granville* and *Roth*, Notes on the Jekris, Sobos and Ijos of the Niger Coast; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1898, p. 117.

[4] *Partridge*, Cross River Natives, p. 206. — See also *Post*, Afrikanische Jurisprudenz, vol. I, p. 131.

[5] The village chief in general »hat nur durch grössere Anzahl der Frauen, was gleichbeteutend mit grösserem Reichtum ist, einigen Einfluss». — *Tessman*, Pangwe Expedition; in Globus, 1910, vol. XCVII, p. 4.

[6] *Torday* and *Joyce*, Ethnography of the Ba-Mbala; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1905, p. 409.

[7] Op. cit. p. 408.

[8] *Burchell*, Travels into the Interior of South Africa, vol. II, p. 347.

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As regards the Basutos, Casalis points out that the chiefs dread nothing more than the loss of their riches. »This misfortune is attended with consequences as fatal as those arising from a revolt. The chiefs are the great providers for the community». [1] In his description of the Kafirs Lichtenstein observes that each village chief »chooses from among his most wealthy subjects five or six, who act as counsellors to him, without whose advice he seldom undertakes anything of importance». [2] According to Weeks, the chiefs of the Bangala communities are elected by the heads of the families. As regards these latter, their power depends upon wealth. »Such men necessarily had more influence and their words carried greater weight than the words of poorer and smaller men». [3] Roscoe states of the Baganda that the hereditary clan chiefs were expected to distribute wealth to their people. [4]

Among the natives of Cape York in Australia several wives ensure to the husband a certain amount of influence in his tribe; but this is due not merely to the fact that wives are looked upon as valuable property, but also to the importance of the connections by marriage. [5] According to Polack [6] demands on the generosity of the chiefs were of continual occurrence among the Maori. The number of wives added to the husband's importance, each wife having her own *mara* or farm. Hence, says Taylor, when a chief had several wives he could then entertain guests without fear of scarcity, and this was a sign of greatness. [7] So also, the same author states, that in another instance a minor chief

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[1] *Casalis*, The Basutos, p. 216.

[2] *Lichtenstein*, Travels in Southern Africa, vol. I, p. 286.

[3] *Weeks*, Notes on the Bangala of Upper Congo River; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1909, p. 430.

[4] *Roscoe*, The Baganda, p. 13.

[5] *Macgillivray*, Voyages of »Rattlesnake», vol. I, pp. 148, 151; vol. II, p. 27 sq.; — Reports of the Cambridge Expedition to Torres Straits, vol. V, p. 230.

[6] *Polack*, Manners and Customs of the New Zealanders, vol. I, p. 41 sq.

[7] *Taylor*, Te Ika a Maui, p. 164.

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of a Maori tribe was »the directing spirit» of the tribe on account of his great wealth, although nominally another person »ranked as the head». [1] In Samoa it devolved on the clan chiefs to get property by marriage in order to be able to distribute it to the members of their communities. [2] The dignity of a Fijian chief was estimated by the number of his wives. [3] Polygamy was looked upon as principal source of a chief's power and wealth. [4] Moreover, the chiefs were to exact largely and give liberally to their people. Thus, only a small portion of what they received remained in their own hands. [5]

As for the aborigines of New Guinea, Dr. Seligmann observes of the people in Bartle Bay that the amount of property a man possessed was »probably the greatest deciding influence fixing his social position». [6] Among the Roro-speaking tribes the chiefs are expected largely to entertain their own people. [7] This was the case for the clan chiefs among the Koita, too. [8] Another observer, Krieger, states that among the Papuan population in general in New Guinea personal qualities — as for example bravery, wisdom, or reliability — did not elevate a man to the chieftainship; it was possessions and generosity which did this. [9] Similarly, though the Mafulu have hereditary clan chiefs, their active functions »appear to be largely ceremonial». Besides ordinary civil and judicial matters, their duties consist in arranging feasts. [10] Speaking of the natives of the

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[1] *Taylor*, Past and Present, p. 252.
[2] *Turner*, Nineteen Years in Polynesia, p. 282.
[3] *Williams* and *Calvert*, Fiji and the Fijians, vol. I, p. 32.
[4] Op. cit. vol. I, p. 178.
[5] Op. cit. vol. I, p. 42.
[6] *Seligmann*, The Melanesians, p. 457.
[7] Op. cit. p. 218 sq.
[8] Op. cit. pp. 52, 54, 141 sq.
[9] *Krieger*, Neu Guinea, pp. 191 sq., 420.
[10] *Williamson*, The Mafulu Mountain People, p. 114; cf. pp. 125 sq., 144 sq., 165 sq.

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whole of Micronesia, Ratzel observes that wealth, together with religious traditions, is the foundation of political influence and the measure of social position. [1] According to Kolff, the chiefs of the inhabitants of Tenimber Islands were »respected as the oldest, the most experienced, and the richest» among their people. [2] Similarly among the Arafuras, the richest men were elected to chiefs.[3]

According to Furness, the Miris, Aos, Semas, Lhotas, Kojahmas, Merhamas, Manpuris, and Aimons in Eastern Assam have no marked tribal unity. »There is no one man whom any single tribe regards as a chief or leader». Each village is divided into from two to eight *khels* or wards, which apparently are »united in a zealous obedience and loyalty to its leader». These leaders again are chosen on account of their riches and are expected generously to give feasts. [4] Among the Tangkhuls and Nagas the villages are governed by religious heads or *ghennaburas*. [5] Yet if a man is rich enough to feast the whole village, »he is entitled to become subject to the same dietary disabilities as the *ghennabura*». [6] Of the Mishmis in Bengal, who »possess one of the lowest grades of civilization», McCosh writes: — »A constant round of festivities is kept up from one end of the year to the other. Each chieftain kills the fattest bullock in turn; all his associates are invited to partake of the good cheer. The host is in his turn a guest at the next feast, and thus a reciprocity of entertainment is insured». Moreover, the skull of the animal is

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[1] *Ratzel*, Völkerkunde, vol. I, p. 232.

[2] *Kolff*, Voyage of »Dourga», p. 229.

[3] Op. cit. pp. 161, 164.

[4] *Furness*, Ethnography of the Nagas; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1902, p. 746 sq.

[5] See *supra*, p. 204 sq.

[6] *Hodson*, The Native Tribes of Manipur; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1901, p. 306; — *Stewart*, Notes on the Northern Cachar; in Journ. Asiatic Soc. Bengal, 1855, vol. XXIV, p. 608 sq; — *Dalton*, Ethnology of Bengal, p. 42.

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hung up as a record in the hall of the entertainer, and when he dies the whole collection of many years is piled upon his grave »as a monument of his riches and a memorial of his worth». [1] Similarly among the Santals the feast-giving is one of the most important duties of influential people. [2] Of the political organization of the inhabitants of Chumbi Valley, it was observed above that the two civil and sacerdotal chiefs, called *kongdus*, of the entire community were elected among the *tshopas* or village chiefs; these again were chosen on account of wealth. Hence, as soon as they lost their property they were removed from office. So also of the *kongdus*, »the one which is recognized as having the superior wealth or social influence is always chosen to be the *thripa* or chairman». [3] Before the Kurds were brought under the Russian yoke their tribes were ruled by chiefs who were chosen to the office by reason of their noble birth or simply on account of their wealth. [4]

So far as the account of Caesar gives a true picture of the early Gauls, wealth and openhandedness brought about social prominence and seemed to have been a successful way for obtaining political leadership. [5] According to the Brehon laws, the Irish chiefs were expected to be wealthy; [6] in fact the whole social constitution was based upon riches in cattle and land. [7] Similarly Skene writes of the development of clans and clan chieftainship: — »As soon as the superior advance of some mem-

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[1] *McCosh*, The Mountain Tribes of N. E. Bengal; in Journ. Asiatic Soc. Bengal, 1876, p. 195 sq.

[2] *Hunter*, Rural Bengal, vol. I, p. 215 sq.

[3] *Walsh*, Elective Government in Chumbi Valley; in Journ. As. Soc. Bengal, 1906, p. 305.

[4] *Stenin*, Die Kurden; in Globus, 1896, vol. LXX, p. 221.

[5] *Caesar*, De Bello Gallico, I, 2, 3, 18; VI. 13, 15.

[6] *Maine*, Early History of Institutions, pp. 134, 142; — Ancient Laws of Ireland, vol. IV, p. 301 sq. See »Crith Gablach» in general.

[7] *Skene*, Celtic Scotland, vol. III, p. 143 sq; — *Lang*, A History of Scotland, vol. I, p. 80; — *Seebohm*, Tribal Custom, p. 86.

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bers of the tribe over the others in wealth and importance produced a relation of superior and dependent by the latter becoming *Ceile* or tenants of the former, while their possessions became hereditary in their families, the germ of the *Finé* or sept was formed». When the members of the sept or clan acquired parts of the tribal land as the absolute property of individuals, this advance of theirs as wealthy land and cattle owners led to its further development. [1] Moreover, such a *flath* or clan chief »added to his followers by settling stranger septs upon his waste lands». [2] So also *Ri tuath* not only occupied the position of king of the tribe, but was likewise the *flath* or chief of the most powerful sept within it. [3] Speaking of the early German chiefs in general, Lamprecht [4] observes that they strengthened their position by means of wealth, and consequently became no longer dependent upon the whim of their people. Again, according to Dahn, [5] the chiefs of republican communities were mainly chosen from the rich nobility.

Thus, contrary to the view held by Letourneau, [6] Vaccaro, [7] Lester Ward [8] and others, that primitive chiefs are, as a rule, egotistical tyrants, all the instances quoted undoubtedly make it clear that as far as the material welfare of primitive communities is concerned, they are, on the contrary, true benefactors of their people. This inference is corroborated also by a host of facts throwing additional light upon the patriarchal character of primitive chieftainship. Describing the efforts of Red Jacket,

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[1] *Skene*, Op. cit. vol. III, p. 171.

[2] Op. cit. vol. III, p. 173.

[3] Op. cit. vol. III, p. 185 sq.

[4] *Lamprecht*, Deutsche Geschichte, vol. I, p. 171.

[5] *Dahn*, Die Könige der Germanen, vol. I, p. 23.

[6] »La petite société n'est plus qu'un troupeau d'esclaves obéissant aux caprices débridés d'un maitre sauvage». — *Letourneau*, Évolution politique, p. 66.

[7] *Vaccaro*, Les bases sociologiques du Droit et de l'État, p. 236.

[8] *Ward*, Dynamic Sociology, vol. I, p. 585, passim.

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the chief of the Seneca tribe of the Iroquois, to preserve his people from destruction through the hostile attitude of the Whites, McKenney and Hall observe: — »His nation was his god; her honour, preservation, and liberty his religion». [1] The same authors write of the chief of the Sauks that »frequently the young men take his horses or other property without leave, he being perhaps the only individual in the tribe with whom such liberty could be taken with impunity. He is the father who must regard with an indulgent eye the misdeeds of his children, when he is himself the injured party, but who must administer inflexible justice when others are aggrieved». [2] Of the Siouan chiefs Dr. Dorsey states that their duty is to study the welfare of their people, by whom they are regarded as a father, and whom they address as their children. [3] Similarly of the Indians of the Salish stock in British Columbia, an instructive passage runs: — »A Salish chief was rather a patriarch than a ruler. He was essentially the tribal father and stood to the tribe as a whole, on much the same footing as did the several eldermen to their individual families». [4] Prompted by the constant misrepresentation and misunderstanding of the Indians by the Whites, Mad Wolf, the chief of the Blackfeet, adopted Mr. McClintock as his son, hoping that this step »would be productive of sympathy and fidelity to the welfare of his tribe», *i. e.* he wanted a white man who had lived sufficiently long among his people and would tell the truth about them to the Whites. [5] A fairly well-known trait in the Indian view of the President of the United States is their opinion that he is their father and that they are »his red children». [6] It need hardly be

[1] *McKenney* and *Hall*, History of the Indian Tribes, vol. I, p. 9 sq.

[2] Op. cit. vol. II, p. 68.

[3] *Dorsey*, Siouan Sociology; in 15:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 224.

[4] *Tout*, Report on the Ethnology of the StatlumH; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1905, p. 130.

[5] *McClintock*, Old North Trail, p. 97.

[6] Op. cit. pp. 172, 276; — *Fletcher* and *La Flesche*, The Omaha Tribe; in 27:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 621.

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pointed out that this belief is far less due to the conduct of the Republican Government than to an earlier view now applied to modern conditions.

When among the Sia the chief has been inaugurated in his office, the lower priests say: — »This man is now our priest, he is now our father and mother». [1] Of the Seri Indians, Mr. McGee observes that although the clan mother is the central figure of the community, the executive power is vested in her brothers. He among them who is looked upon as the chief recognizes in every way his great responsibility »for the welfare of the tribe». [2] Similar views were held by the ancient Mexicans as to the duties of their sacerdotal rulers towards the people in general, and for unprovided orphans, widows, and the aged in particular. [3] Of the Lengua chief, Mr. Hawtrey observes that he is expected »to provide for his followers, and in this respect he is more like the father of the family than a chief in the recognized sense of the word ... The more intelligence a chief has, the better he is able to provide for his followers and to work for their welfare». [4] Describing the position of the *caciques* among the Abipones Dobrizhoffer remarks that it certainly was far more »a burden than an honour», and often brought with it »greater danger than profit». [5] This was due to the fact that the people required »at the *cacique's* hands whatever they took it into heads to wish for, believing that his office obliged him to satisfy the petitions of all». [6] Among the natives of Central Brazil, says von den Steinen, the chief may often be simply a father of the family on a greater scale (Hausvater in grösserem Stil), who has to provide in every way for the prosperity of his community. [7]

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[1] *Coxe Stevenson*, The Sia; in 11:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 17.

[2] *McGee*, The Seri Indians; in 17:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 175 sq.

[3] *Clavigero*, History of Mexico, vol. I, pp. 131, 156.

[4] *Hawtrey*, The Lengua Indians; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1901, p. 292.

[5] *Dobrizhoffer*, The Abipones, vol. II, p. 102.

[6] Op. cit vol. II, p. 106.

[7] *Steinen*, Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Braziliens, p. 330.

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Passing over to the natives of Africa, we read of the N'Komis in West Africa that »un chef suprême ou grand roi, auquel les autres chefs obéissent, gouverne tout le pays. Mais ce roi est un père pour ses sujets». [1] The clan chiefs of the Baganda were expected to promote the general welfare of their communities. [2] When the Wabena chiefs die the people lament: — »Our friend, our father and helper, our chief is dead. He had a good heart and he gave us always our food». [3] So also the chief of the Masai was above all looked upon as the far-sighted patriarch of the people. [4] Similary, speaking of the Basutos, Casalis observes that they called their chiefs *Morena.* »The origin of this word is very beautiful; it is formed from the verb of *rena:* to be tranquil. *Morena* therefore signifies, he who watches over the public safety and welfare.» [5]

The Maori tribes expected that a chief should be to his people a father, »a strong *pa*» (fortress). [6] When one of the brothers or sons of a deceased chief in Fiji was about to be elected as his successor, the people paid great attention to the fact, who of them had been generous and taken care of his fellow men. [7] Similarly on the native chiefs in New Guinea devolved the duty of providing for the general welfare of their communities. [8]

As early as 2200 B. C. the Chinese rulers were instructed that »virtue consists mainly in good government, and good government in nourishing people». [9] Another instructive pas-

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[1] Les Annales de la Propagation de la Foi, vol. LX, p. 176.

[2] *Roscoe*, The Baganda, p. 19.

[3] *Priebusch*, Die Stellung des Häuptlings bei den Wabena; in Globus, 1910, vol. XCVIII, p. 206.

[4] *Merker*, Die Masai, p. 18.

[5] *Casalis*, The Basutos, p. 214.

[6] *Smith*, The Doings of the Wera; in Journ. Polyn. Soc. vol. IX, p. 57.

[7] *Thomson*, The Fijians, p. 357; — *Seeman*, Viti, p. 232; — *Williams* and *Calvert*, Fiji and the Fijians, vol. I, p. 42.

[8] *Krieger*, Neu Guinea, p. 194.

[9] *Medhurst*, Ancient China, p. 44 sq.

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sage in ancient Chinese chronicles runs: — »Men are the most intelligent part of sublunary things; the most truly intellectual of men become chief rulers, and the chief ruler is the parent of the people». [1] And ever since those remote ages »the radical idea at the bottom of Chinese financial method is feeding the people and feeding on the people». [2] Indeed the Chinese rulers have always held the view that they are themselves ultimately responsible for the general welfare of the people. Consequently they have often published edicts confessing to heaven their shortcomings, taking upon themselves the blame of floods, famines, and revolutionary outbreaks, and begging heaven's forgiveness. [3]

Manifold were also the patriarchal duties of the ancient Irish chiefs towards their people. [4] Similarly according to Kauffman, [5] the chiefs of the early Germans made use of all their skill, magical and natural, to promote the general welfare of their communities. Of the chiefs of the early Scandinavians Strinnholm remarks that they were each in his community »the first father of the family». [6]

On the other hand, when primitive chiefs could be deposed by reason of drought and famine or other similar disasters, no

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[1] Op. cit. p. 182.

[2] *Parker*, China, p. 195; — *Smith*, Chinese Characteristics, p. 107.

[3] *Chavannes*, Les Mémoires historiques de Se-Ma-Ts'ien, vol. I, pp. 33, 37, 40; vol. II, p. 147, passim; — *Pauthier*, Chine, p. 135; — *Smith*, Op. cit. p. 234.

As for similar edicts published at the eve and during the revolution 1911—12, see *e. g.* The Times, Oct. 30:th, 1911; and Helsingin Sanomat, Oct. 30:th, Nov. 5:th, 1911.

[4] Ancient Laws of Ireland, vol. IV, p. 341.

[5] *Kauffman*, Balder, pp. 208, sqq., 215, passim.

[6] *Strinnholm*, Wikingszüge, vol. II, p. 40. — They were supposed not merely to avail themselves of their magical skill in battle and at sea, but they were able also »Menschen zu Geburt zu helfen, Vogelgezwitscher zu verstehen, Feuer zu löschen, Schmerzen zu lindern . . .» — *Kauffman*, Op. cit. p. 176; cf. p. 207 sqq.

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wonder that this might often be the case in other instances also. If it thus happened that the people became discontended with their chiefs, they either dismissed them or left their rule. There are several instances to show this. Describing the neolithic natives of Central Brazil, von den Steinen observes that if they found the sway of their chiefs unpleasant they simply settled down elsewhere. [1] Of the Abipones we noticed above that like customs prevailed among them also. [2] The Assiniboin dismissed any chief if he acted against their customs. [3] According to Shakespear, among the Lushais the nomadic instinct of the people is still so strong that any chief whose rule is unduly harsh soon finds his subjects leaving him. [4] The early Saxons [5] and ancient Irish [6] elected their chiefs and they could depose them also for acts resented by the community. Of the early Scandinavian chiefs Strinnholm observes that some of them were killed when they resisted the decision of the people [7]. In short, from this point of view also it is obvious that the power, instead of lying in the hands of strong war leaders, as has been represented, is among primitive races far more vested in the people.

The general character of the primitive chieftainship, as it has been now described, gives, it would seem, the definitive solution of the question why in many cases no special war leaders

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[1] Steinen, Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens, p. 331.

[2] See *supra*, p. 137.

[3] *Dorsey*, Siouan Sociology; in 3:rd Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 224.

[4] *Shakespear*, The Lushei Kuki Clans, p. 44; cf. p. 45. — »Bei den Basutho fliehen die Unterthanen eines Häuptlings, welcher sie zu schlecht behandelt, zu anderen Häuptlingen.» — *Post*, Afrikanische Jurisprudenz, vol. I, p. 152; quoting Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, vol. VI, p. 31. — This was the case among the Kafirs, Makokolo and others also. — Op. cit. vol. I, p. 153.

[5] *Freeman*, Norman Conquest, vol. I, p. 113 sq.

[6] *Joyce*, Social History of Ancient Ireland, vol. I, p. 50 sq.

[7] *Strinnholm*, Wikingszüge, vol. II, p. 52 n.

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are elected, but the chief himself is expected to head his fighting men. Light was thrown, at least to some extent, upon this matter when we noticed above that in some instances chiefs have taken part in war expeditions on account of their priestly office and skill in magical means. Yet there certainly remain instances which are to be explained on the basis of a broader view. If the primitive chief has been, and still is in many cases, the »father» of his community, if on him devolve priestly duties, that is, of appeasing the invisible agents hostile towards the people, or to thank them for their benevolence; moreover, if he has to provide for the material welfare of his people by a great many means; if finally he, at least in some cases, is expected to fight against human foes by supernatural means, why should he not act, too, as a war leader in general, thus in this way also fulfilling his duty towards his people?

Of the Ojibway peace chiefs, Jones observes that when they lack wisdom, bravery, or hospitality they fall proportionately in the estimation of their people. It is therefore of considerable importance that they should excel in everything. [1] Hence, although they are not expected to take part in war expeditions, »they seldom, however, neglect a good opportunity of displaying their wisdom, skill and bravery, and often accompany their people and engage in the conflict». [2] What thus holds good of the secondary part played by the Ojibway peace chiefs in war expeditions can certainly be applied on good grounds to many of those instances also in which there does not exist any special war leadership whatever. The chiefs of the Paraguayan Chaco Indians are, as we have seen already, [3] the general providers for their people, and »almost always noted for their untidiness, laziness, and dirt». [4] Yet they also lead their men in war. Simi-

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[1] *Jones*, The Ojebway Indians, p. 108.
[2] Op. cit. p. 130.
[3] See *supra*, p. 239.
[4] *Grubb*, Among Paraguayan Chaco, p. 102 sq.

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larly the chiefs of the Ba-Mbala Negroes hold their position for their wealth and because they are succeeded by those individuals who come next in wealth. [1] Yet these chiefs or their sons are war leaders at the same time. [2] The peace chiefs of the Mafulu [3] in New Guinea and the Omaha Indians [4] fought as soon as sudden attacks were made against their people, and when every able man had to do his utmost to rescue it from the danger. So also the chiefs of the primitive Irish were expected, among other economic duties, to extend the boundaries to meet the increase in cattle and the other needs of their people. [5]

In short, the rule can be laid down that when primitive chiefs have acted as war leaders, more or less independently of their priestly function, this has been more due to the general patriarchal character of their duties and activities than to the independent importance of their warlike functions. Thus they have been war leaders mainly by virtue of their office and not *vice versa:* that is to say, their position has not arisen from warfare and the duty of protecting their people before all against human foes. This inference, of course, does not by any means shut out the possibility of the occurrence of the individual supremacy of some great warriors also in a later stage of the development of the chieftainship, such as was observed in a previous chapter often to be found among the rudest savages.

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[1] *Torday* and *Joyce*, Ethnography of Ba-Mbala; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1905, p. 408.

[2] Op. cit. p. 415 sq.

[3] See *supra*, p. 199.

[4] *Supra*, p. 175.

[5] Ancient Laws of Ireland, vol. IV, p. 341.

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II.

Our investigation into the nature of the duties of primitive chieftainship has now come to an end. The characteristics which run through all the instances quoted above, and showing what is the nature of these obligations, have been so clearly marked, that a minute recapitulation is not required. The main inference is that among these various duties the warlike ones in the ordinary sense of the word are not as a rule fundamental. On the contrary, even among the most warlike races, as *e. g.* the Indians of North America, the Maori, the Fijians, the Dyaks, the Masai, and several other natives in Africa, as well as the early Germans, elected leaders are entrusted with the command of the fighting forces, while permanent and in many cases hereditary chiefs, or persons more wealthy than their fellows, have been in charge of civil and religious matters, in other words, of those pertaining to the ordinary life of their communities. It has been in many cases obligatory on them to make offerings to the unseen powers in order to make these benevolent towards the community and give them their livelihood, or otherwise to promote their welfare; or else the chiefs have been thought by other supernatural means, by magical performances, to be able to make rain, to ripen crops, or in other ways to control the food supplies. And the wealth of chiefs was made to serve the same end of public usefulness. Thus the general aim of primitive chieftainship, as a rule, has been to promote the scanty prosperity of their rude fellow creatures. Moreover, these traits have been characteristic not only of the so-called peace chiefs, but of those also who take part in active hostilities either by virtue of their supernatural powers or on account of their general duty to work for the benefit of their peoples and to head them in all their undertakings whether peaceful or warlike.

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These inferences justify the views put forward in a previous chapter with regard to the development of the primitive chieftainship above the level of the simple rule of elders. In the long run able warriors have not succeeded in establishing their permanent rule. Primitive warfare, restricted as it often is to small parts of the community, or else carried out on an unimportant scale, and being, too, by no means unceasing, has not, as a rule, afforded opportunity for the brave fighting man to win a lasting supremacy. To him has been left the leadership only in isolated war expeditions, or he has been succeeded in his personal rule over the community by other individuals, kinsfolk or otherwise, who have had to adopt other forms of rule where warfare has not been the main occupation of the people. Thus, as far as a general conclusion can be drawn, it seems reasonable to infer that causes acting permanently — and foremost among these the relation between primitive communities and their unseen powers as well as their material condition — have brought about a permanent form of primitive chieftainship rising above a rudimentary rule by elders, while such a transient and uncertain cause as primitive warfare has originated a chieftainship which, as a rule, ends with the cessation of the chance hostilities.

Whatever generality is claimed for this inference, it must yet be admitted that it is based on only a comparatively small proportion of the total evidence available for examination. There are, however, further a certain number of facts which can be held to give additional support to it. Firstly, it is a capital error to assume that the character of primitive chieftainship must necessarily be either that described above or else a mainly warlike one, whereby the occurrence of exceptional characteristics would be excluded. Not only do we meet with instances of gynecocracy, [1] but there are to be found also other

[1] *Spencer*, Principles of Sociology, vol. I, p. 715; — *Tacitus*, Agricola, 16; — *Bastian*, Die Culturländer des Alten America, passim; — *Dobrizhoffer*, The Abipones, vol. I, p. 108; — *Bastian*, Deutsche Expedition an der Loango-Küste, vol. I, p. 217.

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peculiar kinds of chieftainship. Thus Martius states that among the natives in Chili the man who could carry a heavy log furthest was elected chief. [1] Among the natives of South America the Bororos have one of the most centralized tribal organizations. At the age of five or seven the children enter the *Bahito* (men's house), which is a public school, where they are taught spinning, weaving, the manufacture of weapons, and above all singing, »upon perfection in which is centred the ambition of all those who wish to become chieftains». The Indians themselves say: — »If chieftain has a son who sings not *Bakururu*, he is a common Bororo. Bororo who sings *Bakururu* well, he is chieftain». If there are two good singers in the same village, either the one who is adjudged to sing somewhat the better is chief, or one of the two secedes with his followers and establishes a new village. Under such circumstances, Messrs. Frič and Radin observe: — »There is no opportunity for the development of an hereditary chieftainship or castes». [2] Speaking of the tribal government of the North American Indians, Powell points out that in so great a number, several hundreds, of distinct governments, »there is great variety, and in this variety we find different degrees of organization, the degrees of organization being determined by the differentiation of the functions of the government and the correlative specialization of organic elements». [3]

Not merely are instances to be met with differing from those which may be taken to be the rule, but these latter are themselves liable to modifications. According to Livingstone, [4] the modes of succession to the chieftainship among the natives in Africa often vary in accordance with the decision of the chiefs.

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[1] *Martius*, Unter den Ureinwohnern Brasiliens, p. 16 n.

[2] *Frič* and *Radin*, Contributions to the Study of the Bororo Indians; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1906, p. 388.

[3] *Powell*, Wyandot Government; in 1:st Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 68.

[4] *Livingstone*, Missionary Travels, p. 179.

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Bastian observes that once in Loango a man who in vain had tried by means of armed force to drive away a chief, caused by magic a great drought, and this being ascribed to the malevolence of the chief, the people expelled him and put the rival instead. [1] Owing to special communications from their god, a Masai magician, as was noticed above, established his own rule among the Masai. [2] Speaking of a Melanesian usurper, Codrington [3] states that this shrewd man succeeded in becoming chief by declaring that he had had special dreams to that effect. Similarly, Hunter states of the Kansas, Osage and Kickapoo Indians that their »prophets» easily usurp the supreme rule and »exercise the duties and receive all the respectful attentions which the Indians are accustomed to bestow on chiefs who have been regularly elected to the station». These magicians only need to distribute wealth generously — which is required of ordinary chiefs also [4] — and »pretend to have had remarkable dreams or predict future events». [5] McKenney and Hall observe of the hereditary chieftainship among the North Amerian Indians in general that, when a man of little capacity succeeded to the peace chieftaincy, he easily became a mere tool in the hands of the war chief who, having influence on the braves and young men, easily obtained a sway over the whole community. [6] On the other hand, speaking of the Nehannes Indians, Bancroft remarks that this »warlike and turbulent horde» was at one time governed by an intelligent woman. »Her influence over her fiery people, it is said, was perfect; while her warriors, the terror and scourge of the surrounding country, quailed before her eyes.

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[1] *Bastian*, Deutsche Expedition an der Loango-Küste, vol. I, p. 267 sq.
[2] *Supra*, p. 188.
[3] *Codrington*, The Melanesians, p. 57 sq.
[4] *Supra*, p. 238.
[5] *Hunter*, Manners and Customs of Several Indian Tribes, p. 324.
[6] *McKenney* and *Hall*, History of Indian Tribes, vol. II, p. 68.

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Her word was law, and was obeyed with marvellous alacrity». [1] Moreover, changes in the supreme rule may sometimes have been deliberately brought about, as *e. g.* was observed above of the Omaha [2] and Iroquois. [3]

Thus the rule can be laid down, as was already partly hinted at in a previous chapter, that whatever may have been or still is the character of the primitive chieftainship, it is liable at least to certain changes depending upon peculiar circumstances, in which the personal qualities of the chiefs themselves, or other individuals claiming the right of chieftainship, have no inconsiderable part. If the origin of a defined chieftainship over and above the mere rule of elders is in most cases due to a greater intelligence or other capacity in some individuals, this certainly is the case also at a later stage.

Moreover, changes may also be due to the interference of the Whites. Before Egypt had made itself master of the peninsular tract of land between the Blue and White Nile, the Bari were governed by chiefs who exercised absolute authority over the people. But after the annexation their rule came to an end and was succeeded by a chieftainship based on wealth. The man who possesses the greatest number of cattle and wives is recognized as the chief. His opinion, too, has much weight in the council of the freemen. [4] Speaking of the Ashluslay, Dr. Nordenskjöld observes that the Whites, when arriving at a village have to present gifts to the chiefs. This custom, he asserts, is of a comparatively late growth. The Whites wanted a certain person to negotiate with, and they have therefore devel-

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[1] *Bancroft*, The Native Races of the Pacific States, vol. I, p. 125. — Of the native chiefs of Deang in Bengal, an instructive passage runs: — »Ce chef de village est un tyrant ou un père, selon le caractère des personnes revetues de cette charge». — Les Annales de la Propagation de la Foi, vol. LIII, p. 372.

[2] *Supra*, p. 160.

[3] *Supra*, p. 172 sq.

[4] *Featherman*, Social History of the Races of Mankind, vol. I, p. 75.

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oped the earlier form of the chieftainship to correspond with their own needs. [1] Among the North American Indians, the Whites went so far as directly to nominate as »great chiefs» those individuals who seemed to be especially inclined to act for the benefit of the Whites. [2] Even the Government of the United States made its own chiefs over the natives, thus causing much trouble between these so-called »paper chiefs» and the ordinary chiefs. [3] Similarly Nelson speaks of Eskimo chiefs who have been appointed by the Whites on account of the services done by them, while Mr. Hodson writes of the Nagas: — »We have in many villages an official entitled the *Meithei lambu*, who is generally invested with that dignity because he knows rather more of the Manipur language than his fellows. Many of them owe their promotion to a temporary sojourn in the State gaol». [4]

Much more confusion, however, than that caused by any of these exceptional and random cases has resulted from the misleading statements of certain authors. Since they believe that savages are before all blood-thirsty warriors, they do not expect primitive chiefs to be anything else than bold warriors, and give descriptions to this effect under this mistaken idea. Thus, Mr. Latcham writes of the Araucanians, fully in conformity with this prejudiced view: — »As a matter of fact, there was no political organization, as we understand the term, and the Araucanos recognized no supreme chief save only in times of great national peril, and then only in military sense and by public election. The danger over, they returned to their former customs, the function of chief ceasing from the moment the army was dis-

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[1] *Nordenskjöld*, Indianlif, p. 30 sq. — As for the Chané and Chiriguano Indians, see p. 213.

[2] *Fletcher* and *La Flesche*, The Omaha Tribe; in 27:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 82.

[3] Op. cit. p. 85.

[4] *Hodson*, The Naga Tribes, p. 79.

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banded». [1] Yet as soon as the author puts aside his prejudiced conception of savage chieftainship and merely describes the true character of the political organization of the Araucanians, he gives valuable information clearly showing that a permanent peace chieftainship exists among these natives, and that the description, as given above, refers merely to a temporary war leadership. [2] McGee is so firmly convinced of the exactness of the warlike nature of primitive chieftainship that his description of the Siouan government runs in the following words: — »The government was autocratic, largely by military leaders, sometimes (particularly in peace) advised by the elders and priests. The leadership was determined primarily by ability — prowess in war and the chase and the wisdom in council . . . The germ of theocracy was fairly well developed and apparently burgeoned vigorously during each period of peace, only to be checked and withered during the ensuing war when shamans and their craft were forced into the background». [3] Yet, as far as the instances quoted above [4] throw light upon the matter, no such generalization as to the Siouan chieftainship as this can be made. The autocratic government of military leaders was, generally speaking, as strange to the entire Siouan nation as it is familiar to modern philosophies of war.

Not any better have McKenney and Hall, in their great work on the History of the Indian Tribes, fully realized the true difference between the permanent peace chieftainship and the mere temporary command by certain war leaders. To take two instances only. When speaking of the Shawanoe chief, Payta Koatha, they remark that »he was considered a peaceable, inof-

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1 *Latcham*, Ethnology of the Araucanos; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1909, p. 355.

2 *Supra*, p. 184 sq.

3 *McGee*, Siouan Indians; in 15:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 188; — see also *McKenney* and *Hall*, Op. cit. vol. I, pp. 135, 138 sq.

4 *Supra*, p. 174 sqq.

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fensive person without talents, but always disposed to exert himself in reconciling differences between tribes or individuals, and was esteemed by the red people as a benevolent man». Undoubtedly this description refers to a peace chief; nevertheless the authors describe his picture as »Payta Koatha, a Shawanoe warrior». [1] Similarly, the Seneca chief Red Jacket was apparently a peace chief, though the authors were not fully aware of the fact. [2] It is only in their third volume that they give the correct description of the Indian chieftainship, as quoted here in the beginning of the seventh chapter. In the previous volumes they constantly substitute the war leadership for the permanent peace chieftainship as forming the supreme rule among the Redskins. [3]

Speaking of the political organization of the natives in the New Hebrides, Inglis writes: — »In the days of heathenism there was a principal chief for each principal district . . . It is much the same still, only formerly the principal chiefs exercised the priestly rather than the kingly power. . . .» [4] It appears from this that, according to Inglis' opinion, a savage king should certainly have a warlike rather than a peaceful character, and consequently he ascribes to the temporary war leader the rank of king. Similarly, in the case of the chieftainship among the Maori the confusion in the opinions of the different authors may largely be due to a mistake on the part of those authors who speak about the elective chiefs as the head chiefs. [5]

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[1] *McKenney* and *Hall*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 83.

[2] Op. cit. vol. I, pp. 4 sq., 7 sq.

[3] Remarkable is the controversy with regard to the character of the Wyandot government. Powell gives a minute description how it was organized on the lines of a gynecocracy, whereas Mr. W. E. Connelly strongly opposes such a view maintaining that this people, too, was ruled by a hereditary peace chief and the council of the clan chiefs. — See *Powell*, Wyandot Government; in 1:st Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 61 sqq.; — *Frazer*, Totemism and Exogamy, vol. III, p. 37.

[4] *Inglis*, In the New Hebrides, p. 24.

[5] *Supra*, p. 192 sqq.

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Passing to the natives of Africa, similar mistakes are to be found. »Their chiefs, who were simply leaders in war and were distinguished for valour, assumed authority as rulers and directors», says Featherman. [1] In his description of his own people, Daniel Sorur Dharim Den, a converted Dinka native, writes likewise in »Les Annales de la Propagation de la Foi»: — »Nous n'avons aucun roi, aucun ministre pour ce qui concerne la direction générale de la tribu, mais chaque père, comme je viens de le dire, est maître absolu. Le seul chef que nous reconnaissions est un vieillard chargé des affaires en temps de guerre; hors de cette éventualité il redevient simple citoyen. Ce commandement même n'est pas héréditaire; mais le peuple peut a son gré ôter le pouvoir et le remettre entre les mains de celui qu'il juge capable de remplir ces fonctions». [2] Yet in another connection the same author admits that as soon as the people were threatened with war, famine, or any other calamity, »les chefs des villages» made offerings. [3] Who then are these village chiefs in charge of religious duties, if not ordinary peace chiefs? Perhaps those fathers referred to by the author were simply clan chiefs invested with great power in civil and religious matters, forming a council of elders [4] and at the eve of war electing that »vieillard chargé des affaires en temps de guerre».

These examples have thrown some light upon the origin of the theory of the warlike character of savage chieftainship. When white travellers and other first-hand informants have believed through prejudice that primitive chiefs, in accordance with the alleged martial spirit of savages in general, are before all valiant warriors, and subsequently have found that such men are only temporarily invested with leadership, they naturally tend to let this point of view colour their description of savage

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[1] *Featherman*, Social History of the Races of Mankind, vol. I, p. 7.
[2] Les Annales de la Propagation de la Foi, vol. LX, p. 55.
[3] Op. cit. p. 58.
[4] *Ratzel*, Völkerkunde, vol. II, p. 270 sq.

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rule, and, because of their accounts, Sociologists again are led to lay down an erroneous rule like that to which Spencer gives prominence in the following characteristic passage: — »When there occur wars, leading warriors acquire predominant influence. But at first . . the man who thus acquires predominance during war, loses it when peace is re-established . . As, however, wars between tribes commonly become chronic, it usually happens that the man, who acts as leader . . gains permanent authority: . . and chieftainship is initiated». [1]

Yet such an erroneous procedure of first-hand informants is at least to a certain extent excusable, since an inquiry into the duties of savage chiefs is often confronted with great difficulties. Speaking of the natives of New Guinea, Dr. Seligmann [2] points out how difficult it is to obtain reliable dates as to the character of the chieftainship existing among them. Similarly, Rink observes: — »It is not the exception but the rule that white men who have stayed for ten or twenty years among Eskimo return without any real addition to their knowledge of the traditional ideas upon which their social state is based». [3]

As for the difficulty of obtaining trustworthy statements about the relation of the chiefs to priestly functions, it may be illustrated by the following instance. In the »Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute» for 1905, two papers are published dealing with the same people of South Africa, namely the Bawenda or Mavenda. According to the first author, Mr. William Grant, certain priestly functions devolved on the tribal chief, as for example rain-making and the making of offerings when they pray for »peace, prosperity and plenty». Before his description of these observances, the writer remarks: — »I had

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[1] *Spencer*, Principles of Ethics, vol. II, p. 202 sq.

[2] *Seligmann*, The Melanesians, pp. 692, 701. — »I have heard», says Turner, »a strange remark that the difficulty in Samoa is not to find who is a chief, but to find out who is a common man». — Samoa, p. 174.

[3] *Rink*, The Eskimo Tribes, p. 21.

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been informed prior to my visit that I should discover among this tribe the remnants, at all events, of certain religious rites, and that an order obtained among them corresponding in some respects to an ancient priesthood. I confess, however, although my curiosity had been thoroughly aroused and I was thus prompted to make the most careful enquiries, I was unable to discover the least trace of any such thing». [1] None the less, a hundred pages later in the same volume Mr. E. Gottschling gives a minute description of a clearly classified priesthood, but he again is entirely ignorant of the priestly duties of the chief. [2] With regard to other primitive peoples, the same kind of mistake may well have been made by many other authors. No information about savage life is, perhaps, more difficult to obtain than that pertaining to their religious or magical beliefs. [3] What a striking contrast to this reserve is the talkativeness and boasting of savages in all matters pertaining to fights, trophies, and victories.

When thus the difficulty of obtaining trustworthy information about the peaceful duties of primitive chiefs is taken into account together with savage boastfulness as to their warlike activities, and the readiness of the white investigators to believe that savage chiefs are necessarily and before all the most valiant fighting men, it becomes fully intelligible why at least some first-hand informants have obviously given an entirely one-sided description of the character of the primitive chieftainship. It seems therefore justifiable to doubt whether many others of those instances in which the character of primitive

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[1] *Grant*, Magato and his Tribe; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1905, p. 270.

[2] *Gottschling*, The Bawenda; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1905, p. 379 sqq.

[3] See, *e. g.*, *Murdoch*, Ethnol. Results of the Point Barrow Expedition; in 9:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 430; — *Sproat*, Scenes and Studies of Savage Life, p. 205; — *Karsten*, Resor och Forskningar; in Hufvudstadsbladet, 21. VII. 1912; — *Rawling*, The Mafulu Mountain People, p. 137 sq.

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chieftainship has been made out to be mainly a warlike one are not unreliable. We cannot be at all sure that many of these statements are not likewise based more upon a wrong idea of the whole matter than upon actual facts. Hence, when in such a considerable number of the instances the character of the primitive chieftainship has been, on the whole, mainly peaceful or »patriarchal», it certainly may be held that the result of our inquiry represents the general character of primitive chieftainship at a low stage of development, and is not a generalization from exceptional cases only. Thus, just as it was observed, as regards primitive integration, that the Sociologists who lay predominant stress upon the consolidating function of savage warfare have made a primary cause of what is merely a secondary effect, so the statement can now be made that in the case of the primitive chieftainship they have in the same way passed more or less in silence over its main feature and attached paramount importance to a mere secondary function.

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CHAPTER IX

THE ORIGIN OF THE STATE

Of the two main characteristics generally ascribed to the State, the first — government — has to some extent been examined in the previous chapters in its most primitive forms among savages, as the rule of elders, and as a more firmly established chieftainship. How far, however, these very rudimentary forms of rule can be held to fulfil the demands of a sociological theory of the State will be discussed more in detail when the second characteristic of the State — the possession of territory — has also been examined.

Whatever may be the opinion held of the character of the most primitive stage of mankind, it must *a priori* be admitted that its first occupation of a certain spot must have been a peaceful, not a warlike, one. Not until some individuals considered the piece of land occupied by them to be worthy of defence, could a warlike conquest take place. Speculations of this kind do not, however, settle the question, for we must believe that a settled life became an attribute of mankind comparatively late in its development. In fact, owing to this very trait in the mode of life of early man, it has often been maintained that the character of a State does not belong to his social organization. Yet, speaking generally, such a view seems not to be well founded. Comparatively great savage realms, such

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as must unquestionably be spoken of as rude States, have, it is true, set no great importance on their territorial sovereignty; [1] and it is also worthy of note, as Maine justly points out, that »during a large part of what we usually term modern history no such conception was entertained as that of 'territorial sovereignty'». Indeed, [2] even to-day there does not exist unanimity with regard to the true character of »territorial sovereignty». [3] Moreover, the fact that rude peoples are not essentially sedentary does not by any means involve their constantly moving from one place to another. Speaking of the primitive hunter tribes, von den Steinen points out that the progress which has taken place in their life must have involved at least to a certain extent sedentary habits. [4] Of the pastoral peoples the same remarks can be made. The current view that they are in a state of constant wandering irrespective of any boundaries must be greatly limited, as even the most restless nomads move within a certain area which is considered to be the property of the community. [5] And as soon as a primitive people has become sedentary, it certainly acquires at the same time a still more distinctly defined conception of territorial occupation.

Besides, there are other reasons, too, tending to develop in the savage mind the idea of a fixed abode. Westermarck [6] has shown that to a considerable extent even the lowest savages

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[1] *Ratzel*, Der Staat, pp. 69, 86 sq.

[2] *Maine*, Ancient Law, p. 106.

[3] *Seidler*, Das juristische Kriterium des Staates, p. 60 sqq.

[4] »Schon die Jägerstämme müssen eine, wenn auch unregelmässige Art der Sesshaftigkeit gehabt haben um die praktische Technik der Pfeile und Bogen zu erwerben; nur in dem friedlichen Dahinleben während Generationen können alsdann die Nutzpflanzen gewonnen sein, und es ist gar nicht nötig, dass es immer grosse und mächtige Stämme gewesen sind, die einen Fortschritt hervorgebracht haben». — Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Braziliens, p. 214.

[5] *Klemm*, Allgemeine Cultur-Geschichte, vol. III, p. 143; vol. IV, p. 153; — *Ratzel*, Völkerkunde, vol. I, p. 430; — *Paulitschke*, Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas, p. 210 sqq.; — *Grosse*, Die Formen der Familie, p. 90.

[6] *Westermarck*, The Moral Ideas, vol. II, p. 168 sqq.

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display attachment to their native places, and »though a settled life is most favourable to its development, this feeling is not inconsistent with nomadism». [1] Similarly the relation between the living and dead calls forth a bond of union between the burial places of the community and the people. [2]

Thus, speaking generally, although from the theoretical point of view only a secondary importance can be attributed to the question of territory in the political life of primitive [3] peoples, yet as far as those primitive peoples are concerned whose government has been dealt with in the previous chapters, there is no reason whatever to assume them to be so devoid of fixed territories and boundaries that it is an absolute impossibility to attribute to their organization the rank and character of a State.

Thus, to start with one of the lowest savage peoples with whose government we have been concerned, the Veddas, they have clearly defined hunting grounds. [4] Among the Todas, a »settled pastoral race», [5] each clan has its own territory, [6] and the entire tribe asserts a distinct claim to the soil, [7] declaring that »it was only by their sufferance that the other tribes came to reside on it». [8] And although the Todas are a wholly peaceful race, these other tribes pay tribute as recognizing the territorial

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[1] Op. cit. vol. II, p. 169.

[2] *Ratzel*, Der Staat, p. 66; — *Hodson*, The Naga Tribes, p. 93.

[3] *Spencer*, Principles of Sociology, vol. II, p. 563 sqq.; — *Giddings*, Elements of Sociology, p. 249; — *Ratzel*, Politische Geographie, p. 4 sqq.; — *Ragozin*, Chaldea, pp. 123 sqq., 190; — *Hearn*, Aryan Household, pp. 212 sq., 261; — *Meyer*, Geschichte des Altertums, vol. I, p. 11 sq.; — *Seidler*, Das juristische Kriterium des Staates, p. 37.

[4] *Seligmann*, The Veddas, pp. 79, 106 sqq., 111 sqq.; — *Sarasin*, Ergebnisse naturwissenschaftlicher Forschungen auf Ceylon, vol. III, pp. 477 sq., 488.

[5] *Marshall*, Amongst the Todas, p. 58.

[6] Op. cit. p. 206.

[7] *Metz*, Tribes Inhabiting the Neilgherry Hills, p. 12.

[8] *Harkness*, Neilgherry Hills, p. 18; cf. p. 108.

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rights of the Todas. [1] Many of the native peoples of Assam are in a very low stage of development, [2] yet they have territories of their own. [3] Speaking of the natives of the Tenimber Islands, Kolff states that each small village community had »its own territory consisting of a portion of land and contiguous trepang banks . . .» [4] In his description of the intertribal relations of the Australian aborigines, Wheeler fully shows that all these rude communities have territories of their own, and their division is also recognized by all of them. [5] Similarly Mr. Williamson observes of the Mafulu Mountain People in British New Guinea that the boundaries between the various communities »are perfectly well known .... These boundaries are mutually respected, and fighting over boundary and trespass questions is practically unknown». [6] Statements, broadly speaking, to the same effect are given not merely with reference to other natives in New Guinea, [7] but also with reference to the

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[1] *Rivers*, The Todas, p. 630 sqq.; see also pp. 6, 541, 557 sqq.; — *Metz*, Op. cit. pp. 21, 98, 129.

[2] *Furness*, Ethnography of the Nagas; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1902, p. 454.

[3] *Hodson*, The »Genna» amongst the Tribes of Assam; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1906, pp. 92, 94; — *Idem*, The Naga Tribes, pp. 73, 105 sq.; — *Furness*, Op. cit. p. 446 sqq.

[4] *Kolff*, Voyage of the »Dourga», p. 228.

[5] *Wheeler*, The Tribe and Intertribal Relations in Australia, p. 62 sqq.; — *Spencer* and *Gillen*, Across Australia, vol. I, pp. 198, 232; — *Idem*, The Native Tribes of Central Australia, p. 123; — *Mathews*, Australian Tribes; in Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, vol. XXXVIII, p. 940 sq.

[6] *Williamson*, The Mafulu Mountain People, p. 83.

[7] *Krieger*, New Guinea, pp. 87, 195 sq., 327; — *Seligmann*, The Melanesians, p. 467 sq.; passim.

Of the extremely rude New Guinea Pygmies Mr. Rawling observes that they consider themselves the original owners of the territory they occupy and of the surrounding country »and their claim is admitted — academically at least — by their neighbours». — The Land of the New Guinea Pygmies, p. 276.; cf. p. 277.

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savages in all parts of the Pacific Islands. [1] Powell asserts that the North American Indians were to a considerable extent sedentary for a »very long period» previous to the arrival of the Whites. [2] This was the case above all upon the Pacific Coast. [3] The introduction of firearms and horses, [4] as well as the demand for furs, [5] made many tribes hunters once more. According to Jones, the Ojibway and the neighbouring tribes had territories of their own: [6] — »The Indian country is allotted into districts, and each section is owned by a separate tribe of Indians». [7] Of the Omaha and kindred tribes Dr. Dorsey [8] observes that each of them »claimed a certain extent of territory as its own, for purposes of occupancy, cultivation, hunting and fishing». Thus also Hunter remarks of the Kickapoo, Kansas, and Osage in particular, that they regarded their territories [9] »as their birthright», and therefore they defended them »with the utmost determined bravery». [10] Similar information is given of the territories of other Indians of North America also, as *e. g.* the Iroquois, [11] Cherokee, [12] Kiowa, Comanche, [13] Cheyenne, [14]

[1] *Thomson*, Savage Island, p. 137; — *Pakeha Maori*, Old New Zealand, p. 181, passim; — *Turner*, Nineteen Years in Polynesia, p. 284, passim; — *Ratzel*, Völkerkunde, vol. I, p. 263.

[2] *Powell*, Indian Linguistic Families; in 7:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 30; cf. p. 40 sqq.

[3] Op. cit. p. 32.

[4] Op. cit. pp. 32, 38.

[5] Op. cit. p. 39.

[6] *Jones*, The Ojebway Indians, pp. 107 sq., 123, 129.

[7] Op. cit. p. 107.

[8] *Dorsey*, Omaha Sociology; in 3:rd Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 366; — *Fletcher* and *La Flesche*, The Omaha Tribe; in 27:th Ann. Rept. p. 88, passim.

[9] *Hunter*, Manners and Customs of Several Indian Tribes, p. 186.

[10] Op. cit. p. 330.

[11] *Morgan*, League of the Iroquois, pp. 96, 337 and passim, especially chap. II.

[12] *McKenney* and *Hall*, History of the Indian Tribes, vol. I, p. 187.

[13] *Mooney*, Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians; in 17:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 164.

[14] *Fletcher* and *La Flesche*, The Omaha Tribe; in 27:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 73.

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Seminole,[1] and others.[2] Of the pastoral Navaho Indians, Mindeleff observes that »although the average Navaho family may be said to be in almost constant movement, they are not at all nomads, yet the term has frequently been applied to them. Each family moves back and forth within a certain circumscribed area».[3] Previous to the arrival of the Conquistadores the people were hunters, and their territory was divided between the various clans.[4] Firmly established boundaries are to be met with among the Seri[5] and Zuñi[6] also.

In his description of the very low races of Central Brazil, von den Steinen remarks that they recognized rivers or other similar marks as frontiers between the various communities.[7] Territorial occupation and boundaries prevailed, too, among other primitive peoples in South America.[8] Among the natives of Africa sedentary habits are to be met with, at least to such an extent that they recognize some sort of a division of the land.[9]

If we pass over to the early Germans, Dahn asserts that most of these primitive tribes were at the time of the birth of Christ already living in those areas they occupied during the

1 *MacCaulay*, The Seminole Indians; in 5:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 510.

2 *Carver*, Travels through the Interior of America, p. 297.

3 *Mindeleff*, Navaho Houses; in 17:th Ann. Rept. p. 484.

4 Op. cit. p. 485.

5 *McGee*, The Seri Indians; in 17:th Ann. Rept. p. 131.

6 *Coxe Stevenson*, The Zuñi; in 23:rd Ann. Rept. pp. 290, 350.

7 *Steinen*, Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Braziliens, pp. 213, 219, 330.

8 *Molina*, History of Chili, vol. II, pp. 18 sq., 61, passim; — *Smith*, The Araucanians, p. 241; — *Latcham*, Ethnology of the Araucanos; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1909, pp. 334, 354; — *Markham*, The Tribes of the Valley of the Amazons; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1910, passim.

9 *Granville* and *Roth*, Notes on the Jekris, Sobos and Ijos; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1898, p. 105; — *Gottschling*, The Bawenda; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1905, p. 377; — *Torday* and *Joyce*, Ethnography of Ba-Mbala; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1905, pp. 398, 405; — *Paulitschke*, Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas, p. 253, passim; — *Hanoteau* and *Letourneux*, La Kabylie, vol. II, p. 66; — *Ratzel*, Völkerkunde, vol. II, p. 66 sq.

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third century of our era. [1] So also he maintains — against the view that these peoples must have obtained the idea of territorial sovereignty through the Romans — that this conception was fully their own, this being shown clearly by their solemn religious observances with reference to boundaries. [2] Thus as far back as the political organization of the early Germans, including Anglo-Saxons, [3] and the character of their chieftainship can be traced, we find also traces of territorial occupation. [4] In his description of the early peoples of Gaelic origin in Scotland, Skene asserts that when these tribes passed from the hunting and nomadic state to the pastoral, and became the possessors of large herds of cattle, »it was a natural consequence that each tribe should appropriate a special territory for their better management». [5] Hence the *tuath*, which name originally was applied to the tribe itself, came to signify also the territory it occupied. [6] Similarly, speaking of the early Picts in particular, Lang observes that when they first became known they had long passed beyond the stage of nomad hunters. »They must have practised some rude agriculture, which bound them

1 *Dahn*, Die Könige der Germanen, vol. VII, part I, p. 19.

2 »Nicht erst aus dem römischen Stat haben die Germanen den Begriff der Gebietshoheit gelernt: schon die feierlichen, götterdienstlichen Handlungen, welche die Landnahme begleiten, das Umfahren, Umreiten, Umgehen mit Opfern für die Grenz- und Landesgötter .... bezeugen den Nachdruck, den das Rechtsbewusstsein auf das Statsgebiet legte». — Die Könige der Germanen, vol. VII, part III, p. 361.

3 *Green*, English People, vol. I, p. 10; cf. p. 12 sq.; — *Dahn*, Op. cit. vol. VII, part III, p. 361.

4 *Dahn*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 3. For further particulars see *e. g. Idem*, Op. cit. vol. V, p. 47; vol. VI, pp. 13 sq., 52 sq.; vol. VII, part I, pp. 10, 18 sq.; vol. IX, part I, pp. 36, 71; part II, pp. 4, 58; — *Idem*, Gesellschaft und Stat, p. 470; — *Idem*, Die Germanen vor der Völkerwanderung, pp. 402, 406, 409; — *Idem*, Ursachen der Völkerwanderung, p. 299 sq., passim; — *Lamprecht*, Deutsche Geschichte, vol. I, pp. 51, 58, 60, 274 sq.; — *Maine*, Village Communities, p. 78 sq.; — *Stubbs*, Constitutional History of England, vol. I, p. 20 sqq.

5 *Skene*, Celtic Scotland, vol. III, p. 139.

6 Op. cit. vol. III, p. 136 sq.

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to the soil and the soil to them». [1] As for the early Irish, they had, too, very definite boundaries, nay even a law of »the divisions at the tribe of a territory;» [2] while Caesar gives illuminating particulars of the territorial divisions among the early Gauls. [3] Similarly the early Finns had their territories. [4]

Thus, as indicated above, these primitive peoples, whose political organization was the subject of our inquiry in the previous chapters, have, generally speaking, at least a vague idea of, and corresponding arrangements in regard to, »territorial sovereignty».

In so far as this inference holds true, the question of the origin of the State has been in the main solved. All those instances then of savage political organization referred to in the two previous chapters must be accepted as rudimentary forms of the life of a »State», which has already passed the first stage of coming into being. In all of them a comparatively firmly-established rule was to be met with, as well as, in some degree, a conception of territorial sovereignty. They were also independent, having no other supreme authority to obey than the will of their chief, acting either alone or in conformity with the decisions of elders or other leading men. The comparison, moreover, between modern States and primitive communities can certainly be extended also to those conceptions which form the subject-matter of International Law. It has been already pointed out that primitive warfare is not without its regulations; and there are many other observances in the intercourse be-

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1 *Lang*, A History of Scotland, vol. I, p. 78.

2 Ancient Laws of Ireland, vol. IV, p. 283 sq., passim; — *Skene*, Op. cit. vol. III, pp. 143, 147, 153; — *Lang*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 80 sq.; — A Dictionary of the Gaelic Language, vol. I, p. 229; — *Joyce*, Social History of Ancient Ireland, vol. I, p. 36 sqq.

3 *Caesar*, De Bello Gallico, VI, 1—3, 10, passim.

4 *Yrjö-Koskinen*, Suomal. heimojen yhteisk.-järjestyksestä, chap. III; *Wirkkunen*, Länsisuomalaisten kansain sivistys-oloista, Oma Maa, vol. I, p. 117 sqq.

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tween savage communities which show the rudiments of modern International Law. As modern States »solely and exclusively are the subjects of International Law» [1] and this part of Jurisprudence is still largely based upon custom only, so independent savage groups are undoubtedly the true subjects of those customs which among them represent »international» regulations. [2] It is then clear that from this point of view, too, there is no good reason why the characteristics of a primitive State should be denied to such communities.

Now, if the political organizations of primitive men correspond to the two characteristics of the State, the origin of the State must be sought in still more rudimentary forms of primitive organization, seeing that an origin implies in itself something coming into being which has not been in existence before. We have therefore to reduce our demands for definite characteristics and be content with such rude traits of rule and territorial occupation as seem to have a tendency gradually to develop into the shape of firmly established government and sedentary habits of life. And in fact, with the exception of the juristic theories of the State and a certain school of Sociologists, it would seem that most of the authors dealing with the life of primitive communities are inclined to go in this respect further back than the stage of a sedentary mode of life and a firmly established territorial occupation. Thus, to add two further instances to those referred to previously, [3] Dahn speaks of »Geschlechterstaten» and »Hordenstaten» among the early Germans even as early as in their wandering from Asia to Europe. [4]

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1 *Oppenheim*, International Law, vol. I, p. 18 sqq.; — *Nys*, Le Droit international, vol. I, p. 63 sq.; — *Westlake*, International Law, vol. I, pp. 1, 6.

2 Cf. *Wheeler*, The Tribe and Intertribal Relations in Australia, p. 6 sqq.; — see also Westermarck's preface.

3 See *supra*, p. 6 sqq.

4 *Dahn*, Zur Geschichte des Statsbegriffs der Germanen, p. 530 sq.; — *Idem*, Die Germanen vor der Völkerwanderung, pp. 420 sq. 463; — *Idem*,

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So also Lamprecht calls the very rude communities of the primitive Germans States. [1] If therefore we extend our research for the origin of modern States so far back in history as to come to a stage of savagery so rude that no true territorial occupation is found, the same method is certainly justifiable in the case of primitive peoples in general. Thus an organization with submission to a leadership must remain as the essential characteristic of the State coming into being. The stage of savage rule previous to an established chieftainship was that of the rule of elders in general. In these instances we meet with comparatively clearly marked traits of the originating State. To take, for example, the Australian local group: it has definite boundaries, a complete organization under the rule of elders, though there is no definite chieftainship. Now, such a case of the government of a set of families by a set of elders cannot be held essentially to differ from the government of a family group by its own head. »Dans les cas les plus simples», says Deniker, »l'organisation familiale est en même temps l'organisation sociale». [2] And this most primitive social organization must be held to be the most primitive form of political organization, involving in the general authority of certain individuals the beginnings of political authority. Spencer justly observes that »in its primitive form, then, political power is the feeling of the community, acting through an agency which it has either informally or formally established». [3] This being the case, the exist-

Gesellschaft und Stat, p. 446 sq.; — *Idem*, Die Könige der Germanen, vol. VII, part III, p. 1.

»Es ist willkürlich den Statsbegriff nur deshalb einer Zeit abzusprechen weil sie dem Stat für seine wenig zahlreichen Zwecke wenig zahlreiche und wenig einschneidende Mittel gewährt». — Op. cit. vol. VII, part III, p. 375; cf. in general, pp. 374—380; — *Idem*, Die Germanen, p. 11 sqq.

[1] *Lamprecht*, Deutsche Geschichte, vol. I, p. 95; cf. pp. 164, 172, 175; vol. VII, part II, p. 404; — *Idem*, Deutsches Wirtschaftsleben, p. 42.

[2] *Deniker*, Les races et peuples de la Terre, p. 293; — see also *Vacher de Lapouge*, Les sélections sociales, p. 199.

[3] *Spencer*, Principles of Sociology, vol. II, p. 321; — see also *Giddings*, Principles of Sociology, p. 208 sq.; — *Seidler*, Das juristische Kriterium des Staates, p. 27.

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ence of such a feeling cannot *a priori* depend upon the number of separate families making up a community. It must be theoretically held to exist even in a community consisting of but one undivided family.

The difficulty of defining at which point in social development the State must be held to come into being [1] — that is, the State with its attributes of organization and government — has led many authors to take the view that the origin of the State coincides with that of the origin of human society. Thus Spencer has been strongly blamed in that he has made no clear distinction between the origin of human society and that of political organization. [2] The same accusation could be made against many other authors. Vaccaro makes what he holds to be the most primitive human organization, namely the clan, to be the origin of the State. considering the clan and the State to be older than the family. [3] Strinnholm in his description of the political organization of the early Scandinavians, refers to the ancient Icelanders, among whom, he says, every large family constituted a State of its own. And speaking of the first white colonizers in the region of the Alleghany Mountains, Ratzel [4] observes that each of them was an independent master of his own soil, which he had to defend himself; hence every hearth was in itself a State. And in fact why should not the theory that the State ultimately originates in the human society be at least as well grounded as the theory of its being a later development? The

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1 »Jedenfalls können wir in der Geschichte den Uebergang einer völlig staat- und rechtlosen Menschenmenge in einen staatlichen und rechtlichen Zustand nicht nachweisen». — *Loening*, Der Staat, Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften, vol. VII, p. 704. — See also *Ficker*, Königthum und Kaiserthum, p. 32. — *Seidler*, Das juristische Kriterium des Staates, p. 29. — *Melamed*, Der Staat, p. 1; — *Heimburger*, Der Erwerb der Gebietshoheit, p. 40.

2 *Gumplowicz*, Die Geschichte der Staatstheorien, pp. 399, 402.

3 *Vaccaro*, Les bases sociologiques du Droit et de l'État, pp. 204 sq., 450.

4 *Ratzel*, Der Staat, p. 74.

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conception of a State is a general one which covers many varieties. There is no one form of political organization in history to which the term of a model State is to be applied. [1] The only characteristics common to them all is an independent internal organization under a government and the occupation of a territory, with more or less varying boundaries. Any further characteristics are only secondary, being either peculiar to certain States only or representing the individual views of the writers.

If we accept the view that the origin of the State lies thus in the origin of human society, we reach finally the answer to the question of the relation of war to the origin of the State. If it is to be held — as facts seem to indicate — that the family was the earliest human society and if furthermore our inferences as regards the extension of the primitive units were true, the same conclusions must consequently hold good of the origin of the State likewise. Since early political organization has taken place simultaneously with primitive social integration as a whole, and since in this latter process of development war has been observed to play only a secondary part, it follows that it has played only the same secondary part in early political organization also. Moreover, if one of the main characteristics of a State is the existence of a government, it is evident from this, too, that the origin of the State has been mainly a peaceful one, since the origin of savage government has, generally speaking, been due to peaceful causes acting continuously within the community, and not to merely occasional causes from without, like wars. Hence those theories which hold that the origin of the State is to be derived from the origin of human society in general, while on the other hand maintaining that the origin of the State is bound up with war, must be erroneous, based as they are on

[1] »In England we may say the notion of the State, from the constitutional point of view, is still inchoate». — *Barclay*, The State; in Encyclopædia Britannica, vol. XXV, p. 800. — Cf. *Loening*, Op. cit. vol. VII, p. 708; — *Spencer*, Principles of Ethics, vol. II, p. 182.

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generalizations from merely secondary effects instead of primary causes.

This mistake has arisen in the case of Sociologists like Spencer and Vaccaro through a false conception of the nature of primitive warfare and early chieftainship. Thus as soon as a more accurate description of savage warfare and government is made, it is seen that, while the origin of the State is held to coincide with the origin of human society, the part played by war in originating the State must receive a corresponding revaluation.

A different standpoint must be taken as to the theory of the origin of the State constructed by Gumplowicz and subsequently adopted more or less completely by Ratzenhofer, Ward, Treitschke, [1] Oppenheimer and others. [2] Here it is not an erroneous view as to the nature of savage conditions that has directly given rise to an assumption that war has been the main condition for the origin of the State; but rather it is that no proper heed has been given by these Sociologists to the political life of savages previous to the rise of direct wars for conquest. They have deliberately selected features in later savage and barbarous life to be the starting point of their political theories. The characteristics of a State as defined by them must accordingly show considerable differences from those which are more generally attributed to the State. Their procedure, however, is by no means justified by the facts, as far at least, as the sociological theory of the State is concerned. If there is demanded for a State a government and the occupation of a territory, both these distinguishing marks must certainly exist, in however rudimentary a form, before a warlike people can conquer the territory of a peaceful unit, and by means of the subjugation of this people bring about that relation of political supremacy on the one hand and subjection on the other, which according to Gumplowicz and his followers constitute the fundamental condi-

1 As for *Treitschke's* more cautious view, see p. 10.

2 See, *e. g.*, *Jerusalem*, Einleitung in die Philosophie, p. 238; — *Martensen*, Den Kristliga Etiken, vol. II, p. 84.

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tion for the birth of a State. This is certainly so obvious that many of those authors, even in whose theories the origin of the State is put in the closest connection with war, strongly oppose this view of Gumplowicz's. [1] Thus Vaccaro in discussing it observes: — »Les faits, au contraire, démontrent que le pouvoir naît ordinairement bien avant que les hommes ne soient en état de *subjuguer les autres groupes sociaux;* et le fait même du *'subjuguement'* démontre que l'organisation politique du groupe qui l'accomplit est déjà très avancée». [2] Similar views were held by Steinmetz also previous to his »Philosophie des Krieges». In his investigation into the judicial systems of the natives in Africa and the Pacific Islands he points out how the chieftainship among the former peoples, and particularly among the natives of the French Sudan, is brought into being through the formation of groups on the basis of consanguinity, whereby chieftainship arises through the patriarchal principle. The first stage of chieftainship, Steinmetz therefore remarks, thus comes about in a way which does not at all agree with the theory of Gumplowicz. And from this quite proper inference Steinmetz passes on to another: that the inductive foundation for the »Rassenkampf» seems thus to be somewhat weak. [3]

The conclusions as to the theory of the origin of the State as constructed by Gumplowicz, can at once be applied also to the theories of Ratzenhofer and Lester Ward, as well as of Treitschke, so far as he has adopted the same view. [4] When in the

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1 See *e. g. Spencer*, Principles of Ethics, vol. II, p. 184 sqq.; — *Duguit*, L'Etat, pp. 243, 247 sq., 253 sq., 261; — *Treitschke*, Politik, vol. I, p. 113 sq.; — *Seidler*, Das juristische Kriterium des Staates, p. 20 n.

2 *Vaccaro*, Les bases sociologiques du Droit et de l'Etat, p. 236.

3 »Also eine Entstehung der Häuptlingschaft von innen heraus, ohne Eroberung oder Rassenkampf und es gibt zahllose solche Fälle. Die erste Entwickelung der politischen Organisation geht also gewiss nicht gemäss der Theorie von Gumplovicz, der Staat beruhe auf Eroberung und Rassenkampf, vor sich ... Die inductive Basis dieser ganzen Theorie scheint etwas schwach zu sein». — Op. cit. p. 116.

4 See *supra*, p. 10.

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following part of this study, the development of savage warfare from a stage merely of acts of revenge to one of wars of lasting conquest is dealt with, it will become still more evident how the theories above mentioned refer only to this latter stage of belligerency and the foundation of States, and not to those primary forms of political organization which have rendered this latter form of political development possible.

As for Oppenheimer in particular, it may be added that though he has unquestionably the right conception of the nature of primitive warfare, [1] nevertheless his method is very one-sided. With few exceptions all the ethnographical material he has used to support the theory of Gumplowicz is taken from Ratzel's »Völkerkunde». No doubt, Ratzel has been to a certain extent influenced by the views of Gumplowicz, but at the same time his wide ethnographical reading has done him great service by giving him a more impartial conception of savage conditions and life. Nevertheless Oppenheimer quotes with few exceptions those instances only which suit his particular view. It is obvious that from such a method of ethnographical demonstration he finds himself able to conclude, in conformity with Lilienfeld's theory,[2] that the State originates through physiological increase only in the way of a peaceful agricultural peasantry, representing the ovulum, being sociologically fertilized by an active nomadic pastoral horde. [3] As was observed above, in his »Rechtsverhältnisse» Steinmetz kept aloof from the theory of Gumplowicz and stressed the peaceful origin of primitive political organization; accordingly he pretends in »Die Philosophie des Krieges», to avoid laying down any rule in regard to the relation of war to the origin of the State. [4] Nevertheless he emphasizes the view that without war there is no State.

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1 See *supra*, p. 80 n.

2 *Lilienfeld*, Zur Vertheidigung der organischen Methode, p. 50 sq.

3 Der Staat, p. 51.

4 Die Philosophie des Krieges, p. 192.

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Our investigation into the relation of war to the origin of the State has thus resulted in conclusions opposed to those of writers who believe the origin of the State to lie in the warlike activities of early man. Our inferences have been that primitive society rests on the primary bonds of kinship, local proximity and common customs, as well as common superstitious observances. Owing to these integrating factors, the permanent practice of mutual aid and co-operation in peace is developed, and consequently co-operation in war is also brought about. Simultaneously with this gradual development of primitive society the germs of political organization grow slowly, until the mere authority of elders evolves into a firmly established chieftainship and the more advanced mode of living of the community at last calls forth a permanent occupation of territory. Then the primary process in the origin of a State has ended and a State is actually in existence, in so far as by this term is meant a group of men politically organized under its own government and occupying a definite territory.

In fact, all the chief characteristics of a modern State are to be found in such a rude political organization. It may be governed either on a hereditary basis or the supreme ruler may be elected; moreover, along with the opinion of the chief, the will of the people may be represented through the council of elders, or able men in general. It has also its own laws and customs, regulating its internal life. It observes religious ceremonies as strictly as modern States do. It is likewise far from being constantly at war with its neighbours; on the contrary, when wars are waged, they are in many cases concluded by express treaties of peace. Moreover, owing to these intertribal regulations, friendly intercourse between neighbouring communities occurs. Thus is rendered possible the process of material and mental development, which must have preceded every higher civilization, whether still alive or extinct.

It is essentially this general constructive process that constitutes the fundamental basis of the State in its primitive

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form, and not wars. It is true that later on, when primitive communities have passed on to a still higher stage of general development, the entire structure of their political life changes. New aspirations soon fill the life of the leading individuals, whether chiefs or not. Now wars of permanent conquest become their highest ambition, and the States which succeed in overpowering the neighbouring communities grow rapidly on the basis of feudalism. Most of them succumb in their turn while others survive, continuing their policy of conquest and subjugation. In them it gradually becomes a scientific no less than a political doctrine that there has never been and never will be a State without war. And yet, among lower races, independent political organizations have prevailed and still prevail, presenting the main characteristics of a State and having, too, originated mainly from peaceful sources. The wars waged among such rude peoples, not in order to obtain permanent profit, but mainly for the sake of revenge, have been too desultory undertakings to bring about such great results.

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HELSINKI 1914
SUOMALAISEN TIEDEAKATEMIAN KUSTANTAMA

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DIE

ASSYRISCH-BABYLONISCHEN PERSONENNAMEN

DER FORM *quttulu*

MIT BESONDERER BERÜCKSICHTIGUNG DER WÖRTER FÜR KÖRPERFEHLER

EINE LEXIKALISCHE UNTERSUCHUNG

VON

HARRI HOLMA
PRIVATDOZENT IN HELSINGFORS

HELSINKI 1914.

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HELSINKI 1914
DRUCKEREI DER FINNISCHEN LITERATUR-GESELLSCHAFT

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Vorwort.

Es ist mir angenehm, meinem Lehrer und Freunde, Herrn Professor Dr. K. Tallqvist, sowie Herrn Dr. Landsberger für das grosse Interesse, das sie mir beim Ausarbeiten vorliegender Untersuchung haben zuteil werden lassen, hier meinen herzlichsten Dank auszusprechen. Der erstere hat zudem in liebenswürdigster Weise seine reichhaltigen onomatologischen Sammlungen wie auch eine Korrektur seiner im Druck befindlichen „Assyrian Personal Names" zur Verfügung gestellt, der letztere hat mir die Anregung zu dieser Arbeit gegeben und war mir beim Lesen einer Korrektur behilflich.

Helsinki (Helsingfors), den 19. Januar 1914.

Der Verfasser.

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Einleitung.

a. Allgemeines.

Die assyrisch-babylonischen Personennamen der Form *quttulu* hat man bisher als Kurznamen, Hypokoristika, aufgefasst. So RANKE in seinem Early Babyl. Personal Names p. 20, so auch TALLQVIST, Neubabylonisches Namenbuch p. XVIII. Dem letzteren gelang es wenigstens bei *Puḫḫuru* N:r 1 den positiven Erweis zu bringen, dass dies aus *Bēl-upaḫḫir* N:r 6 verkürzt sei. Ferner erklärte TALLQVIST in OLZ 1906, 466 ff. diese Kurznamen für Verbaladjektiva passivischer Bedeutung, was im Vergleich mit der früheren Ansicht zweifellos dem Richtigen viel näher kam. Ihm folgten dann UNGNAD (Urkunden aus Dilbat p. 81) und CLAY (BE XV p. 29[3] und Cassite Names p. 24).

Dass Namen wie *Puḫḫuru*, *Bulluṭu*, *Dammuqu* u. ä. tatsächlich aus entsprechenden Vollnamen verkürzt sind, kann wohl keinem Zweifel unterliegen. Andererseits ist es jedoch auffällig, dass noch z. B. UNGNAD die Vollnamen, worauf die bisher bekannten *quttulu*-Namen zurückgehen müssten, in den allermeisten Fällen unbekannt blieben, was die Vermutung nahe legt, dass viele von diesen Namen gar keine Verkürzungen mehr darstellten, sondern nur in verkürzter Form auftraten d. h. dass der „Kurzname" dem neugeborenen Kinde schlechthin gegeben wurde.

Im Hinblick aber auf die feststehende Tatsache, dass die Wurzeln mehrerer dieser *quttulu*-Namen im onomatologischen Wortschatz der Assyrer und Babylonier sonst gar nicht nachzuweisen

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sind, entsteht die Frage, ob diese Namen ex analogia nach wirklichen Kurznamen dieser Art aus anderen Stämmen gebildet sind, oder ob nicht vielmehr in diesen nicht auf Vollnamen zurückzuführenden Namen ursprüngliche, alte Bildungen stecken, nach deren Muster etwa erst die genannte Namenverkürzung erfolgte. Diese Frage zu lösen, wird die Aufgabe der folgenden Seiten sein.

Vor einiger Zeit machte mich mein Freund B. LANDSBERGER darauf aufmerksam, dass von den von UNGNAD a. a. O. angeführten *quttulu*-Namen der altbabylonischen Zeit sich mehrere als Namen für verschiedene Körperfehler bzw. körperliche Auffälligkeiten erklären liessen, indem *Gubbuḫu* etymologisch und inhaltlich dem hebr. *gibbē"ḥ* „kahlköpfig" entspräche, während *Kubburu*, *Kubbutu* und *Quttunu* von den gemeinsemit. Stämmen *kbr*, *kbt*, *qtn* abgeleitet werden und also resp. „dick", „gewichtig", „dünn" heissen könnten: kurzum dass sich das Assyrische, um körperliche Abnormitäten auszudrücken, der Nominalform *quttulu* bediente, wie im Hebräischen *qiṭṭilu*, im Arabischen *'aqtalu*, im Syrischen *qṭālā* demselben Zwecke dienten. Ich habe dann, seiner Anregung folgend, der Frage in ihrem ganzen Umfang nachzugehen versucht und bin jetzt in der Lage, mit Hilfe des möglichst vollständigen hierauf bezüglichen Materials nachweisen zu können, dass in der Tat die assyrisch-babylonischen Personennamen der Form *quttulu* zum allergrössten Teil Namen für Körperfehler bzw. körperliche Auffälligkeiten darstellen. [S. auch Nachträge.]

Es gibt bei allen Völkern eine Reihe von Namen, die ursprünglich auf physische Auffälligkeiten des Namenträgers Bezug haben[1]. In letzter Linie dürfte diese Eigentümlichkeit — wo-

[1] Vgl. gr. *Μέγας*, *Μέλας*, *Μέλαγχρος*, *Πυῤῥος*, *Σίμος*, *Στράβων* usw., lat. Blaesus, Capito, Catus, Claudius, Cocles, Crassus, Cincinnatus, Dento, Flaccus, Labeo, Naso usw., unsere Braun, Hinke, Lincke, Roth, Schwarz, Schéele u. a. Die alttestamentlichen Namen dieser Art findet man in Enc. Bibl. 3297. Zur Literatur vgl. unten (dazu SOCIN, Mittelhochdeutsches Namenbuch, 1903; BERTSCHE, Die volkstümlichen Personen-

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mit psychologisch betrachtet diejenige, Appellativa der äusseren, sinnlichen Welt als Namen zu verwenden, parallel sein wird — ihrem Ursprunge nach eine zweifache sein. Zunächst sind diese Namen ursprüngliche Spitznamen, die teils dem Volkshumor, teils dem wirklichen Bedürfnisse, gleichnamige Individuen der nächsten Umgebung zu unterscheiden, entsprungen sind. Diese Spitznamen (vgl. die arab. *laqab*-Namen) haben dann allmählich die wirklichen, „bürgerlichen" Namen verdrängt und ihren Platz eingenommen [1].

Wie es aber den Nomina propria überall ergangen ist, so wurde der ursprüngliche Charakter auch dieser Spitznamen nach und nach vergessen. Auch auf babylonischem Gebiete muss das Verblassen dieses ursprünglichen Charakters solcher Namen in den meisten Fällen frühzeitig erfolgt sein, denn es wird kaum möglich sein — woran auch die Art der überlieferten Literatur Schuld trägt — in irgend einem Falle nachzuweisen, dass ein diesartiger Spitzname neben einem anderen Namen existierte. Dies kann natürlich zufällig sein, jedoch scheint es die a priori anzunehmende Vermutung zu bestätigen, dass die nach physischen Eigentümlichkeiten gebildeten Nomina propria ihren ursprünglichen Charakter wesentlich aufgegeben hatten und zu wirklichen, „bürgerlichen" Namen geworden waren. Dass der entschieden grösste Teil aller dieser Namen der letzteren Gattung angehört, d. h. schon den Kindern und zwar aus anderen Gründen (bzw. ohne

namen einer oberbadischen Stadt, Freiburger Diss. 1905, §§ 67 ff.; Noreen, Spridda Studier III 9; für das Finnische Forsman, Suomen kansan persoonallinen nimistö p. 98; u. a.).

[1] Vgl. Bechtel p. 6. — Nicht ausgeschlossen ist die Möglichkeit, dass ein Individuum ausserhalb seiner engeren Umgebung von anderen Leuten mit einem Spitznamen benannt wurde, wozu Parallelen aus dem täglichen Leben erbracht werden könnten. Ich denke bei dem Babylonischen hauptsächlich an Tempel- etc. Rechnungen, wo besonders der niedrigeren Klasse angehörende Steuerpflichtige von den Beamten sicherlich häufig der Bequemlichkeit halber mit bezeichnenden Spitznamen gekennzeichnet wurden, wenn der bürgerliche Name aus irgendwelchem Grund vergessen war. Überhaupt wird die höhere Klasse überall Individuen der niedrigen Klasse mit Vorliebe solche Spitznamen beigelegt haben. Aus neuerer Zeit können die „offiziellen" Namen, die man den Juden in den 17. und 18. Jahrhunderten gab, eine hübsche Parallele zu dem Gesagten bieten.

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Grund) gegeben wurde, dürfte kaum geleugnet werden. Dafür spricht ferner die Tatsache, dass die allermeisten Namen der Form *quttulu* der altbabylonischen und kassitischen Zeit entstammen, wogegen in neubabylonischer Zeit nur wenige neue gebildet wurden. Auch auf assyrischem Boden sind diesartige Namen verhältnismässig selten. Daraus wird man ferner folgern können, dass derartige Namen mit dem Wachsen der Kultur und der Ausbreitung offizieller religiöser Vorstellungen, die auf die Namengebung Einfluss hatten, zurücktraten.

Sank also diese Namengebung, etwa wie in unsern Sprachen, allmählich zu bloss archaistischer Nachahmung herab — worauf auch sprachliche Momente einwirkten, wie etwaiges Verschwinden der betr. Wörter aus der Sprache u. ä. m. — so hat natürlich andererseits die Sitte, den Mitmenschen ähnliche Spitznamen zu geben, auch durch die geschichtliche Zeit fortleben und zu neuen Mitteln auffordern müssen. Charakteristisch ist, dass Namen, die gewöhnliche Körperfehler bezeichnen, wie *Kurû* „hinkend" und *Zâriqu* „schielend", die als Adjektiva auch in der täglichen Sprache zu belegen sind, äusserst zahlreich vorkommen. Das dürfte kaum blosser Zufall sein, ebensowenig wie die Tatsache, dass kein König oder höherer Beamter, soviel mir bekannt, derartige Namen trug (vgl. jedoch unten *Ugula*). Es scheint sich also wenigstens bei gewissen Namen das Verständnis der Bedeutung derselben fortgesetzt zu haben (ba. auch den Einfluss der Geburtsomina!)[1]. — Dem Übergang dieser Spitznamen zu wirklichen Nomina propria können wir aber in keiner Periode

[1] Dass aber Namen dieser Art, deren Bedeutung dem Namengeber noch geläufig war, den Kindern wegen etwaiger Abnormität schon bei der Geburt oder kurz nachher gegeben wurden, scheint mir aus psychologischen Gründen weniger wahrscheinlich. Wenn ein Kind einen *quttulu*- o. ä. Namen erhielt, war das Verständnis des Wortes sicherlich schon verblasst. (Vgl. auch KLEINPAUL, Die deutschen Personennamen, Leipzig 1909, p. 24 f.: Die Kinder haben noch keine Kennzeichen, deshalb haben sie auch noch keine Namen, die darauf gegründet wären — haben sie welche, so ist zehn gegen eins zu wetten, dass sie von Erwachsenen hergenommen sind. — — — — — Besondere Kennzeichen fehlen, es müsste denn ein Muttermal da sein. — — — — Missbildungen werden am liebsten ignoriert. Ausnahmen bestätigen die Regel.)

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der Keilschriftliteratur nachgehen [1], auch würden wir uns hier leicht in blosse Theorien und unhaltbare Hypothesen verirren. Was dem Namengeber in jedem einzelnen Falle vor Augen stand, kann nur selten festgestellt werden. Die Hauptsache ist, dass wir diese Namengebung nunmehr auch für die assyrisch-babylonischen Semiten nachweisen können. Welcher Mittel sie sich dabei bedienten, werden wir im folgenden sehen.

b. Sprachliches.

Dass sich unter den assyrisch-babylonischen Personennamen auch solche finden, die ursprünglich auf physische Auffälligkeiten Bezug hatten, war bisher nur in einigen augenfälligen Fällen wie bei *Quttunu*, *Sâmu*, *Ṣalimtu* u. ä. beobachtet worden [2]. In der Tat aber ist diese Art Namengebung bei den Assyrern und Babyloniern, wie von vornherein anzunehmen war, eine sehr beliebte gewesen. Zu dieser Art von Namen muss zuerst die allerdings relativ seltene Sitte gezählt werden, Nomina propria von Körperteilnamen mittels der gemeinsemitischen Adjektiv- und Deminutiv-Endung *-ân* zu bilden (Brockelmann, Grundriss I § 215; Tallqvist, Neubab. Nbuch p. xxxiii; Ranke p. 13 f.). Wenn auch ein Name wie *Uznânu* (bzw. *Uzna*[3]; Tallqvist a. a. O. 301[b]) als ein Hypokoristikon, etwa aus *Bêl-uznâ̆a* o. ä. verkürzt, aufgefasst werden könnte [3], so müssen dagegen m. E. Namen wie *Paḫallânu* (aus *paḫallu* „Hode"; Körperteile p. 100), *Iškânu* (aus *išku* „Hode" a. a. O. 97), *Sapsapânu* (aus *sapsapu* „Hode" [4], a. a. O. 99) [5], alle in BE xv (Kassitenzeit), ferner *Appânu* bzw. *Appânu*

[1] Von Interesse ist der bibl. Name *Haqqāṭān*, dessen Artikel deutlich zeigt, wie der appellativische Charakter noch empfunden wurde. Dem zur Seite stellt sich vielleicht assyr. u. pr. *Amêl-Sukkuku*, wo *amêl* sicher gar nicht ausgesprochen wurde, sondern als blosses Determinativ diente. — Vgl. Gratzl, Die altarab. Frauennamen p. 32 f.

[2] Vgl. z. B. Ranke in BE vi,1 p. 51 note.

[3] Vgl. die Kurznamen(?) *Înia*, *Înatum* u. ä. (Tallqvist, Neub. Nbuch 302[b]), *Idî*, *Idâ̆a Iddia*(?) u. ä. (a. a. O. 317[a]), wozu Nöldeke Beitr. zur sem. Sprachwiss. 102 Parallelen bietet, *Qa-ta*(?), *Qâti* (Tallqvist a. a. O. 172[a]).

[4] S. dagegen OLZ 1912, 207 ff.

[5] Vgl. *Φαλλινος*, *Κρίθις* u. a. („dessen Genitalien stark entwickelt sind"), Bechtel 32 f.

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(von *appu* Nase"; TALLQVIST a. a. O. 9 f.)[1], *Qaqqadânitu* bzw. *Qaqqadînu* (von *qaqqadu* „Schädel"; a. a. O. 172[a])[2] jedenfalls ursprüngliche, scherzhafte Spitznamen sein, die auf die auffällige Grösse des betr. Körperteils Bezug hatten. Ganz ähnliche Eigennamen auf dem Gebiete des Arabischen hat NÖLDEKE (Beitr. zur sem. Sprachwiss. 101 ff.) nachgewiesen. Auch an den von ihm (a. a. O. 103) als „sehr selten" bezeichneten Namen, wie arab. *Ka'b* „Fussknöchel", syr. *Q'dālā* „Hals", phön. רֹאשׁ „Haupt", die also schlechtweg Namen von Gliedern darstellen (einige deutsche Parallelen bei N.)[3], fehlt es im Assyrischen nicht ganz; vgl. *Paḫallu*(!) (GGA 1911, 138), *Zapzapu* = *Sapsapu* (RANKE 178[b]) sowie *Qûqubannu* („Magen", s. Körperteile 146) bei CLAY, Cass. Names 118[b] und *Qûqubâtu* (ditto) VSchr. IX 175, 11. Vgl. Anm. 2, *Naḫîru*. Inhaltlich sind diese beiden Gruppen ohne weiteres gleichzustellen.

Ungleich zahlreicher sind jedoch die Fälle, wo eine physische Abnormität bzw. Eigentümlichkeit durch ein Adjektivum ausgedrückt wird. Wie aber arab. *'aqtalu*, hebr. *qiṭṭēl*, syr. *q'ṭālā* nicht die einzigen Nominalformen sind, nach denen Körperfehler bezeichnende Adjektiva in den resp. Sprachen gebildet werden, so begegnen uns auch im Assyrischen mehrere Nominalformen, die in diesem Sinne gebraucht werden. Beispiele: *Sakku* „taub" neben *Sukkuku*; *Daqqu*, *'Diqqu* „klein", „Zwerg"; *Lillu* (onomatopoetisch) „der Lallende"; part. act. *Zâriqu* „schieläugig" von *zarâqu* „schielen"; *pissû* „hinkend", hebr. *pissēḥ* (*qiṭṭilu*) entsprechend; *akû* „körperlich schwach"; *Amêru* „taub"; *pâqu* „taub"; usw. Hierher gehören die auf die Gesichts- bzw. Hautfarbe bezüglichen Farbenadjektiva *Sâmu*, *Adirtu*, *Ṣalimtu*, *Barmu*, *Barmatu* u. a. Trotzdem diese Bildungen nicht im engeren Sinne zur Aufgabe der vorliegenden Untersuchung gehören, habe ich sie doch mit-

[1] Vgl. lat. Naso, gr. *Ῥίνων*.

[2] Vgl. gr. *Κέφαλος* u. ä., lat. Capito, unser Haupt. — In *Qaqqadânitu* etc. könnte jedoch auch ein Tiername vorliegen. Vgl. M.-A. 924[b], ZA XXVIII 155. — [Nachtrag. Cfr. auch *Naḫîru* („Nasenloch") TALLQVIST Ass. N. 166, CT XXXIII 16, 12 und *Naḫirânu*, CLAY, Cass. Names 110]

[3] Im Finnischen habe ich folgg. Namen dieser Art notiert: Koura, Korva, Jalkanen, Kantanen, Nenonen, Sormunen, Polvinen, Pääkkönen usw.

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aufgenommen, obgleich ihre Zahl vielleicht hätte grösser werden können, hätte ich nicht mein Augenmerk in erster Linie auf die *quttulu*-Formen gerichtet.

Wie aber im arab., hebr. und syr. die nach den oben erwähnten Nominalformen *'aqtalu*, *qiṭṭēl* und *qᵉṭālā* gebildeten Körperfehlernamen fraglos überwiegen, so wird schon ein flüchtiger Blick auf das unten zusammengestellte Material den Leser davon überzeugen, dass auch im Assyrischen eine besondere Nominalform, und zwar *quttulu*, zur Bildung derartiger Adjektiva besonders beliebt war. Diese Behauptung lässt sich auf manche Weise positiv bestätigen [1].

Zunächst muss die grosse Zahl der Wörter der Form *quttulu*, die Körperfehler bzw. körperliche Eigentümlichkeiten bezeichnen, auffallen. Von den *quttulu*-Wörtern, die etymologisch und inhaltlich als hierhergehörig völlig gesichert sind, seien hier nur diejenigen aufgezählt, betreffs deren Bedeutung kein Zweifel herrschen kann: *Ubburu* „lahm o. ä.", *Unnubu* „üppig, dick", *uṣṣudu*, *Uṣṣulu*, *Buṣṣulu* „gebunden d. h. lahm, irgendwie verwachsen", *Gubbuḫu*, *Gurrudu* „kahlköpfig", *Guḫḫuru* „hässlich", *Zuḫḫuntu* „mit stinkendem Atem", *Ḫubbušu* etwa = *uṣṣudu*, *Ḫungulu* „hüpfend dahinschreitend", *Ḫuzzumu* „taub", *Ḫunnubu* = *Unnubu*, *Ḫuṣṣubu* ditto, *Ḫurruṣu* „Flavius", *Ḫurrušu* „stumm", *Kubburu* „dick", *Kubbutu* „schwer", *Kunzubtu* = *Ḫuṣṣubu*, *kuṣṣudu* = *uṣṣudu*, *Kuṣṣuru* ditto, *Kurû* „hinkend", *Nuḫḫuru* „näselnd", *Quttunu* „dünn, „mager", *Sukkuku* „taub", *Surundu* „platt-, stumpfnasig", *Šubburu* „hinkend" u. a. m.. Dass diese Wörter nur in dieser Weise aufzufassen sind, habe ich im lexikalischen Teil, wie ich hoffe, genügend dargelegt.

Den engen Zusammenhang der Adjektiva der Form *quttulu* mit dem Permansiv pass. II,1 hat Delitzsch in seiner Gramm.² § 123 f. näher besprochen. Ein nicht unwichtiger Beweis für die Richtigkeit meiner Auffassung von den *quttulu*-Wörtern ist daher auch darin zu erblicken, dass in den Omina der Stamm II,1 perm. überaus häufig von Anomalien gebraucht wird, auch da wo Qal

[1] Verzeichnisse von *quttulu*-Namen findet man Ungnad, Dilbat p. 81 BE XV p. 29 n. 3; Clay, Cass. Names p. 24; Ranke p. 21 n. 6, 253 f.

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denselben Dienst geleistet hätte, häufig sogar neben Qal. Solche Permansiva, von welchen mehrere auch als Namen zu belegen sind, sind z. B. *uppuqu*, *bullulu*, *burrumu*, *bussulu*, *gubbušu*, *ḫubbušu*, *ḫuzzumu*, *ḫummušu*, *ḫunnuqu*, *kubburu*, *pullušu*, *šuttuqu*, *turrubu*, *turruku* u. a., um aus der Fülle einige herauszugreifen [1]. Der Gebrauch der *quttulu*-Adjektiva als Bezeichnungen für Körperfehler wird hierdurch lebhaft illustriert. Den endgültigen Beweis dafür, dass wir auf dem richtigen Wege zum Verständnis der *quttulu*-Wörter sind, liefern meines Dafürhaltens die Omina CT XXVII pl. 5 (cfr. pl. 4 und 13), wo von allerlei Missgeburten die Rede ist. Unter den Wörtern für missgestaltete Wesen und zwerghafte, verkrüppelte Gebilde findet sich dort — ausser Wörtern wie *lillu* „blödsinnig", *akû* „körperlich schwach", *lâ nâṭilu* „blind", *pissû* = (oder <) *pussû* „hinkend" u. ä. — eine ganze Reihe von *quttulu*-Formen, nämlich *kubbulu*, *sukkuku*, *ḫubbušu*, red. *qudquddu*, *mussuku*, *ṣunduru* und vielleicht *usumia* (wenn *ussumu* + *ia*). Von diesen Wörtern, die ich unten näher erklärt habe, sind wenigstens *Kubbulu*, *Sukkuku*, *Ḫubbušu* und *Ṣunduru* (vgl. auch *Gudduddu*) mit Sicherheit als Personennamen nachzuweisen. Dass hier ein enger Zusammenhang der beiden Wörtergruppen besteht, dürfte kaum zu bezweifeln sein.

Desgleichen lässt sich das oben Gesagte mit Hilfe einiger Vokabularzeilen zur Genüge feststellen. Dies sind v R 20 a—b 6—16 = CT XIX 16, 7—17, wo auf *akû* eine Reihe von *quttulu*-Wörtern folgt. Alle diese Wörter erweisen sich nicht nur durch ihre Etymologie (worüber eingehend unten) sondern zugleich durch ihre Ideogramme (*ID . LAL* etc.) als hierhergehörig. Hier kann *LAL* bzw. *LÁL* nur im Sinne von *eṣêlu*, *kasû* „binden" (vgl. unten *uṣṣudu*, *uṣṣulu*, *kasû* u. a.!), woraus *šaqâlu*, *šuqalulu* „hängen (als körperlicher Mangel)" und *enšu* „schwach sein" entwickelt sind, aufgefasst werden [2]. *uṣṣulu*, *buṣṣulu* etc. können also nur „mit hängendem Arm, Glied d. h. lahm o. ä." heissen, was tatsächlich durch die Etymologie der betr. Wörter bestätigt

[1] Für Belege muss ich hier kurz auf JASTROW, Religion II Index verweisen.

[2] Vgl. auch unten *šuqallulu* und *quṣṣuru*.

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wird. Ausser *LAL*, das auch sonst in den Ideogrammen der *quttulu*-Wörter vorkommt, begegnet uns in diesen Zeilen das Element *TAR* in Verbindung mit *ID* „Arm", *ŠÚ* „Hand" und *NER* „Fuss". Auch *TAR* liegt in mehreren anderen Ideogrammen für *quttulu*'s vor und muss im Sinne von „abhauen", „verstümmeln" u. ä. (vgl. *TAR* = *parâ'u*, *parâṣu*, *nakâsu* usw.) gefasst werden. Dazu stimmt, dass viele der unten besprochenen Wörter auf Stämme zurückgehen, deren Grundbedeutung gerade diejenige des Zerstörens, Verstümmelns ist. S. darüber noch weiterhin.

Über die Frage, weshalb gerade *quttulu* zum Ausdruck von Körperfehlern und Gebrechen sich entwickelte, möchte ich nicht viele Worte verlieren, weil derartige sprachliche Prähistorie des sicheren Bodens entbehrt. Jedoch mögen einige allgemeine Bemerkungen hier Platz finden. Schon Barth, Nominalbildung p. 25[2] hat den Erweis erbracht, dass „die Ausbildung bestimmter Formen für Fehleradjektive erst in den einzelnen Sprachen erfolgt ist". Eine gemeinsame Nominalbildung für derartige Wörter hatte sich also vor der Trennung der einzelnen Stämme noch nicht entwickelt. Im Hebräischen bediente man sich bekanntlich einer geschärften, im Syrischen einer gedehnten, im Arabischen einer präfigierten Form. Die assyrische spezielle Nominalform für Gebrechen war gleich der hebräischen geschärft. Diese geschärfte Intensitätsform bildete wie *qittilu* im Hebräischen „intransitive Adjektive, die eine fest inhärirende Beschaffenheit bezeichnen" (Barth p. 25). Daher ist ja der Gebrauch der *quttulu*-Form im Assyrischen keineswegs auf Körperfehler beschränkt. Wie das Hebräische nach *qittilu* z. B. *piqqē"ḥ* „scharfsehend" bildet, so finden wir im Assyrischen Adjektiva, die z. B. ungewöhnliche Körperkräfte, wie *gunnuṣu*, *guppuru*, *guššuru*, übermässige Beweglichkeit (s. unten *Urrudu*(?), *urruḫu*), besondere Lebensart, wie *ukkumu* „räuberisch", „der Packer" (einer der Hunde Marduks), oder sonstige Eigenschaften, wie *ukkudu* „dunkel", *ummulu* „blass" o. ä., bezeichnen[1]. Jedoch muss hier auch die

[1] Die in den Syllabaren sich findenden *quttulu*-Adjektiva sind nicht immer als solche zu erkennen. Jedoch glaube ich, dass die Zahl der wirklichen Adjektiva dieser Form viel zahlreicher ist als bisher angenommen wurde.

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Analogiebildung grossen Spielraum gehabt haben[1]. — In letzter Linie sind diese Adjektiva von wirklichen Verbaladjektiven wie z. B. *šundulu* „weit gemacht d. h. weit" u. ä. nicht zu trennen, und man könnte sogar die Frage aufwerfen, ob nicht die diesen Adjektiven innewohnende faktitive Bedeutung „zu etwas gemacht" derselben Vorstellung wie die arabische, mit kausativem Präfix gebildete Steigerungsform *'aqtalu* entsprungen sei!

Anm. Der Gebrauch der *quttulu*-Form in den anderen Sprachen ist nach BROCKELMANN, Grundriss I § 148 ein ziemlich beschränkter. Das dürfte zutreffen, jedoch würde das arab. Lexikon sicher weitere Beispiele liefern können. Es fielen mir auf Wörter wie *kuntubun, kuntu'un, kunpurun* u. a., alle „Zwerg", die wohl auf urspr. *quttulu*-Formen zurückgehen.

Wie im Arabischen die Nformen *qitillu* und *qutullu* äusserlich wie auch inhaltlich *qittilu* (resp. *quttulu*) einander nahe stehen (BARTH § 17. 114), so scheint auch im Assyrischen bisweilen die Nform *qutullu* anstatt *quttulu* als Ausdruck körperlicher Gebrechen angewandt worden zu sein. Von den unten besprochenen Wörtern gehören hierher wenigstens: *Ukummu* (neben *Ukkumu*), *Guzummu*, *Duḫummu*, *Ḫuluqqu*, *Kuluḫḫu*, *Muluššu*.

Anm. Für weitere Nformen, die demselben Zwecke dienen, s. BROCKELMANN I § 133 b, 135 c α (Vokaldehnung), § 151 (Vokaldehnung nebst Konsonantverschärfung). [S. auch Nachträge.]

c. Geschichtliches etc.

Wie schon oben angedeutet, sind die nach *quttulu* gebildeten Personennamen in den verschiedenen Perioden der babylonisch-assyrischen Geschichte nicht gleich zahlreich vertreten. Die häufigsten *quttulu*-Namen begegnen uns in der Ḫammurapi- bzw. vorḫammurapischen Zeit, wo die Namengebung den frischen Charakter der Ursprünglichkeit trägt. Noch in der Kassitenzeit werden neue *quttulu*-Namen gebildet, während dagegen die Zahl derselben im neubabylonischen Reiche, dessen Namenbildung wir sonst

[1] Neben einer *quttulu*-Form kommen des öfteren auch andere Nformen desselben Stammes vor und umgekehrt, worin häufig Analogiebildung zu verspüren ist. — Sonst sind — was nicht besonders hervorgehoben zu werden braucht — die Namen dieser Art den gewöhnlichen Gesetzen der Namenbildung unterworfen: es werden daraus Kosenamen mit -*ia* gebildet usw.

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ziemlich genau kennen, beträchtlich herabsinkt. In den neuveröffentlichten Kontrakten der Seleucidenära (MORGAN II), die sich auch in den Namen als epigonenhaft zeigt, begegnen uns nur noch zwei *quttulu*-Namen, die allerdings früher nicht zu belegen sind[1], nämlich *Ubbulu* „mager" und *Kuzû* (von *kasû* „binden"), wenn dies nicht Fremdwort, was wegen der regelmässigen Schreibung *Ku-zu-ú* weniger wahrscheinlich ist.

Aus der altassyrischen Zeit, deren Namengebung allerdings weniger bekannt ist, kenne ich keinen *quttulu*-Namen. Auch in der neuassyrischen Periode sind diese — unter babyl. Einfluss entstandenen? — Namen verhältnismässig selten. Dem schrofferen und militärisch erzogenen assyrischen Genius scheint diese Art von Namengebung fremd geblieben zu sein.

Dem Gesagten zufolge muss also der Anfang dieser Namenbildung schon aus geschichtlichen Gründen in der ältesten Periode der semitischen Besiedelung der Euphrat-Länder gesucht werden. Dazu stimmt nicht nur, dass, wie wir oben sahen, derartige Namengebung sich nur in primitiveren Verhältnissen lebendig erhalten kann, sondern auch, dass eine ganze Reihe der ältesten *quttulu*-Namen sich auf uns sonst überlieferte babylonisch-assyrische Stämme nicht zurückführen lässt. Können wir also daraus die Schlussfolgerung ziehen, dass die speziell babylonisch-assyrische *quttulu*-Bildung, sowie die darauf zurückgehende Namengebung uralt sind, so kann es andererseits unmöglich ein blosser Zufall sein, dass in den meisten Fällen sich für diese alten Namen aus dem Arabischen eine etymologische Stütze gewinnen lässt. Es muss zugestanden werden, dass die Verwertung des arabischen, viel später schriftlich fixierten Wortschatzes für vergleichende etymologische Zwecke gewissermassen gefährlich sein kann; unsre Behauptung gewinnt aber dadurch an Wahrscheinlichkeit, dass sich die herangezogenen arabischen Stämme hauptsächlich zu zwei Gruppen vereinigen liessen, nämlich zu denjenigen des „Bindens" und denen des „Zerstörens", „Verstümmelns", die, wie ich unten dargetan habe,

[1] Daraus darf natürlich nicht gefolgert werden, dass die Namen früher nicht geläufig gewesen wären.

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(s. auch oben p. 14 f.) zur Bildung von Wörtern für körperliche Abnormitäten verwendet wurden und zwar so, dass die Ausdrücke für „lahm" u. ä. am liebsten von Stämmen, die urspr. „binden" bedeuten, diejenigen für körperliche Gebrechen dagegen von Stämmen, die urspr. „verstümmeln" u. ä. bedeuten, abgeleitet wurden (vgl. *uṣṣudu*, *Uṣṣulu*, *Šubburu* u. a.).

Vielleicht gibt uns also die Untersuchung der *quttulu*-Namen einen willkommenen Fingerzeig für die ethnographische Beurteilung der babylonisch-semitischen Bevölkerungsschicht der Ḫammurapi-Periode, umsomehr weil sie nur früher bekannte Tatsachen bestätigt[1]. Andererseits zeigt die Form dieser Namen, *quttulu*, die nur auf babylonischem Boden entstehen konnte, weil sie die Passiv-Bedeutung des Permansivs voraussetzt, dass es sich keineswegs etwa um arabische Lehnwörter handelt, sondern dass die *quttulu*-Namen echtbabylonische Bildungen sind. Ob aber die durch die in der Ḫammurapi-Zeit vorkommenden arabischen Namen *Akbar*, *Aḫlam* (statt *A'lam*)[2] schon für diese Zeit belegte kausative Bildungsart der arabischen Wörter für Körperfehler auf die Entstehung der faktitiven assyr. *quttulu*-Form eingewirkt hat (vgl. oben p. 16), kann vorläufig nicht zur Entscheidung gebracht werden[3].

[1] Ich verweise hier nur auf HOMMEL, Grundriss 91 ff 129 ff., RANKE 35 ff., GRATZL 8 f. Vgl. meine „Kleine Beiträge" 27.

[2] Vgl. HOMMEL a. a. O. und Altisrael. Überl. 112. 206. Allerdings etwas unsicher. — Vgl. TALLQVIST, Ass. Names 19b.

[3] Auch unter Völker- und Ortsnamen wird es sicherlich einige geben, die in derselben Weise wie die Personennamen dieser Art zu erklären sind. Solche Namen sind meines Dafürhaltens z. B. der Völkername *Ubulu* (SCHIFER, Die Aramäer p. 2. 4. 5), der wohl mit *ubbulu* „mager" (s. u.) zusammenhängt, vielleicht auch der Landesname *Luḫutu* (ibid. 58. 59), wenn dieser mit *Luḫḫulu* (s. u.) identisch ist. In diesen Fällen handelt es sich natürlich nicht um einheimische Namen, sondern um von Assyrern gegebene Spottnamen, die vielleicht äusserlich an die einheimischen erinnerten. Hierher gehört vielleicht auch der Ortsname *Hummurti*, wenn = ein Ort, wo es viele *Hummuru*'s gab. Im Folgenden sind die Orts- bzw. Völkernamen nur gelegentlich beachtet worden. Vgl. auch *Hanmunu*

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Zum Schlusse sei endlich bemerkt, dass ich mir dessen vollauf bewusst bin, dass sich unter den unten besprochenen Wörtern auch gelegentlich ein Appellativ, ein Hypokoristikon oder eine blosse Analogiebildung finden kann; wo sich aber eine befriedigende Etymologie, die meine Vermutung hinsichtlich der Bildung des betr. Namens in der obigen Weise bestätigte, ohne weiteres ergab, wurde der Name aufgenommen. Das Resultat meiner Untersuchung wird im grossen und ganzen dadurch nicht erschüttert werden können. — Eine lexikalische Spezialuntersuchung auf dem onomatologischen Gebiete der Assyrer und Babylonier dürfte nicht zu frühzeitig sein.

d. Literatur.

Für die benutzte assyriologische Literatur überhaupt verweise ich nur auf das umfassende Literaturverzeichnis meiner „Körperteilnamen". Auch die Verkürzungen sind dieselben wie dort. Unten habe ich die von mir benutzte spezielle onomatologische, sowie sonstige neue Literatur zusammengestellt [1].

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[1] Des ganzen veröffentlichten Urkundenmaterials, besonders der vorhammurapischen Zeit, konnte ich leider hier nicht habhaft werden. Es fehlten mir u. a. mehrere in Frankreich erschienenen Werke, die ich gern excerpiert hätte.

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[1] Ba. die reichhaltigen Literaturangaben p. xv, Anm. 2–9.

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Lexikalischer Teil.

Ubbulu.

Morgan II 77: *Ub-bu-lu/ul* (mehrfach). Vgl. vielleicht den Völkernamen *Ú-bu-lu/lum* (Schiffer, Die Aramäer p. 2. 4. 5) und s. Einl. p. 18 Anm. 3. Vgl. MVAG 1906, 40.

Der Name wird dasselbe Wort sein wie *ubbulu* „mager" (M.-A. 7ª), das von *abâlu* „trocken sein" herkommt (s. KB VI, 1, 580; Küchler, Medizin 141 f.; Ges-Buhl[15] 5). *Ubbulu* also inhaltlich gleich *Quttunu* (s. u.), wo sonstige Parallelen.

Ubbuqu.

BE XV 200 Col. V 3: *Ub-bu-ki*. Clay, Cass. Names 141ᵇ. CT IV, 25ª 22: *Ub-bu-ki-ia*. Ranke 171ª (21⁴). — Auch bei JADD Nr. 68, 2; 124 Rev. 5; 125 Rev. 4; 857 IV 12 sowie JADB 5 I 17, geschrieben: *Ub-bu-ku / ki*, *Ú-bu-ku* und *Ú-bu-uk-ki*. JADD 44 Rev. 4: *Ú-bu-qu* (unsicher). Tallqvist, Ass. Names 239ª.

Etymologisch unsicher. Ob mit *ibqu* „eine Art Aussatz" (zum Stamme vgl. meine „Kleine Beiträge" p. 3 f.) zusammenzustellen? *Ubbuqu* dann „ein mit *ibqu* Behafteter", „Aussätziger". — Vielmehr jedoch *Uppuqu* zu lesen und, trotz des *k*, von *epêqu* „fest sein" (*danânu*; vgl. DHWB 115ª und zur Etymologie Ges.-Buhl[15] 60ª)[1] abzuleiten, dessen II, 1 passivisch gerade von meh-

[1] Vgl. auch SAI. 7646. Davon *upqu* „Gesamtheit(?)" MSuppl. 14ᵇ und SAI. 7647, 11288 (Ideogr. LAGAB, das auch = *napḫaru*!). Stammverwandt ist

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reren Anomalien gebraucht wird. Vgl. zuerst v R 42 (= CT XIX 47) c—d 50 (10): *SAG* || *up-pu-qu* (folgen *piḫû* und *katâmu*), also „fest machen", „verschliessen", pass. „verschlossen" (so schon DEL.). Vgl. ferner HUNGER, Tieromina 72[10], wo mehrere Belege aus der Omenlitteratur. Ähnliche Stellen CT XXVII, 7, K. 3793 Rev. 7: *înu-šu ša imitti up-pu-qa*[*t*]. 10, 18!; 33, 7!; 34, 17: .... *qaqqad-su up-pu-uq-ma pâ la iši*. Ferner 39, K. 3925 Obv. 10 ff., etc. [1]. *uppuqu* wird also von Hand, Ohr, Kopf, Auge, etc. gesagt. Leider bleibt trotzdem der nähere Sinn von *Uppuqu* unklar. Entweder körperlich etwa „taub", oder geistig: „dumm", „töricht" o. ä. [2] — RANKE wollte diesen Namen mit dem in altbab. Eigennamen häufigen Element *ibk/qu* (vgl. UNGNAD, Dilbat 121[a]) verknüpfen.

Ubburu.

BE XIV 101, 16; 110, 20(!); 140, 2: *Ub-bu-rum* (*-ru*, *-ri*). CLAY, Cass. Names 141[b]. — KB IV 44, III, 5: *Ub-bu-rum*. RANKE 171[a]. Vgl. auch JADD nr 661, 4: *Ub-ru*, was vielleicht aus *Ubburu* kontrahiert ist?

Ubburu ist zweifelsohne zu *abâru* zu stellen, dessen II,1 in der Bedeutung „binden" (speziell „bannen", „fluchen") uns bekannt ist (DHWB 9[b]; M.—A. 9[b]; Etymon GES.-BUHL[15] 209[b]). Wie so manche assyr. Wörter für „binden", wie wir noch sehen werden, sich im Passiv zur Bezeichnung körperlicher Gebrechen, insbesondere solcher der Extremitäten entwickelt haben (s. auch Einleitung),

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wohl *nuppuqu*; vgl. v R 47 b 11: *ur-ú-di ša in-ni-iš-ru ú-nap-pi-qu la-gab-biš* „meine Kehle, die eingeschnürt war, verlegt war wie mit einem Klotz" (LANDSBERGER in LEHMANN's Textbuch 118), wo *lagabbu* „Klotz" (vgl. LANGDON, Sum. Gr. 225) als Lehnwort aus sum. *LAGAB* = *upqu* zu fassen ist! Es gab also viell. ein anderes(?) *upqu*, wozu vgl. SAI. 10995? — Verwandt ist ferner *pâqu* „verschlossen, taub" (s. u.)

[1] Vgl. auch teilweise JASTROW, Religion II 280[9]; 372[3]. Die Ableitungen des Stammes *abâku* (GES.-BUHL[15] 5[a], BROCKELM. Grundriss I 166 aα, Wbb.) etwa „zerstören", wovon der Name übrigens auch abgeleitet werden könnte, sind nicht leicht von denjenigen unseres Stammes zu unterscheiden.

[2] Abzuweisen ist wohl arab. *'a'faku* „linkhandig", von *'afika* „dumm sein" (vgl. *Ḫurruk*). Damit ist wohl das von TALLQVIST, Ass. Names 264[a] verglichene syr. *hafăchā* „perversus" stammverwandt.

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so scheint auch *ubburu* in diesem Sinn gebraucht worden zu sein. Den positiven Beweis dafür liefert KB III (1) 192, 38 f., wo *ub-bur meš-ri-e-ti* parallel mit *tûrti ênâ* „Blindheit" und *sakak uznâ* „Taubheit" vorkommt. Schon DEL. hat den Ausdruck richtig „Lähmung der Körperkräfte" übersetzt, was jetzt aus dem oben Gesagten seine Bestätigung findet. *Ubburu* danach „gelähmt", „verkrüppelt", o. ä. Vgl. *Ubbuttu*, *uṣṣulu*, *kuṣṣudu* u. a.

Ubbuttu.

BE XV 163, 16: *Ub-bu-ut-tum* CLAY, Cass. Names 141b.

Wohl < **Ubbuṭ-tum*. Gegebenenfalls von dem Stamme *ubbuṭu*, *ubbutu* „fesseln" [1] abzuleiten, zu dessen Etymologie vgl. GES.-BUHL[15] 552a (*ʿbṭ*, *ʿbt*), und wovon *abbuttu* „Sklavenmal", „Fessel" (s. zuletzt WZKM XXV 319 f.) [2]. Von demselben Stamm kommt II,1 pass. gerade bei Anomalien in den Omina vor. CT XXVII 10, 17: [*šumma* ..... *tâlil-ma ênâ*pl(!)]-*šu ub-bu-ṭa*. Ähnlich XXVIII 31, K. 5938, 7.

ubbuṭu, fem. *ubbuttu* also allem Anscheine nach „gebunden", d. h. „an irgend einem Gebrechen leidend". Vgl. *Ubburu*, *uṣṣulu* u. a. Cfr. *Ḫubbudu*.

agâgu (?).

CT XXVII 16, 14 f.; 17, 8: *uznu ug-ga-at*. Bedeutung sowie Stamm unsicher. FRANK, Studien I 154 zweifelnd „taub sein", was ganz hypothetisch. JASTROW, Religion II 920[4] fasst es als *ukkat* von *akû* (s. d.), was kaum annehmbar. — Jedenfalls natürlich von *agâgu* „zürnen" zu trennen (dazu wohl doch arab. *ʾagga* „flammen"; „bitter sein", konkret!). Am wahrscheinlichsten scheint unser Stamm zu arab. *haǧǧa* „tief in die Höhle eingesunken sein (vom Auge)" gestellt werden zu müssen. Über blosse Vermutungen kommen wir jedoch vorläufig hier schwerlich hinaus.

[1] Speziell: „pfänden"; vgl. auch schon DHWB 6a.

[2] Zu trennen ist jedenfalls *abâtu* „zerstören" (Etymologie GES.-BUHL[15] 7a), wovon II,1 auch in Omina, z. B. JASTROW, Religion II 888[1].

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Ugula.

Prof. TALLQVIST machte mich auf AO 5490 R 1 (bei GENOUILLAC, Tablettes de Dréhem) aufmerksam, wo ein patesi von Kiš namens *Ú-gu-la* vorkommt. Wahrscheinlich [1] < **uggulu*, vom Stamme *ʿgl*, dessen Grundbedeutung, wegen ass. *agalu* [2], arab. *ʿiğlun*, hebr. *ʿēgel* etc. „Kalb", „schnell, eilig sein" [3] gewesen sein muss, wie noch im Arabischen. *Uggulu* also „schnellfüssig". Vgl. hebr. N. pr. *ʿEglā*, wozu NÖLDEKE (Beitr. z. sem. Spr.wiss. 83) mehrere Parallelen bietet: palm. *Ογηλος* und fem. *Ογηλη*, arab. *alʿUğailu* etc Vgl. auch Enc. Bibl. 3298. Stammverwandt viell. arab. *ḫağala* „springend laufen" und syr. *ḫgar* „hinken" (arab. *ʾaʿrağu* hinkend"?). S. dazu DILLMANN 109. 130 (*ḫgl*). — S. auch unten *Ḫungulu*, *Ḫugulu* sowie *Urrudu* und *Urruḫu*.

Adirtu.

TALLQVIST, Assyr. Names 13[a]: *A-di-ir-tum*, *A-dir-tú*, *A-dir-tum*. Zweifellos von *adâru* „dunkel(farbig) sein"; *adirtu* also „dunkelfarbig", was entweder auf die Farbe des Haares oder des Gesichts der Betreffenden Bezug hat. TALLQVIST: abstrakt „mourning?". Vgl. unten *Sâmu*, *Ṣalimtu* etc., sowie die dort aus anderen Sprachen angeführten Parallelen.

Uḫḫû (?)

GAUTIER 12, 24; 18, 7: *Ú-uḫ-ḫu-um*. Unsicher ob hierhergehörig.

uḫḫuru.

II R 47 e—f 56: *ÚR . LAL* || *uḫ-ḫu-ru*. *ÚR* ist bekanntlich *sânu* „Hüfte" (Körperteile 62), *LAL* ist häufiges Element in den Ideogrammen mehrerer unten zu besprechender Wörter und

[1] An hebr. *ʾillēg* „stammelnd" ist wohl nicht zu denken? — *Ú-gu-la* könnte allerdings sumerisch sein.

[2] Vgl. MEISSNER, Assyriol. St. VI 5. Als Nn. pr.: *A-ga-lu-um*, LANGDON, Kiš I 3; *A-ga-li*, CLAY, Cass. Names 49[b]; *A-ga-la* (Capp.) TALLQVIST, Ass. Names 13. Vgl. ibid. 264[b]: *Ig-la-nu*, bibl. *ʿEglōn*.

[3] Ursprünglich allerdings „rollen".

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bedeutet „das Gebundene", vgl. Einleitung. *uḫḫuru* dem Ideogramme gemäss also einer, der an irgend einem Gebrechen der Hüfte leidet. Demnach wohl zu dem bekannten Stamm *aḫâru*. ass. „hinten sein", zu stellen, der ja im hebr., aram., äthiop. u. arab. (II, V, X) „zögern" bedeutet![1] *uḫḫuru* daher einer, der wegen seines *sûnu*-Gebrechens einen schwerfälligen Gang hat! Vgl. gr. *Χελωνίων* (BECHTEL 49).

Ibid. Z. 57: *N1* || *ditto* d. h. *uḫḫuru*. Wie dieses Ideogramm zu erklären sein mag, bleibt unsicher. Vgl. jedoch SAI. p. 208 f., wo *N1* als Ideogramm für mehrere Wörter der Form *quttulu* steht, von denen noch unten die Rede sein wird.

Ferner begegnet uns *uḫḫuru* v R 28 e—f 13 (CT XVIII 13 a—b 13): *úḫ-ḫu-ru* und zwar als Synonym zu *šá-ba-ṣu* und *šá-ab-ṣu*. Dies *šabâṣu*, *šabṣu* kann m. E. nichts anderes sein, als das 2 Sam. 1,9 vorkommende, nur einmal belegte hebr. *šābāṣ*, das dem Kontext zufolge zweifelsohne gerade „körperliche Schwäche" o. ä. bedeuten muss. Zu demselben Stamme gehören ferner allem Anscheine nach arab. *ḍabisa*, äthiop. *ḍăbĕsă* „schwach sein", wovon *ḍabīsun*, äthiop. *ḍĕbūs* „schwach", „debilis" (s. schon GES.-BUHL[15] 797[b]). Die auf etymologischem Wege für *uḫḫuru*[2] ermittelte Bedeutung „zögernd", „schwerfällig" dürfte also auch durch den Parallelismus mit *šabâṣu*, *šabṣu* ihre Bestätigung finden.

akû, fem. *akûtu*, *ekûtu*.

Etymologie und Bedeutung von *akû* „schwach" habe ich in ZA. XXVIII 147 f. eingehend besprochen.

Ukkumu

bzw. *Ukummu*, einer der Hunde Marduks (s. Wbb.). Von *ekêmu* „rauben"; *ukkumu* daher „räuberisch". S. Einl. S. 15. Vgl. TALLQVIST, Neub. Nb.: *Uk-ku-ma-'* und Assyr. Names *Ú-ku-me*. T. vergleicht syr. *'uchāmā* „niger".

[1] Vgl. GES.-BUHL[15] 25[b]; BROCKELM. Lex. syr. 7[a]; DILLMANN 765.
[2] Vgl. auch II R 30 nr 4, 34 = CT XI 40, K. 4383 Rev. 6.

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Ullû.

BE VI,1 n:o 27, 5: *Ú-ul-lu-ú*. Vgl. VSchr. VIII 129, 8: *Ú-ul-lu* und zu ergänzen IX 207, 4 (KOHLER & UNGNAD, Ḥamm. IV, 24. 27). Vgl. TALLQVIST, Assyr. Names 239b. Bedeutung unklar.

Ulluba.

K. 1942, 1: *Ul-lu-ba*. TALLQVIST, Assyr. Names 239b. Wenn *Ulluba* sich als hierhergehörig erweisen würde, könnte man an den von mir, Kleine Beiträge 93[4], besprochenen Stamm *elêbu* „lang wachsen" denken. *Ullubu* dann ähnlicher Name wie Longus, Long(e), u. a. Unsicher.

Ûmu.

Prof. TALLQVIST machte mich auf AO 5504 IV 5 (GENOUILLAC, Tablettes de Dréhem) aufmerksam, wo ein N. pr. *Ú-ú-mu* vorkommt. Vgl. dazu Invent. de Tello II p. 47 n. 933: *Ú-ú-um*[1]. Ob nicht = hebr. *ḥûm* „schwarz", GES-BUHL[15] 215b, womit der semit. Stamm *ḥmm* „heiss" verwandt; vgl. arab. *ḥamma* (< *ḥamima*) „(kohl)schwarz sein", und *'aḥammu* „schwarz u. weiss". Vgl. auch unten *Ṣalimtu* (und *Ṣâmu*), wo Parallelen aus anderen Sprachen gebracht werden.

Amêru, Amêrtu.

TALLQVIST hat in seinen Assyrian Names p. 21b aus HARPER Letters 414 Rev. 10 einen Namen *A-me-ri* herangezogen, wozu er *fA-me-ir-tum* in BE VI, 2 (N:r 8, 14) vergleicht. Ich möchte diese Namen zu dem bekannten Wort amîru taub stellen[2], worüber s. zuletzt Körperteile 29. Zur Etymologie vgl. auch ägypt. *'imr* „taub sein" (ERMAN, Glossar 11)! — Vgl. *Ḫuzzumu*, *Sukkuku*, *pâqu*.

[1] Vgl. den Namen *Ḫu-mu-um* CT VIII 26 b (91—5—9, 380), 18 und BE VI,1 Nr. 111, 4. (Assyr. Names 90a: *Ḫu-mu*?) Oder ist dies etwa arab. *'a'mā* „blind"?

[2] Anders T., der zweifelnd arab. *αμερος*, = ?, (Wadd. 2403) vergleicht. Der betr. HARPER-Brief scheint in der Tat westsemitische Namen zu enthalten.

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(ênu).

Das Assyrische scheint keinen besonderen Ausdruck für den Begriff „blind" gehabt zu haben. Von dem gemeinsemitischen Stamm *ʿwr* „blind sein" hat das Assyrische das Wort *tûrtu* (in *tûrti ênâ* „Blindheit") gebildet (vgl. Körperteile 171, Nachtr.), dagegen scheint man es vermieden zu haben, nicht-präfigierte Formen von diesem doppelt schwachen Stamm zu bilden (vgl. jedoch auch *ḫummuru*)[1]. Der Begriff „blind" wird daher durch Umschreibungen ausgedrückt. Ba. SAI. 7017: *ŠI. NU. TUK* (*ina lâ išû!*), dessen Aussprache syllabarisch als *lâ nâṭilu* „nicht sehend" bezeugt ist. Dazu wenigstens noch CT XXVII, 5, 21 = 14, 29[2]. — Zur Bildung vgl. das entsprechende *lâ šemû* „nichthörend" DHWB 667[b], wo jedoch nach dem oben Gesagten zu berichtigen.

Schielen heisst im Assyrischen *zarâqu*, arab. *zaraqa*. S. unten *Zâriqu*.

Starräugig heisst wahrscheinlich *zaqti ênâ*, vgl. Körperteile S. 15.

Unnubu, Unnubtu.

CT VIII, 26 b (91—5—9, 380), 29: *Ú-nu-bu-um*[3]. CT VI 46, 28: *Un-nu-ub-tum*. Ebenso 48, 2. CT IV 16 b 2. 8: *Un-nu-ba-tum*. RANKE 196[a]. BE XV 132, 12: *Un-nu-ub-tum*. 185, 23: *Un-nu-bat*. CLAY, Cass. Names 142[b].

Ohne Zweifel zu dem Stamm von *inbu* „Frucht", „Üppigkeit" zu führen, dessen II 1 schon früher belegt ist, DHWB 97[a], SAI. 8553. GES.-BUHL[15] 596[b]. *unnubu* also „überaus üppig", „mit üppiger Figur" o. ä. Vgl. vielleicht den hebr. Namen *ʿAnûb*. Ba. auch arab. *ʾaʿnabu* „mit üppiger Nase". — S. *Ḫunnubu*, *Kubburu* u. a.

[1] Vgl. unten *samû*, das jedoch trotz syr. *semi* „blind" kaum gerade „blind" heissen kann, wegen v R 56, 34, wo *samû* und *lâ nâṭilu* nacheinander folgen. — Geht JADD 741, 20: *A-u-i-ra-a* auf syr. *ʿwirā* zurück?

[2] Auch K. 2244, 17 (von mir kop.): *šumma la na-ṭi-la innamir*.....

[3] Fehlt, soviel ich sehe, bei RANKE.

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Unnugia.

Clay, Cass. Names 142b: *Un-nu-gi-ia*. Wohl karitative Weiterbildung von *unnugu*, das zu demselben Stamm zu führen sein wird, wovon hebr. *ʿānōg* „verzärtelt", weichlich", syr. *mᵉʿunnāgā*, ditto, arab. *ġaniğa* „coquettieren", *ġaniğun* „coquet". *unnugu* also wahrscheinlich „Weichling" o. ä.

Unnunu.

BE xv 45b, Clay in PBS ii 2 N:r 84, 30: *Un-nu-nu*. Cass. Names 142b.

Für *unnunu* habe ich keine sichere Erklärung. Man könnte allerdings an die vielen westsemitischen Namen der Stämme *ḥnn* und *ʿnn* denken. Andererseits wäre es denkbar, das Wort onomatopoetisch zu fassen und arab. *ġanna* „durch die Nase sprechen", wovon *ʾaġannu* „näselnd", sowie arab. *ʿanna* „seufzen" (davon *ʿannân* „der viel seufzt und stöhnt") zu vergleichen. — Endlich ist ein Zusammenhang mit syr. *ʿanānā* „impotens", arab. pass. *ʿunna*, *ʿunnina* „impotent werden" (vgl. *ʿanānatun* „Abneigung gegen die Weiber"), äthiop. *ʿănīn* „impotentia" (Dillmann 992) nicht ohne weiteres abzulehnen (vgl. Bechtel 48 f.). — Oder Hypokoristikon eines mit *unninu* „Flehen" gebildeten Eigennamens?

unnušu.

Trotzdem diese Form nicht direkt belegt ist, muss sie wegen *unnušûtu* „Schwäche" (Ideogr. *TUR . TUR*, v R 23, 25 b. d; *unnûtu*, von *enû*, *daʾuqquqûtu* etc.) vorausgesetzt werden. *unnušu* also „Schwächling" o. ä.

ussulu vide *uṣṣulu*.

ú-su-mi-a.

CT xxvii 3, 14. 4, 5. 5, 35. 14, 35: *šumma sinništu ú-su-mi-a tâlid*. Jedenfalls Name irgend einer Abnormität. Was aber damit anzufangen ist, entzieht sich meinem Urteil. Etwa Nebenform zu *samû* (s. u.), wie nhbr. *ʿāsam* zu *sᵉmī*?

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uṣṣudu.

v R 20 a—b 12 (CT XIX, 16) kommt unter lauter Ausdrücken für Körperfehler auch *uṣ-ṣu-du* vor, das schon sein Ideogramm, *ID. LÁL*, als hierhergehörig erweist: *ID* = „Arm" und *LÁL* „gebunden", „lahm". Auch die Etymologie weist in diese Richtung hin, denn *uṣṣudu* ist II, 1 von *eṣêdu* „ernten", wahrscheinlich auch „binden", vgl. hebr. *qṣr* „ernten", ass. *quṣâru* „binden" u. a. ähnliche Semasiologien. *uṣṣudu* also allem Anscheine nach „am Arm gebunden, gelähmt" (vgl. *Ubburu*). — Zum Gesagten ba. noch folgendes. Ass. *eṣêdu* „ernten" entspricht genau äthiop. *ʿäḍädä* „metere" Im syr. scheint das doppelte ʿ vermieden worden zu sein, daher *ḥṣad* „ernten" (arab. *ḥaṣada* erst daraus entlehnt [1])! Arab. *ʿaḍada* bedeutet dagegen „schneiden", welche Bedeutung auch im Hebr. für den Stamm *ʿṣd* anzunehmen ist, wegen *maʿaṣād* „Axt" (GES.-BUHL[15] 442[b], wo also *eṣêdu*, *uṣṣudu* nachzutragen). Die Verschiedenheit der Bedeutungsentwicklung im ass. einerseits, im hebr. und arab. andererseits beruht darauf, dass man bei diesem Wort an verschiedene Handlungen bei der Ernte dachte. Vgl. ähnlich ass. *kasû* „binden", dagegen hebr., arab., aram. *kṣḥ* „abschneiden (ein Gewächs)", „beschneiden (Wein)" etc. (GES.-BUHL[15] 352[a] nachzutragen).

Die Bedeutung „binden" ist aber auch im Arab. für den Stamm *ʿḍd* noch nachweisbar; vgl. *ʿaḍada* „zwei Lasttiere an den Oberschenkeln an einander binden". Der Begriff der „Gebundenheit, Lahmheit des Armes" des assyr. pass. *uṣṣudu* kommt ferner zum Ausdruck im arab. pass. *ʿuḍida* „am Arme Schmerz empfinden", *ʿaḍida* „Schmerz im Oberschenkel haben (Kameel)", *ʿaḍadun* „Armschmerz"; vgl. insbesondere *ʿaḍidun* „carnosum, torosum (brachium)", *ǯadun ʿaḍidatun* „manus, cuius brachium breve est", und namentlich *ʾaʿḍadu* „dünn- oder kurzarmig", „is, cuius unum brachium breve est"! Man wäre sogar geneigt, bei عضد (mit mehrfacher Vokalisation) und *ʿaḍidatun* die Bedeutung „Arm" für sekundär zu halten.

[1] Vgl. schon FRAENKEL, Lehnwörter 132 f.

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Uṣṣulu.

S. darüber DHWB 121ª, M.—A. 75ª und 86ᵇ. Dazu CT XXVIII, 16, 82—3—23, 84, 10: [*šumma* ..... *šêpâ*]^{pl}-*šu arba*(-*ba*) *uz-zu-la* .....; zu ergänzen nach ibid. 30, Rm. 2, 107, 4: *šumma sîsîtu 1 tûlid-ma šêpâ*^{pl}-*šu us-su-la*. Vgl. Jastrow, Religion II, 356[5], 884[1.6]. Als N. pr. VSchr. IX 58, 10: *Us-su-lum*.

uṣṣulu jedenfalls[1] zu *eṣêlu* „binden" zu stellen, das = arab. *waṣala* (zur sonstigen Etymologie s. Ges-Buhl[15] 61ᵇ). *uṣṣulu* also „gebunden", d. h. „lahm", „gelähmt", was auch aus den Ideogrammen für *uṣṣulu* hervorgeht; so auch schon Delitzsch a. a. O. Ba. SAI. 4733. 7626. Vgl. *Ubluru*, *uṣṣudu* u. a.

Uqqupu(?).

Wie die Namen *Uqupu/i*, *Uqupatu* etc. (Tallqvist, Neub. Nb. 306ᵇ; Assyr. Names 242ᵇ) zu beurteilen sind, wage ich nicht zu entscheiden. Vielleicht stammesgleich mit *Aqubu*, *Aqqubu*, *Iqubu*, *Equbûtu* (BE VIII), altbab. *Ikibum* etc. und dann eventuell zum Stamme von *Ja'aqōb* zu führen. Vgl. Ranke 98. Oder etwa ein fremdl. Wort, urspr. Appellativ, das als Name ins Assyrische gedrungen und entstellt worden ist. Über blosse Vermutungen können wir vorläufig hier nicht hinauskommen. Dass in *Uqupu/-patu* aber eine urspr. *quttulu*-Form vorliege, scheint mir ziemlich ausgeschlossen.

uqququ.

Über *uqququ* s. DHWB 124ª, wo Del. auf Grund der Ideogramme die Bedeutung „stumm" vorgeschlagen hat, sicher mit Recht[2]. Etymologisch lässt sich aber soviel ich sehe diese Bedeutung noch nicht sichern. Ob. syr. *'aqqeq* „vinxit" hierhergehört? Ob der Name *Ukukku* (vgl. *Ikukku*) bei Clay zu vergleichen ist, scheint mir unsicher. — Vgl. auch unten *Ḫurrušu*.

[1] Zusammenhang mit hebr. *'ṣl*. aram. *'ṭl*. arab. *'ḍl* „träge sein, zögern" (Ges.-Buhl[13] 605ª), wovon hebr. *ṣl'* II, arab. *ḍl'*, aram. *ṭl'*, „hinken" (ibid. 679ª) wohl nicht zu trennen, dürfte abzuweisen sein.

[2] Zu den dort vorgeführten Formen des Stammes *eqêqu* vgl. noch CT XXVIII 41 a 20: *i-te iq-ki-iq*.

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Urrudu (Urdu).

JADD N:r 661, 11: *Ur-ru-d/ṭa*[1]. — Eventuell auf denselben Stamm zu führen, wovon *ar-d/ṭi-iš* „eilends", dessen Bedeutung durch den Parallelismus mit *arḫiš* (s. unten *urruḫu*) bestätigt wird. Zum Stamm ba. folgendes. Kaum von *arâdu* ירד, ירד abzuleiten. Vgl. vielmehr arab. *'arida* „fliehen", nhbr. *'ārad* „verjagen". Von diesem Stamm *'rd* urspr. „eilig sein" haben wir ferner ohne Zweifel hebr. *'ārōd*, syr. *'ʿrādā*[2], arab. *'ardun* „Wildesel" abzuleiten (so schon LEVY III 696[b]), und vgl. die Nn. prr. *ʿĀrōd* (LEVY), *'Arād*, *'Īrād* (GES.-BUHL[15])[3]. — Vielleicht gehört hierher auch der Name *Ur-du/i* (JADD z. B. 311,36; 394,26; 464,16; 623,7. 32; 640,34; etc.; Invent. de Tello I n. 1083, 1141), wenn dieser nicht einfach als Nebenform von *Ardu* aufzufassen sein wird, zumal da neben *ardûtu* auch die Form *urdûtu* belegt ist[4]. — Jedenfalls scheint *Urrudu*[5] Adjektivbildung zu sein und wird, wenn die obige Ableitung sich bewahrheiten sollte, „eilig", „schnellfüssig" heissen. Vgl. *Uggulu* und *urruḫu*. Ähnliche Namen z. B. im schwed.: Flink, Flinck, Snabb; finn. Laukkanen, Hoppu; usw.

Urruzu.

CLAY, PBS II, 2: 95, 8 (Cass. Names 143[b]; BE XV 45[b]): *Ur-ru-zu*. Nur hier belegt. Vgl. TALLQVIST, Assyr. Names 10[b]: *Ar-ri-zu*.

Betreffs der Etymologie weiss ich nichts Sicheres vorzuschlagen. Eventuell stammverwandt mit arab. *ḥariḍa* „an Leib u. Seele geschwächt sein" etc., womit äthiop. *ḥărăḍă* „comminuere", „conterere" identisch sein wird. Oder hat man an eine

[1] TALLQVIST, Assyr. Names 243[b].

[2] Die syr.-hebr. Form weist auf urspr. Adjektivbedeutung hin!

[3] Für Namen des Wildesels als Nn. prr. s. NÖLDEKE Beitr. zur sem. Sprachwiss. 81 f. und Enc. Bibl. 3298. Vgl. auch HESS, Beduinennamen p. 39: *'Erēd* < *'Uraid*, *'Ardān* u. a.

[4] Vgl. andererseits bibl. N. pr. *'Ard* und *'Ardōn*, zumal TALLQVIST, Assyr. Names, auch einen Namen *Urdānu* hat. Ein sicheres Urteil ist also vorläufig unmöglich.

[5] *Urrutu* (bei TALLQVIST a. a. O.) ist als Fremdwort zu trennen.

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etwaige Nebenform zu *Ḫurruzu* = syr. *ḥrā'ā* = *Flavius* zu denken (s. d.), trotz *Ḫurâṣu*; vgl. aber arab. حرض (mit *ḥ*) „gelb sein"! [1]

urruḫu.

Dies wegen des Adverbums *urruḫiš* „eilends" vorauszusetzende Adjektiv kann nichts anderes als „schnell(füssig)" bedeutet haben, und gehört also gewissermassen zu der uns hier beschäftigenden Gruppe von Adjektiven der Form *quttulu*, zumal da übermässige Beweglichkeit bei den Alten für eine Abnormität galt. S. auch Einl. Ob nicht der assyr. Stamm *'rḫ* (II) für die Wörter des „Schnellseins" in letzter Linie Weiterbildung von *'rḫ* „Weg" sein wird? [2] — Vgl. *Uggulu*, *Urrudu*, *Ḫungulu*.

Uššuru.

Uš-šú-ri BE XIV 19, 60 [3]. Es ist allerdings möglich, dass *Uššuru* aus einem Namen, der mit einer Form von *ešêru* gebildet ist, verkürzt sein könnte. Nicht ganz abzulehnen ist jedoch ein etymologischer Zusammenhang mit arab. *ʾasarun*, *ʾaʿsaru* bzw. *ʾaʿsaru* „linkshändig" (*ʾaʿsaru ʾasarun* „der die beiden Hände gleich gut braucht") [4]. Wenn dem so ist, hat man Namen wie hebr. *ʾAṭēr* (ba. *ʾiṭṭēr* „linkshändig"), gr. Σκαιός, lat. Scaevola (Bechtel 49), unser Linck(e) etc. zu vergleichen. S. auch unten *Ḫurrulu*. — Möglich wäre auch an den Stamm *ǧḍr* „üppig, reich, voll sein" zu denken (Ges.-Buhl[15] 620[b]). Vgl. *Unnubu*, *Ḫunnubu* u. ä. Über blosse Vermutungen kommen wir also vorläufig nicht hinaus.

[1] Vgl. ZDMG 40, 728.

[2] Zum assyr. *arḫu* „Wildochs" vgl. arab. *aʿirḫun* „junger Stier"! Für *arḫu* 1:o schnell 2:o Wildochs vgl. oben *Uggulu* und *Urrudu*.

[3] Vgl. Tigl.-Pil. IV, Ann. 162: *Ú-šú-ru*?

[4] Zu *ʾasara* „glücklich sein" vgl. Ges.-Buhl[15] 72[b] (ob aber wirklich von ישר zu trennen?); ist *ʾasarun* „linkshändig" ein Euphemismus? Jedenfalls haben die Stämme *ʾsr* und *ʿsr* kontaminierend auf einander eingewirkt. S. übrigens die arab. Wbb.

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Uttumu(?).

HARPER, Letters 1032 Rev. 8: *Ú-tu-mu*. Vgl. arab. *'a'tamu* „mit mehr weissen als schwarzen Haaren"? Oder *'aġtamu* „unverständlich redend"? Unsicher. Vgl. Assyr. Names 47a *Atamu*.

Bunzûa.

PEISER, Urkunden d. 3. Dyn. 101, 16: *Bu-un-zu-(u-)a*. Eventuell karitative Bildung von *Bunzû* < *Buzzû*. Etymologisch weiss ich allerdings nichts Sicheres vorzuschlagen. Es könnten viele Stämme in Betracht gezogen werden, doch scheint kein einziger den absoluten Vorzug zu haben. Möglich wäre jedoch — wenn *Bunzûa* ein semitischer Name ist — *Punzû(a)* zu lesen und dies = *Puzzû* < *Pussû* zu fassen. *pussû*, das auch sonst zu belegen ist, wäre als echtassyr. Bildung neben *pissû* (s. d.) „hinkend" aufzufassen. Zur Etymologie vgl. arab. *faṣaḥa* neben *fasaḥa* „verrenken", womit doch wohl ass. *pissû*, hebr. *pissēaḥ* verwandt (s. GES.-BUHL15 645a). Möglich ist auch, dass das Ideogr. für *pissû*, *BA . AN . ZA*, auf diese Form *bunzû* zurückgeht bzw. umgekehrt darauf eingewirkt hat (s. JASTROW, Die Religion II 911[1]). Jedoch unsicher.

Buzzuru s. *Buṣṣuru*.

Bullulu.

GENOUILLAC, Tabl. de Dréhem 13b und CT XXXII, 50 c 27 (Drehem): *Bu-lu-lu*. TALLQVIST, Assyr. Names: *Bul-lul*[1]. Vielleicht von *balâlu* „mischen" (in med. Texten), dann „verwirren", „zerstören", wie u. a. JASTROW, Religion II 112[3], 693[1], 698[3] zeigt. *Bullulu* also etwa = *mussuku* (s. unten) „verwirrt", „geistig(?) gestört" (vgl. schwed. vulg. „bortblandad", finn. „sekaisin").

Bunnutu.

BE XIV 73, 28 sowie PBS II,2, 118, 18: *mBu-un-nu-tum*. BE XIV 10, 42: *mBu-nu-tum*.

[1] Vgl. BE VI,2 *Ba-li-lum*, sowie *Bu-la-lu* RANKE 76a u. a. Assyr. Names 275a.

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Nach Clay, Cass. Names 166a Weiterbildung von *bunnu*, *bânu* „Sohn", „Kind". Vielmehr Hypokoristikon von den zahlreichen mit *bunnû* gebildeten Eigennamen der Kassitenzeit. Kaum II,1 einer Wurzel *bnt*.

Bussutu s *Pussutu*.

Bussulu.

S. zunächst DHWB 181a. M.—A. 181b. Ferner CT XXVIII 36, 12: [*summa* .....] *ditto šêpâ*^{pl}*-šu bu-us-su-la*. Demnach auch CT XXVII 49, K. 4031 Obv. 5 zu ergänzen. Als N. pr. *Bu-us-su-lum* Clay, Cass. Names 68a; *Bu-(uz-)zu-lim* BE VI,1 N:r 59, 1. 10. 12. Langdon, Kîš XXII, 11: *Bu-zu-lum*. CT XXXIII 48 a 12: *Bu*(!)*-su-lu-um*(!); unsicher.

Wie schon Del. richtig erkannte, muss die Bedeutung von *bussulu*, ursprünglich „gebunden", etwa „lahm" o. ä. sein, || *ussudu*, *kussuru*, *kussudu* u. ä. Dahin weisen ausserdem die Ideogramme: *ID . LÁL*, *ID . ŠÚ . NER . TAR* etc. „mit gebundenen Gliedern"! Zu diesem Stamm *basâlu* „binden", wovon bei Del. *basiltu* „Kopfbinde", gehört wahrscheinlich auch Hunger, Becherwahrsagung A 46: *pi-zi-il-tum* „Fesselung(?)", wozu vgl. v R 48, beim 14. Ijjâr: *bi-iṣ-lá-tum* [1]. Die Bedeutung steht somit fest.

Die Etymologie von *basâlu*, *bussulu* macht dagegen Schwierigkeiten. Zunächst kann der erste Radikal entweder *p* oder *b* sein. Für *b* spricht *basiltu* „Kopfbinde", für *p* dagegen CT XXVII 46 Rev. 8 ff.: *šumma iz-bu šêpi-šu ša imitti* bzw. *šumêli* bzw. *šêpâ*^{pl}*-šu maḫrâti*^{pl} *ana KI . DI pa-as/ṣ-lat* bzw. *pa-as/ṣ-la*, wenn hier wirklich dasselbe Wort vorliegt [2]. Auch der zweite Radikal ist nicht mit Sicherheit zu bestimmen. Für urspr. *s* spricht das Arabische. Vgl. nämlich: *baslun* „vir adspectu deformis", *basīlun* ditto, vielleicht sogar *basala* „torvius contraxit vultum". Ferner arab. *fasila*

[1] Mitteilung Landsbergers.

[2] Vgl. auch Fossey, Présages tirés des naissances 182, 3. Ba. ferner die Nn. prr. *Pazzalum* (Ranke, Names 135b) sowie *Pa-si-la-tum* VSchr. VII 155, 35. Langdon, Kîš XVII, 15 dagegen *Ba-za-lum*! Assyr. Names 53a: *Ba-ṣa-li*? Anders Hommel, Grundriss 129.

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„vilis, pravus fuit", *faslun* „homo vilis", *fislun* „stultus" (BELOT: „sot", „insensé")[1]; vgl. auch *faslun* „Rebsetzling" d. h. „zwerghafte Rebe". Ziehen wir noch arab. *tibzilatun* „zwerghaft" heran, haben wir wohl alles genannt, was in den semitischen Sprachen vom Stamme des assyr. *buṣṣulu* erhalten ist.

Buṣṣuru.

BE XV 29b: *Bu-uz-zu-ri*[2]. CLAY, Cass. Names 117b liest dagegen *Puzzuri*. Allem Anscheine nach von *baṣâru* „abschneiden" (hebr. „Trauben lesen", GES.-BUHL[15] 109a). Vgl. dann das zu *uṣṣudu* Gesagte. *buṣṣuru* danach eine Art Krüppelgestalt. Gehört hierher v R 28 e—f 9: *šum-mu-ru* || *bu-us-su-ru*?

Barmu, Barmatu, Barundu.

Für Belege s. CLAY, Cass. Names 63a. Alle drei sind wohl am besten vom Stamme *brm*, wovon auch *burrumu* und *bitrumu* „bunt", abzuleiten. Die Namen hatten wohl ursprünglich Bezug auf die bunte Haar- oder Hautfarbe des Namenträgers. Vgl. *Adirtu*, *Sâmu*, *Salimtu* u. ä. — Zu *Barundu* < *Barumtu* vgl. SAI.2542: *ba-ru-un-*[*du/tu*?]. CT IV 5, 22: *NU. NU ba-ru-un-di* „ein bunter Spinnfaden" (FRANK, Studien I 119; LANDSBERGER in LEHMANNS Textbuch 133).

Burruqu, Burruqtu.

Mehrere Belege s. bei CLAY, Cass. Names 67b (BE XV 29b, 47a): *Bur-ru-qu/i*, *Bur-ru-uq-tum* (vgl. *Bur-bu-ru-uq-tum*? ibid. 67a).

Zweifelsohne von *brq* „blitzen" (urspr. Bedeutung wohl „plötzlich aufleuchten" o. ä.) abzuleiten. Betreffs der Bedeutung von *burruqu* können aber mehrere Erklärungen in Betracht kommen.

[1] Vgl. *bassala* „babiller" (DOZY). Ba. den schwankenden 1. Radikal!

[2] Vgl. jetzt PBS II,2 Nr 95, 21. [Auch ibid. 118, 39 wird nach TORCZYNER (Rez. von CLAY in ZDMG 1913) [*Bu-u*]*z-zu-rum* zu lesen sein. CLAY, Cass. Names 66a ist statt *Bu-li-zu-ri* jedenfalls mit T. *Bu-uz*(!)-*zu-ri* zu lesen].

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Zuerst kann *burruqu* „versengt", „verbrannt" und daher (?) „fleckig", „bunt" [1], vielleicht sogar „aussätzig" sein, wie arab. *'abraqu* „fleckig", *burqānun* „schimmernd", „bunt" [2]. Oder vielmehr „(von plötzlich aufleuchtendem Lichte) geblendet", „erblindet" (vgl. LEVY I 270[a]), wozu vgl. arab. *bara/iqa* „demeurer stupéfait" (BELOT) „he was amazed or stupified of seeing the gleam of lightning" (LANE). Im syr. *b'raq* „hebes, obtusus fuit (inbezug auf die Zähne)", wovon *b'rāqā* „stupor, stridor (dentium)", *b'rūqiāpā* „obtusi sc. dentes". *burruqu* könnte also „stumpf(zähnig)" sein. Näheres lässt sich über *burruqu* vorläufig kaum sagen. — Vgl. hebr. N. pr. *Bārāq*? Vgl. auch *Barruqu* bei TALLQVIST, Ass. Names 52[b] und *Buraqu* Neub. Nb. 51[b]. T. vergleicht auch palm. ברק (s. COOK 34 und LEDRAIN 16) und sab. ברקם.

Buruša', Buruššâtu etc.

BE X 97, 14: *Bu-ru-uš-ša-a-tú*. CLAY in PBS II,1 p. 41: *Bu-ru-uš-ša-tu*, *Bu-ur-ša-tu*, *Bu-ru-ša-a-tu* (vgl. auch *Buruštiš*, *Buru'-šatiš* daselbst). TALLQVIST, Assyr. Names 67[a] hat mehrere Belege für den Namen *Bu-ru-ša*. Vgl. auch CLAY, Cass. Names 67[b] = TH.-DANGIN, Lettres et contrats 238, 42: *Bu-ur-šá* [3]. Endlich vielleicht *Mâr-Bu-ru-uš* PSBA 29, 273 ff. pl. 1 Obv. 5.

Wenn wir es hier mit einem semitischen Namen zu tun haben [4], so scheint dieser auf einen vierradikaligen Stamm, und zwar ultimae ' oder ', zurückgeführt werden zu müssen *Buruša'* etc. ist aber zweifellos von *puršu'u* „Floh" zu trennen, das auch als N. pr. nicht nur im Assyr., sondern auch im Hebr., Arab. u. a. vorkommt (vgl. TALLQVIST, Neubab. Nbuch; GES.-BUHL[15] 655[a]; NÖLDEKE Beiträge z. sem. Sprachwiss. 89). Dagegen ist unser Name wohl

[1] Oder „glimmernd", „schillernd" und daher „bunt"?

[2] Hierher gehört wohl auch syr. *b'rāqā* „pustula, ulcus non maturum" (PSMITH), entweder von der Bedeutung „brennen" oder von „fleckig", „bunt" entwickelt. Vgl. „Kleine Beiträge" 18[2] u. a., sowie CHRISTIANS Bespr. dieser Arbeit in WZKM XXVII (1913) n:r 1 (zu *umṣatu*).

[3] Wenn nicht dies vielmehr Hypokoristikon von mit *Bûr* gebildeten Namen; vgl. RANKE p. 19.

[4] Zu Gunsten fremdl. Ursprungs spricht allerdings die Endung *-iš*.

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mit dem hebr. Namen *Birša'* (Gen. 14, 2) zu identifizieren (so auch bei *Burša* schon CLAY, Cass. Names 167b). Derselbe Stamm liegt auch im Arabischen vor, vgl. nämlich arab. *biršiʿun*, *biršāʿun* „gross u. dick", „hartköpfig", „dumm" etc. Wenn aber, was nicht unwahrscheinlich ist, arab. برشع, hebr. ברשע aus dem arab. *bašiʿa* „hässlich sein" zugrunde liegenden semitischen Stamm lautlich wie inhaltlich differenziert worden ist, so könnte der assyr. Name als entlehnt betrachtet werden. Jedenfalls hat sich das Wort im Assyrischen der Form der Wörter für Körperfehler angepasst, also urspr. etwa *Buruššuʾu*, *Buruššuʾatu* usw. gelautet. [Jetzt hat auch PILTER in PSBA 1913, 213 ff. bibl. *Birša'* mit dem arab. Wort *biršiʿun* identifiziert.]

Burrutu.

BE XVII 39, 13: *Bu-ur-ru-ti* (CLAY, Cass. Names 67b).

Der Stamm fehlt sonst im Assyrischen. Ba. dagegen arab. *barita* „erstaunt, verwirrt sein"[1], womit ohne Zweifel stammverwandt arab. *farita* „schwachsinnig werden". *burrutu* also wohl „blödsinnig" o. ä. Vgl. *Bullulu* und *Lillu*.

Butturu.

In *Mâr-Bu-ut-tu-ri* BE XIV 12, 10.

Butturu gehört jedenfalls zu dem Stamme, wovon assyr. *mubattiru* „ein das Getreide verheerendes Insekt". *batâru* II,1 also „verstümmeln", „abschneiden" etc., wozu vgl. hebr. *bāṣar*, arab. *batara* (auch *matara*, vgl. äthiop. *mätärä*) „zerschneiden, verstümmeln". Ba. insbesondere arab. *ʾabtaru* „verstümmelt", „verwaist", *ʾubāṭirun* „Zwerg" (FREYTAG)! Vgl. *Buṣṣuru*, *Burrutu* u. ä.

Gubbuḫu.

VSchr. VII 134,28: *Gu-ub-bu-ḫu* (vgl. UNGNAD, Dilbat 81). BE XIV, 8, 12; 10, 29. 44; 22, 11; 25, 19; 52, 15; 166, 18: *Gu-ub-*

[1] [Trans. *barata* „zerschneiden", wozu vgl. DILLMANN 504. Vgl. *Buṣṣuru* u. ä.!]

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bu-ḫu(ḫi). BE XV 19, 17: *Gu-ub-bu-ḫu*; 188 IV 21: *Gu-bu-ḫi*. BE XIV 89, 12; 99 a, 37. 42; 101, 13; 110, 18: *Gub-bu-ḫu*[1]. Weitere Belege bei CLAY, Cass. Names 77b.

Gubbuḫu hat m. W. bisher keine Erklärung gefunden, auch ist der Stamm im Assyrischen sonst nicht nachzuweisen. Es ist aber über alle Zweifel erhaben, dass *gubbuḫu* hebr. *gibbē"ḥ* „kahlköpfig" (vgl. *gabbaḥaḥ* „Kahlheit"), syr. *gᵉbāḥā*, ditto (vgl. *gᵉbāḥūḥā* „calvities") genau entspricht[2]! GES-BUHL[15] 125 vergleicht auch arab. *ʾaǧbahu*[3] „hochstirnig", *ǧabhatun* „Stirn" etc., die aber m. E. in erster Linie zu dem Stamme *gbh* „hoch sein" (GES.-BUHL[15] 124a) zu stellen sind. Inwieweit *gbḥ* „kahl sein" und *gbh* „hoch sein (speziell von der Stirn)" etwa urverwandt und später differenziert worden sind, sei hier dahingestellt.

Zu *Gubbuḫu* als N. pr. vgl. palm. גבריחא (COOK p. 35), lat. Calvus, unser Kahl etc. S. auch unten zu *Gurrudu* und *Qarḫa'*.

Guddudu (?).

BE III, 1 N:r 73, 3: *Gu-du-du*. Desgleichen ZA XII p. 346 N:r 202. Vgl. Dilbat: *Gu-da-du*; TALLQVIST, Neub. Nb. 64b: *Gu-da-du-ú*, *Gu-da-di-tum ti*.

Wenn der Name mit *g* anzusetzen ist, könnte man ihn zum Stamme *gdd* stellen, dessen Grundbedeutung als „abschneiden", „abstumpfen" anzusetzen ist (s. GES.-BUHL[15] s. v.). *gudduḍu* daher etwa einer, bei dem irgendein Glied abgestumpft ist. Vgl. arab. *gaddā'u* parvis mammis praedita vel cuius mammae amputatae sunt; ea cuius aures amputatae sunt. Der Stamm fehlt allerdings sonst im Ass.-Babyl. Vgl. oben *Buṣṣuru*, *Burrutu*, *Butturu*. — Oder mit *q* anzusetzen und mit dem unten besprochenen *qudquddu* zu verbinden?

[1] In dem Namenverzeichnis zu BE XIV liest CLAY unrichtig *Du-bu-ḫu*, Cass. Names 77b dagegen richtig.

[2] Urspr. von LANDSBERGER mir mitgeteilt.

[3] Dies Wort soll nach LANGDON in OLZ 1910, 13 als N. pr. in dem altbabylonischen, arabische Elemente enthaltenden Text VSchr. VIII 14, 10 vorliegen: *Ag-ba-ḫu-um*. Vgl. aber schon RANKE 67a = *Aqbi-aḫum*!

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Guzummu/a(?).

Ob *Gu-zu-um-mu/ma* (für Belege s. TALLQVIST, Neub. Nbuch) zu dieser Art von Namen zu stellen sei, kann ich nicht mit Sicherheit ausmachen. Dagegen spricht allerdings das Fehlen der Femininendung, die sonst in diesen Wörtern nicht fehlt. Andererseits könnte *guzummu* (statt *guzzumu*; vgl. *Ḫuluqqa*, *Kurukku*?, *Muluššu*; s. Einleitung) Name eines dem weiblichen Körper eigentümlichen Fehlers sein, wodurch die Fem.endung überflüssig erscheinen müsste. Ich möchte gegebenenfalls *guzummu* vom Stamme *gḏm* „abschneiden" ableiten, wozu GES.-BUHL[15] 135[b]. Ba. insbesondere arab. *'aǧḏamu*, nhbr. *giddēm* (LEVY) u. ä. „mit verstümmelten Fingern". Vgl. oben *Buṣṣuru*, *Burrutu*, *Butturu* etc. — Andererseits könnte *Guzummu/a* ein Appellativ sein Für jeden Fall ist der altarab. Frauenname *Ǧuḏāmatu* (vgl. GRATZL 36) zu vergleichen [1].

Guḫuru.

HARPER, Letters 552, 3: *Gu-ḫu-ru*. TALLQVIST, Neub. Nbuch 311[b], Ass. Names 81[b].

Es kann m. E. kein Zweifel darüber herrschen, dass wir *guḫuru* < **guḫḫuru* zu dem arab. Stamme *ǧḫr* zu stellen haben, dessen Bedeutung „stinken" zu sein scheint, und wovon mehrere Ableitungen, wie *ǧaḫirun* „hässlich" etc. (vgl. FREYTAG), *ǧaḫrâ'u* „stinkend" (Frau), „klein u. triefend" (Auge) etc. in den Wbb. gebucht sind. Ferner gehört zu diesem Stamme zweifelsohne syr. *gʿḥar* excreare (ausräuspern u. ä.), wovon *gʿḥārā* excreatio pituitae, sonus *naḥ* emissio, emunctio. Allen diesen Wörtern scheint eine Grundbedeutung „hässlich stinken" (insbesondere von den Absonderungen der Öffnungen des Körpers gesagt) zu grunde zu liegen. — Ob nicht auch der alttestamentliche Name *Gaḥar* Esr. 2, 47, Neh. 7, 49 hierher gehört! Der Stamm scheint sonst im Assyrischen zu fehlen. Vgl. unten *Zuḫḫuntu*.

[1] TALLQVIST a. a. O. 311[b] stellt *Guzummu* zu dem in Eigennamen nicht seltenen Element *gûzu*. Wie wäre aber die Endung zu erklären? — LANDSBERGER vergleicht bibl. n. pr. *Gazzām*, das = *gāzām* „Heuschrecke". Ist *Guzummu* danach Tiername (etwa = *kiṣimmu*)?

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Gullubtu.

Th.-Dangin, Lettres et contrats 23, 10: *Gu-lu-ub-tum*. Wohl von *galâbu*[1] abzuleiten. *Gullubtu* dann „eine (von der Geburt an?) wie mit einem Sklavenmale versehene Frau" (als Abnormität betrachtet). Oder einfach „die Geschorene"?

Gulusu (?).

Ob der von Tallqvist, Assyr. Personal Names 82[a], aus JADD 857 II 11; 860 III 22 herangezogene Name *Gu-lu-su*[2] als hierhergehörig oder als ein aramäisches Wort[3] zu erklären sei, entzieht sich meinem Urteil. Wenn jenes der Fall sein wird, könnte man arab. *ǧilsun*, vir blaesus, mentis inops, vergleichen. Sehr unsicher. Vgl. jedoch den nabat. Namen גלסי, Cook 36.

Gu-su-ri.

Clay, PBS II,1 p. 22[b]. Neubabylonisch. Unsicher.

Gurrû.

CT XXIX 16, 6: *Gur-ru-ú-um*. Gautier 65, 9: *Gu-ru-um*. VSchr. VII 204, 42: *Gu-ri*. Vgl. Tallqvist, Assyr. Names 82[a]: *Gu-ra-*' und *Gur-ra-a-a*[4]. Fem. VSchr. VIII 14, 3: *Gu-ra-tum*.

Gurrû haben wir wohl als *quttulu*-Bildung aufzufassen (vgl. *Kurû*[5] und die da angeführten Schreibarten). Etymologie unsicher. Ob nicht mit bibl. N. pr. *Gērā* zusammenzustellen, das vielleicht urspr. *qiṭṭēl*-Bildung vertritt? — Oder sind alle diese Namen mit hebr. *gēr* (Stamm גור I) zu verbinden? Vgl. palm. n. pr. גורא, *Γουραç*. Dann *Gûru* zu lesen. — Was ist *g/qur-ru-u* v R 27 g—h 45?

[1] Ausser dem von Jensen, KB VI, 1, 377 f., verglichenen syr. *g'laf* „einmeisseln" vgl. auch Dillmann 1142: *gălăfă* „sculpere" und wohl auch arab. *ǧalafa* „aufkratzen", „abkratzen", „abschaben" (verschiedene Handlungen des Einmeisselns!).

[2] T. vergleicht den Namen eines aram. Stammes *amêlGu-lu-su* II R 67, 6(!). Für Namen von Stämmen und Völkern der Form *quttulu* s. oben S. 18.

[3] So Tallqvist.

[4] Stammname; vgl. Streck in MVAG 1906, Nr. 21.

[5] Womit es jedoch sicher nicht gleichgestellt werden darf.

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Gurrubu.

JOHNS, Ass. Doomsday Book 2 1 19: *Gur-ra-ba-a*. Wie schon JOHNS und SCHIFFER, Die Aramäer S. 33 f., nachgewiesen haben, muss hier die Endung *-â* als unter Einwirkung des aram. status emphaticus entstanden aufgefasst werden. *gurrabā* entspricht wohl arab. *'aǧrabu*, syr. *garbā* „aussätzig", vom St. *grb*, wovon im Assyr. bekanntlich *garâbu* „Aussatz", „Krätze". Vgl. Kleine Beiträge S. 8. Wenn dem so ist, liegt in *Gurrabâ* eine leicht zu erklärende Verschreibung statt *Gurrubā* vor, wenn es nicht einfach aramäisch ist, wie viele von den JADB vorkommenden Eigennamen. Dass *Gurrabâ*[1] inhaltlich so zu fassen ist, scheint mir ziemlich sicher, zumal da RANKE 83 einen Namen *Ga-ru-bu-um* hat. Denselben Namen können wir auch in mehreren anderen semitischen Sprachen nachweisen: bibl. *Gārēb* (auch Name eines „krätzig" aussehenden Hügels), palm. גרבא, גרבא (COOK 37 und LEDRAIN 17), sab. גרב, arab. *Juraib*, *Jarbā* (vgl. Enc. Bibl. 3297).

Gurrudu.

Für Belege dieses, insbesondere in der altbabylonischen Zeit anscheinend gewöhnlichen Namens vgl. RANKE 85[a] (auch BE VI 1); CT IV 26[c] 5; VSchr. VII 15, 23; 142, 8; 155, 7; ibid. IX 25, 4; BE VI, 2 (POEBEL) N:r 135, 5; FRIEDRICH, N:r. 12, 6. TH.-DANGIN, Lettres et contrats 138, 3; 162, 7. Geschrieben *Gu(r)-ru-du(-um)*. Vgl. TALLQVIST, Ass. Names 79[b]: *Ga-ri-da-[a]* (aram.).

In seinem Dilbat-Buch, p. 101, lies UNGNAD diesen Namen *Qurrudu* und leitete ihn von dem bekannten Stamm *qrd* „stark" ab. So auch durchgehend in den von ihm bearbeiteten Teilen von „*Ḫammurabi*'s Gesetz" hrsgg. von KOHLER, PEISER und UNGNAD[2]. Trotzdem diese Lesung an und für sich möglich wäre — die regelrechte Schreibung des Namens mit *g*, nie mit *q*, *k*, müsste allerdings auffallen — ist jedoch der Name überall *Gurrudu* zu lesen, weil wir für ihn eine vortreffliche Etymologie nachweisen können. Es

[1] SCHIFFER liest unrichtig *Gurrubâ*.

[2] Vgl. auch MEISSNER in GGA 1911, 138.

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kann nämlich kein Zweifel darüber herrschen, dass *gurrudu* zu dem im Aram., Arab. und Hebr. nachzuweisenden Stamm *grd* „kratzen", „schaben", „entblössen" zu stellen ist, wovon bekanntlich arab. *'aǧradu*, syr. *gᵉrādā* „kahlköpfig"! *Gurrudu*, die typische assyrische Entsprechung der arab. und syr. Formen, ist also jedenfalls „kahlköpfig" und Synonym zu *Gubbuḫu* (s. oben; daselbst Parallelen für diesen Namen aus anderen Sprachen [1]) und *Qarha'* (s. unten).

Der Stamm liegt vielleicht auch im assyr. *ᵃᵐᵉˡgardu* vor, s. ZDMG 65, 118 [2].

Gurruru.

M. W. nur einmal belegt, VSchr. IX 32, 8: *Gu-ru-ru-um.*

Etymologie unsicher. Vgl. jedoch assyr. *garâru* „laufen", *gurruru* daher „schnellfüssig"? Oder hat man an II R 34 e 70: *gur-ru-ru ša ri-ši* [3] „*gurruru* gesagt vom Kopf" zu denken, wenn dies als Nomen, nicht als Verbum zu fassen wäre? Vorläufig werden wir jedoch hier zu keiner Entscheidung kommen. Auch wäre die Lesung *Qurruru* möglich.

Duḫummu.

TALLQVIST, Neub. Nb. 54: *Du/i-ḫu-um(-mu)*. Unsicher ob hierhergehörig.

Dallalu.

Dieser an der bekannten Stelle des Gilgameš-Epos VI, 76 (KB VI,1, 170) vorkommende Name einer mythologischen Mischgestalt gehört gewissermassen auch zu dieser Gruppe von Wörtern, zumal

[1] Für √*ǧrd* in arab. Nn. prr. vgl. den altarab. Frauennamen (Beinamen) *Mutaǧarrid(at)un*, GRATZL p. 39.

[2] [Nachtrag. Vgl. jetzt auch MORGAN II Nr. 44, 27: *ᵃᵐᵉˡga-ar-du-ú-a*. Jedenfalls identisch mit nhbr. *gardı*, *gardai̯* etc., syr. *gardᵉi̯āi̯ā*, woraus gr. γέρδιος, gerdius, „Weber"! Stamm also unser *garâdu*. Vgl. LEVY I 357.]

[3] In DHWB von *garâru* „laufen" getrennt und als ein *grr* 2 gebucht.

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m. E. kein zwingender Grund vorhanden ist, darin ursprünglich einen Tiernamen oder gar Vogelnamen[1] zu erblicken. *Dallalu* gehört natürlich zum Stamme *dalâlu*, dessen Grundbedeutung nach GES.-BUHL[15] 161[b] „schwach, niedrig sein" gewesen sein muss. Ähnliche Bedeutung haben übrigens auch *dullulu* (Adj. und Verbum!), ein Synonym zu *ḫablu* (s. Wbb.), und das parallel mit *akû* stehende (STRASSM. AV 325) *di-el-lu*. *Dallalu* also etwa „von geringer Statur", „Zwerg", o. ä. Dass diese Erklärung richtig sein wird, zeigt auch der ibid. vorkommende Name *Išullânu*, der mit dem eine Art Krüppelgestalt bezeichnenden *šullânu* (s. unten) identisch sein muss. Eine andere Frage ist, was für Vorstellungen man später an diese Namen geknüpft hat.

Dullupu.

Für diesen, insbesondere wie es scheint in neubabylonischer Zeit nicht seltenen Namen vgl. TALLQVIST, Neubab. Nbuch 54[b]: *Dul-lu-b/pu*. Auch in der Kassitenzeit, CLAY, Cass. Names 70[a]: *Du-ul-lu-b/pu*, sowie vielleicht PBS II 2, 132, 29: *Du-ul-b/pu* (kontrahiert)[2], vgl. BE XV 30[a 3].

Dullub/pu möchte ich nicht zu *dalâbu* „in Not sein" stellen, weil dieser Stamm äussere, von aussen her kommende Not, Bedrängnis, keine konstante körperliche oder geistige Eigenschaft bezeichnet. Dagegen scheint ein Zusammenhang mit dem DHWB 217 unter *dalâbu 2* gebuchten Stamm, der mit *alâku* synonym ist, nicht nur wahrscheinlich, sondern sogar geboten. Dieser Stamm ist, wie zuerst JOHNSTON (JAOS XIX 62), insbesondere aber JENSEN, KB VI,1, 338 u. 475 und BEHRENS (Briefe S. 2) unter Heranziehen mehrerer Belege[4] nachgewiesen haben, jedoch mit *p* anzu-

[1] So ALBRECHT in OLZ 1913, 213. Seinen Erklärungsversuch kann ich nur als weniger wahrscheinlich bezeichnen.

[2] Wenn nicht *Dulbu* mit dem hett.-mit. Element *Dulbi* in *Dulbi-šenni* etc. identisch ist (so CLAY)?

[3] Ob der Amarna-Name *Tulubbi* (KNUDTZON 27, 60) nach CLAY (Cass. Names 170[b]; vgl. WEBER bei KNUDTZON p. 1064) mit *Dullub/pu* zusammenzustellen ist, erscheint jedoch recht fraglich. Vielmehr hettitisch. Vgl. bei SUNDWALL, Die einheimischen Namen der Lykier p. 209 (KLIO, Beiheft XI) das kleinasiat. Element *tlbba*!

[4] Vgl. auch GRAY, Šamaš Rel. Texts p. 14 Col. I 44: *dul-pa-ta* „du eilst".

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setzen. Das beweist übrigens auch arab. *dalafa* „(schwer und mühsam) mit kurzen Schritten gehen, als ob die Füsse gebunden wären". Eigentümlicherweise hat sich im Arabischen aus dieser, wie es scheint, Grundbedeutung des Stammes eine äusserlich entgegengesetzte Bedeutung „schnell gehen", „eilen" entwickelt — wahrscheinlich weil der schnell Gehende mit kurzen Schritten dahinschreitet. Interessant ist aber, dass auch assyr. *dalâpu* gerade die Bedeutungsnüance „eilen" zu haben scheint[1].

Dass *Dullub/pu* zu diesem Stamm *dalâpu* „eilen", arab. *dalafa*, zu stellen ist, scheint mir ziemlich sicher[2]. Weil es aber unmöglich ist, der Bedeutungsentwickelung des assyr. *dalâpu* in sprachgeschichtlicher Zeit nachzugehen, muss die Feststellung der genauen Bedeutung von *dullupu* vorläufig dahingestellt werden: entweder „der mit kurzen Schritten Dahineilende" oder „der mühsam sich Bewegende"[3]. — Sind die bibl. Namen *Dalfōn* und *Jidlāf* zu vergleichen?

Dulluqu.

Ranke 79[a] (vgl. BE VI,1) hat die altbabyl. Belege für diesen Namen zusammengetragen, geschrieben *Du-lu-kum(ku-um)*. Vgl.

[1] Inwieweit die im Hebr., Aram. und Vulg.-arab. für diesen Stamm nachzuweisende Bedeutung „träufeln" in letzter Linie mit der oben besprochenen identisch ist, ist schwer zu sagen. Hat man dabei etwa an das in kurzen Intervallen d. h. tropfenweise sich fortsetzende Fliessen des Wassers zu denken? Oder vielleicht onomatopoetisch? Vgl. arab. *darafa* „entrinnen" (aber auch „wie ein Kranker dahinschreiten"!), deutsch tropfen, triefen, engl. drop, schwed. droppa, drypa etc. S. auch PSmith 908!

[2] Dozy *'adlafu* „ayant le nez plat" kann nicht verglichen werden, weil dies sekundär für *'aḏlafu*. (Vgl. dazu wieder den altarab. Frauennamen *ḏalfā'u* (Gratzl 33) und bibl. *Zilpā*! Vgl. unten *Surundu*.) — Die Annahme arischen Ursprungs (vgl. Scheftelowitz 42) ist m. E. aufzugeben.

[3] Weil unser Name auch für die Kassitenzeit nachweisbar ist, kann er sehr gut altbabylonisch sein — trotzdem dies bis jetzt nicht zu belegen ist — wie auch die *quttulu*-Wörter überhaupt dem ältesten Sprachgut anzugehören scheinen (vgl. Einleitung). Es kann daher in diesen Wörtern manche alte Bedeutung sich erhalten haben, die in der sonstigen Sprache verloren gegangen ist. Die Annahme einer Bedeutung wie „triefend", „mit triefenden (Augen o. ä)" für *dullupu* (vgl. nhbr. *dalfānā*) könnte daher natürlich auch in Frage kommen, muss aber, weil die Bedeutung „tropfen", „triefen" für *dalâpu* im Assyr. sonst nicht nachweisbar ist, vorläufig als ausschliesslich hypothetisch betrachtet werden.

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dazu VSchr. VIII 58, 32 x 30, 10 und das einmalige *Da-al-kum* RANKE 77b. Dass der Stamm mit *q* anzusetzen ist, lehrt uns der Frauenname *Du-lu-ga-tum* VSchr. IX 178, 2.

Die ursprüngliche Bedeutung dieses Namens, dessen Stamm sonst im Assyr. nicht nachzuweisen ist, gibt uns wieder das Arabische. *Dulluqu* entspricht nämlich genau arab. *'adluqu* „zahnlos“ [1] [ba. *dalaqa* „herausziehen (das Schwert aus der Scheide)“]. RANKE vergleicht noch den arab. Namen מנדלק.

Duppušu.

BE XV 133, 4: *Dup-pu-šú* fasst CLAY als N. pr. Lies mit TORCZYNER, Rez. besser *dub-bu qât* . . . . Also kein Eigenname.

Daqqum, Diqqum.

Für die Namen *Da-aq-qum* und *Di-iq-qum* s. RANKE 78a-b, auch BE VI,2, 23, 27 und sonst. Vielleicht auch BE IX 57b: *Di-iq-di-iq* und *Digdigu*, *Duqduqu* bei RANKE 39, wenn diese nicht vielmehr als Vogelnamen zu fassen sind (M.-A. 265).

Jedenfalls vom Stamme *dqq* „klein, gering sein“ abzuleiten; *Da/iqqu* also „der Kleine“, „der Zwerg“. Ba. auch (s. Wbb.) die ein Adj. *duqququ* voraussetzende Form *duqquqûtu* (neben *daqqaqûtu*). Für ähnliche Namen vgl. *Quttunu* (s. u.), *Kuruku*(?), bibl. *Haqqāṭān* [2], pun. קטנא (LIDZBARSKI, Handb. 362), sin. קטינו (COOK 104), talm. זעירא, קטין, קטינא, gr. *Σμῖκρος* u. ä. (BECHTEL 9 ff.), lat. Pumilio, Pusilla, unser Klein, schwed. Lille etc. KLEINPAUL 99.

Durruku(?) s. *Kuruku*.

[1] WAHRMUND. Vgl. FREYTAG.

[2] Der in den hebräischen Nomina propria m. W. nur in *Haqqāṭān* zu belegende Artikel zeigt nach meinem Dafürhalten, wie stark die appellative Bedeutung diesartiger Namen noch relativ spät empfunden worden ist. Möglich dass hier auch arabischer Einfluss zu spüren ist, da in arab. Namen, insbesondere in den *laqab*-Namen, der Artikel gar nicht selten vorkommt. Vgl. z. B. GRATZL 32 f., LAGUS, Lärokurs i arab. spr. § 527.

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Duššuptu.

Der Vollständigkeit halber sei hier — weil nach Muster der *quttulu*-Namen gebildet — auch dieser Name angeführt, trotzdem *duššup(t)u* keinen Körperfehler, sondern vielmehr eine lobenswerte Eigenschaft bezeichnet. *Duššuptu* (Belege: VSchr. VII 16, 4. 5. 7. 11: *Du-uš-šú-up-tum*; POEBEL, BE VI,2, N:r 8, 1: *Du-šú-up-tum*; desgleichen TH.-DANGIN, Lettres et contrats n. 77, 7) kann nämlich wohl nur zum Stamm *dašâpu* „süss sein" (zur Etymologie GES-BUHL[15] 154[a]) gestellt werden. Vgl. auch UNGNAD, Dilbat 89 Anm. 7. Für ähnliche Namen vgl. Enc. Bibl. 3297 sub art. Laudatory Names.

Zuburu

bei CLAY 172[a] ist sicher ein Subst., also nicht hierhergehörig. Vgl. MEISSNER in LZBl 1913, 953 f.

Zuduru, Zunduru, Zundurtu s. unter *ṣ*.

Zuḫḫuntu.

VSchr. VII 10, 1. 12. 19; 11, 10. 19. 21: *Zu-ḫu-un-tum*. POEBEL BE VI,2, N:r 45, 6: *Su-ḫu-un-tum*. Sind BE IX 69: *Sa-aḫ-ma-'* und *Saḫ-ma-a* zu vergleichen?

Schon UNGNAD, Dilbat 124 f. hat diesen Namen m. E. richtig zum Stamme *zḫm*, dessen II,1 im Ḫamm. Cod. XIII r 18: *ú-za-aḫ-ḫa-mu-ši* vorliegt, gestellt. Die dem Kontext der Ḫamm. Stelle für *zḫm* II,1 entnommene Bedeutung „schikanieren" (UNGNAD) o. ä. scheint sich auch durch die Etymologie zu bestätigen. *zḫm* entspricht sicher arab. *zḥm*, wovon intr. *zaḥima* „stinken" (vgl. *zaḥmā'u* „Frau mit stinkendem Atem"), trans. *zaḥama*, *zaḫḫama* „verstossen", welche letztere Bedeutung gerade an der Ḫamm. Stelle vorzüglichen Sinn gibt (vgl. WINCKLER's Übersetzung!). Diese zwei Bedeutungen, von denen die transitive als sekundär („als ekelhaft, abscheulich verwerfen"; so gegen BARTH, Wurzeluntersuchungen 14) betrachtet werden muss, weist übrigens auch die mit *zḫm* stammverwandte hebr. Wurzel זחח auf: Hiph. „Gestank

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von sich geben", Kal „verwerfen"![1] Auch assyr. *zḫm* scheinen daher diese beiden Bedeutungen zuzukommen: *zḫm* II,1 „verstossen", „schikanieren" o. ä., *zuḫḫumu* fem. *zuḫḫuntu* < *zuḫḫumtu*. allem Anscheine nach „stinkend", „mit stinkendem Atem" o. ä. Der Nachweis der Doppelbedeutung dieses Stammes im assyr., arab. und hebr. dürfte nicht unwichtig sein für das Feststellen des Bedeutungswandels diesartiger Stämme. — LANDSBERGER will einer brieflichen Mitteilung zufolge *Zuḫuntum* als < **Zuḫḫuttu*, fem. von *Z/Ṣuḫḫutu*, fassen, s. d.

Zuḫḫutu s. *Ṣuḫḫutu*.

Zâriqu.

Der bisher etymologisch verkannte Name *Zâriqu* gehört, trotzdem er keine *quttulu*-Bildung darstellt, doch zu unserer Gruppe von Nn. prr. Belege: MEISSNER, APR n. 70, 17: *Za-ri-qum*; n. 98, 32: *Za-ar-ri-qum*. VSchr. VII 176, 7: *Za-ri-iq-tum*[2]. RANKE 179[a]: *Za-ri-qum* (1 = MEISSNER n. 70; 2 = CT VIII 47[b]); vgl. auch 141[b]: *Sa-ri-qum*. BE VI,1: *Sa-ri-ku-um* und *Za-ri-qum*. CT VIII 42[d] 2: *Za-ri-qum*. TH.-DANGIN, Lettres et contrats 74, 6. 11. 17. 21; 81, 24; 137, 11: *Za-ri-qum*; 73, 8; 130, 25; 131, 27: *Za-ar-ri-qum*. Ferner VSchr. VIII 15, 21; 102, 18; IX 64, 17; GAUTIER n. 30, 29 und wohl auch 32, 14 zu ergänzen; STRASSMAIER, Warka 102, 32; SCHEIL, Sippar n. 87, 27; CT XXXIII 48 a 19. — Wohl auch GENOUILLAC, Tabl. de Dréhem, Namenverzeichnis, und CT XXXII 19 II 18 (Drehem): *Za-ri-ik*. LEGRAIN, Namenverzeichnis.

In etymologischer Hinsicht wollte UNGNAD (Dilbat 119[2]) den Namen mit *s* ansetzen und darin, allerdings fragend, eine Ableitung des Stammes *srq* „libieren" erblicken; vgl. auch RANKE

[1] Vgl. arab. *zaniḥa* „riechen". Hebr. זנח „verwerfen" zu arab. زنح „fern sein" zu stellen (BARTH) ist also gar nicht nötig. GES.-BUHL[13] 200[a] ist m. E. *zḫm* nachzutragen. — Stammverwandt sind ausserdem hebr. צחן und die von GES.-BUHL[13] 674[b] dazu gestellten Aequivalente (kaum jedoch assyr. *ṣênu* „schlecht" wegen *ḥ* des Stammes; vgl. ZA XVIII 47[1]; XIX, 254; GGA 1900, 863) sowie arab. *ḫaniza* „stinken". Cfr. auch altäg. *ḫnš*, arab. *saniḥa* „stinken".

[2] Vgl. UNGNAD, Dilbat 79.

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141[b]. Indessen ist das Wort sicher mit *z* anzusetzen, denn *Zâriqu* ist nichts anderes als part. act. vom Stamme *zarâqu*, dem arab. *zaraqa* „schielen" sprachlich wie inhaltlich entspricht, und dem wir in den Omina des öfteren begegnen[1], vgl. Körperteile S. 15! *Zâriqu* daher einfach „schieläugig"[2]. Für ähnliche Namen in anderen Sprachen vgl. den arab. Frauennamen *alZarqā'u* (GRATZL 34), wohl auch *Zarqāwī* (in Algier, vgl. ZDMG 53, 491), gr. *Στρά-βαξ*, *Στράβων* u. a. (BECHTEL 23 f.), lat. Strabo, unser Schiller (< Schieler), den schwed. Familiennamen Schéele etc.

Man könnte gegen das oben Gesagte hervorheben, dass *Zâriqu* auch als Gottesname vorkommt. Vgl. zuerst TALLQVIST, Neub. Nbuch 217 f., wo mehrere mit ^{d}*Zâriqu* zusammengesetzte Namen angeführt sind, ferner — worauf mich LANDSBERGER freundlichst aufmerksam machte — CT XV 1, 11: ^{d}*Za-ri-ya* und CT XXIV 36, 63 a: ^{d}*Za-ri-qu*[3]. Gerade die letzte Stelle scheint uns aber hier zur Klarheit gelangen zu lassen. Weil nämlich ^{d}*Zâriqu* dort zum Nergalkreise gehört, kann er sehr gut eine Mischgestalt sein, die als schieläugig dargestellt wurde; vgl. ^{d}*Lillu*, ^{d}*Sukkuku* u. ä.[4] Der Gottesname würde dann relativ späten Ursprungs sein, wie es auch bezeichnend ist, dass *Zâriqu* als Personenname — nie mit dem Gottesdeterminativ versehen! — nur in altbabyl. Texten vorkommt, wogegen mit ^{d}*Zâriqu* zusammengesetzte Namen ausschliesslich aus der neubabyl. Zeit stammen! Dass der wahrscheinlich einer niedrigeren Stufe angehörende Gott ^{d}*Zâriqu* in der Onomatologie der Spätzeit eine ziemlich ausgedehnte Anwendung bekam, beruhte natürlich darauf, dass das Appellativ *Zâriqu* von vornherein in Babylonien als Eigenname geläufig war.

Eine andere Frage, worauf hier nicht des näheren eingegan-

[1] Gewöhnlich: *šumma ênâšu zarrig/k/qâ*.

[2] Ist *zarâqu* „schielen" identisch mit *zarâqu* „streuen", „sprengen", über dessen Etymologie s. GES.-BUHL[13] 205[b]? — Die im arab., äthiop., aram. (*zarqā*) nachzuweisende Bed. „blau sein", kann für assyr. *zarâqu* m. E. nicht in Frage kommen, weil dies unter den gewöhnlichen Wörtern für Farben nie vorkommt.

[3] Vgl. auch SAI. 7514.

[4] Z. B. ^{d}*Ṣalimûti*, ^{d}*Sukkulu*. Für missgestaltete Götterbilder vgl. CT XVII 42 ff. und für das Ägyptische BALLOD, Prolegomena zur Geschichte der zwerghaften Götter in Ägypten. Münchener Diss. 1913.

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gen werden soll, ist die, ob *Sa-ri-qum* (vgl. RANKE 141b) mit *Zâriqu* gleichgesetzt werden soll[1], oder ob wir darin mit RANKE einen ausländischen, näher arabischen Namen zu erblicken haben. Im Hinblick aber darauf, dass in Omina neben *zarâqu* „schielen" auch *sarâqu* vorkommt (z. B. CT XXVIII 28, 12 b), möchte ich, trotz den von RANKE herangezogenen arab. Nn. prr., *Sâriqu* mit *Zâriqu* identifizieren. Wie sich die arab. Namen מסרוק etc. hierzu verhalten, sei dahingestellt.

Hubbudu.

VSchr. IX 79, 4; 125, 1: *Ḫu-bu-du-um*. Bu. 91—5—9, 857 (WATERMAN in AJSL XXIX 171) Obv. 4: *Ḫu-bu-di*. Vgl. RANKE 87a und GAUTIER 51, 14: *Ḫu-bu-di-ia*[2]. Etymologie unklar. Ob als Nebenform der dem oben besprochenen N. pr. *Ubbuttum* zugrunde liegenden Wurzel יבב zu fassen? Vielleicht jedoch westsemitisch, vom Stamme יבד. Dann kein Körperfehler. Vgl. TALLQVIST, Neub. Nbuch 66a sowie LANGDON, Kiš XXIX 23: *Ḫa-ab-di-ia*; CT IV 16, 256, 20: *Ḫa-ab-bu-um*. Vgl. trotz allem auch UNGNAD, Dilbat 15: *Ḫu-bi-da*, *Ḫu-bi-[d]i* sowie LEGRAIN Nr. 358, 16: *Ḫubí-dam*.

Hubbusu, Ḫubbustu.

VSchr. VII 147, 16: *Ḫu-bu-ṣum*. TALLQVIST, Neubab. Nbuch 68a: *Ḫu-bu-ṣu*, *Ḫu-bu-uṣ-tum*, *Hu-um-bu-uṣ-tum*. Die letzte Form zeigt unzweideutig, dass *Ḫubbuṣu* für die Grundform zu halten ist.

Ḫubbuṣu, wie *Ḫibuṣu*, *Ḫubaṣu*[3], *Ḫabaṣitum* und *Ḫibuṣi'itum* (alles bei TALLQVIST a. a. O.), sind als Adjektivbildungen des Stammes *ḫabâṣu* „strotzen", „üppig sein" (vgl. schon DHWB 268[1], auch KB VI, 1, 323) aufzufassen. Der Name, = „üppig", war, wie aus dem Obigen ersichtlich, besonders als Frauenname sehr beliebt. Vgl. oben *Unnubtu*, unten *Ḫuzzubu*[4], *Ḫunnubu* u. ä.

[1] Vgl. *Suduru* neben *Zuduru*, *Suḫuntu* neben *Zuḫḫuntu* etc.

[2] TH.-DANGIN: *Ḫu-bu-ut-ta-tum*, VSchr. IX 58, 3 und 67—8, 3: *Ḫu-bu-tatum* sowie CLAY, Cass. Names 80: *Ḫu-bu-ti-tum*, *Ḫu-bu-ut-ta-tum*, *Ḫu-bu-ut-te-te* möchte ich dagegen als Appellativa fassen, vgl DHWB 269b.

[3] Auch CT VIII 26b, 20: *Ḫu-ba-ṣum*.

[4] Womit *Ḫubbuṣu* vielleicht stammverwandt.

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Ḫubbušu.

VSchr. IX 10/11, 28: *Ḫu-bu-šum*. CLAY, Cass. Names 80ᵇ: *Ḫu-ub-bu-šu*. TALLQVIST, Ass. Pers. Names 90ᵃ: *Ḫu-um-bu-uš-ti*, *Ḫum-bu-uš-te* (HARPER, Letters 896, 2; 517, 13)[1].

Ḫubbušu gehört zweifelsohne zum Stamme *ḫabâšu* „binden“[2] und ist also etwa Synonym zu *uṣṣulu*, *buṣṣulu* etc. Also „gebunden, was die Extremitäten anbelangt“, „lahm“ o. ä. Dass dem so ist, zeigen Stellen wie CT XXVII 18, 16 = XXVIII 2, 23: *šumma sinništu tûlid-ma ditto-ma ḫu-ub-bu-uš* „wenn eine Frau (einen Knaben) gebiert und (mit diesem) der Fall derselbe ist, und er ‚gebunden‘ ist . Ba. aber insbesondere CT XXVII 5, 27: *šumma sinništu ḫu-ub-bu-ša tûlid* „wenn eine Frau einen *ḫubbušu* gebiert“. Aus dieser Stelle geht also mit grösster Sicherheit hervor, dass *ḫubbušu* substantivisch, als Bezeichnung einer besonderen Art menschlicher Krüppelgestalt — ba. den Kontext — gebraucht wurde. Dass unser Name damit identisch ist, braucht nicht besonders hervorgehoben zu werden. — Vgl. auch K. 2061 I 2: ..... *LUM* (oder *-lum*) || *ḫu-ub-bu-šú*. Vielleicht ist auch der Name CT VI 40 b 12: *Ḫu-ub-šú-um* als aus *Ḫubbušu* kontrahiert aufzufassen[3].

Von demselben Stamme sind wohl auch die Namen *Ḫabbašu*, *Ḫabašin(na)tum* (TALLQVIST, Neub. Nbuch), *Ḫubašâte* (DHWB), sowie viell. ass. *Ḫabasu/i* (TALLQVIST, Ass. Pers. N. 82ᵇ) abzuleiten. Zu trennen (wohl Fremdwörter) sind dagegen wahrscheinlich *Ḫa-am-bu-su* und *ʾḪa-am-bu-su* (Aram. docket [חבשׁ]), wozu

[1] T. vergleicht neubab. *Ḫumbuṣtum*, lies aber *Ḫumbuṣtum* = *Ḫubbuṣtum* (s. oben).

[2] Zur Etymologie GES.-BUHL[18] 210, sub חבשׁ, was sicher — trotz arab. حبس — mit *ḫabâšu* identisch ist (vgl. auch arab. خبس „mit der Hand ergreifen“). JENSEN (KB VI, 1, 470) stellte zu חבשׁ assyr. *epêšu* „beschwören“, das aber mit *epêšu* „machen“ identisch ist. Arab. *ḫ* = assyr. *ḫ* in *ḫabâšu* beruht wohl auf dem Zischlaut. — Nicht uninteressant ist, dass assyr. *ḫubšu* (vom Stamme *ḫabâšu* „binden“) genau arab. *ḫubusun* (von *ḫabasa* „hemmen“ u. ä.) „pedites“ (FREYTAG, DOZY) entspricht, was für Bestimmung der Bed. von *ḫubšu* (KNUDTZON-WEBER zweifelnd „Bauer“; PEISER, OLZ 1907, 623[1] „Neubürger“, „Metöke“) nicht unwichtig sein dürfte. Dazu stimmt, dass in einem unveröffentlichten Omenkommentar K. 4229 (von mir in London kopiert) Obv. 11 *ḫu-ub-ši* gerade mit *ṣâbêl* glossiert wird.

[3] Wenn nicht identisch mit dem in der vorigen Anm. besprochenen Worte.

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TALLQVIST a. a. O. 84b [1] altbab. ^{m}*Ḫa-am-bu-zu-ú* (TH.-DANGIN, Lettres et contrats) vergleicht. — Vgl. endlich den phoen. Namen חִבּוּשׁ, LIDZBARSKI, Handb. 270b.

Ḫungulu, Ḫugulu etc.

BE VI, 1, n. 105, 5. 14. 18: *Ḫu-un-gu-lum*; ibid. 95, 19. 21: *Ḫu-gu-ul-tum*. CLAY, Cass. Names 80 f.: *Ḫu-gu-lum* und *Ḫu-un-gu-lu*. CT IV 41 a 14: *Hu-un-gu-lu*.

RANKE 253 und CLAY 173b verglichen *ḫêgallu* und übersetzten *ḫungulu* „abundance", was aber voraussetzt, dass das sum. Lehnwort schon in altbabylonischer Zeit als ein semitischer Stamm behandelt worden ist (vgl. syr. *ḥ'gal* „libidinosa fuit mulier"), was sonst nicht zu belegen. — Viel natürlicher scheint es mir, *ḫungulu* < **ḫuggulu* zum Stamme ḥgl zu stellen (arab. *ḥ* = assyr. *ḫ* wegen der Muta und Liquida des Stammes, vgl. MEISSNER, Ass. Gr. § 8 b), dessen ursprüngliche Bedeutung „hüpfen", „springend laufen" gewesen zu sein scheint, und wovon die semitischen Sprachen nicht ungern nomina propria derivieren. Vgl. vor allem bibl. n. pr. *Ḥoglā* und s. NÖLDEKE, Beiträge zur sem. Sprachwiss. 85 f. Von demselben Stamme arab. *ḥaǧalun*, aram. *ḥaglā* „Rebhuhn", arab. *ḥāǧilun* „Rabe" (vincto quasi pede incedens; vgl. DILLMANN 130!) [2]. *Ḫungulu*, *quttulu*-Bildung desselben Stammes, bedeutet demnach etwa „hüpfend (wie ein Vogel) dahinschreitend" o. ä. Vgl. oben *Ugula*!

[1] Daselbst sind auch die resp. Belege zu finden. Vgl. auch COOK 50, LIDZBARSKI, Handb. 270a.

[2] Vgl. *ḥaǧlun* „Fussfessel" (die den hüpfenden Gang verursacht!) und (sekundär) *'aḥǧalu* „weissfüssig". Weitere Verwandtschaften s. oben *Ugula*. [Nachtrag. Mit LANDSBERGER könnte man auch arab. *ḥaǧala* „hüpfen" als von *ḥaǧlun* „Fussfessel" denominiert auffassen. Vgl. arab. *ḥaǧara* „impedire", hebr.-aram. חגר „binden", „gürten", aram. *ḥ'gar* „hinken", assyr. *itguru*, *šutêguru* „gürten", u. a. *Ḫungulu* dann wie *Uṣṣulu*, *Buṣṣulu* u. ä. zu erklären und von der unter *Ugula* besprochenen Wurzel zu trennen. Inhaltlich würde dies das oben Gesagte nicht viel ändern. Vgl. DILLMANN 109. 130. S. jetzt auch OLZ 1914, 68.]

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Ḫudultu.

CT VI 43, 25: *Ḫu-du-ul-tum* Ibid. 49 b 5: *Ḫu-du-ul-tim*.

RANKE 187b vergleicht zweifelnd *ḫadašatu* „Braut". Dass aber *Ḫudultum* auf ein **Ḫudduštum* zurückgehe, scheint mir ganz unwahrscheinlich. Unsicher ist gleichfalls, ob wir — wenn *Ḫudultum* mit ursprünglichem *l* anzusetzen ist — diesen Namen zu dem v R 45 VI 22, VIII 22 belegten Stamm *ḫdl* bzw. *ḫṭl* [1] zu stellen haben, weil die Bedeutung dieses Stammes noch dunkel ist. Zunächst möchte ich hier an arab. *ḫadila* „dick und rund sein", „dicke und runde Glieder haben (Frau)", *ḫadlāʾu* etc. „mit dicken und runden Gliedern (Frau)" denken. *Ḫuddultu*, also vielleicht „dick und rund", ist tatsächlich bisjetzt nur als Frauenname zu belegen [2]. Oder ist vielleicht arab. *ḥadila* „eine Schulter höher als die andere haben", *ʾaḥdalu* „linkshändig" etc. zu vergleichen? Vorläufig scheint also hier keine Entscheidung möglich zu sein. — Jedenfalls scheint bibl. *Ḥadlaị* zum Stamme von *Ḫudultu* zu gehören.

Ḫunzû.

TALLQVIST, Nbab. Nbuch 68a, CLAY, Cass. Names 81b. *Ḫunzû* könnte der Form nach aus **ḫuzzû*, bzw. *ḫuṣṣû* entstanden sein [3], doch weist die schwankende Schreibung: *Ḫu-un-zu-ú*, *Ḫu-un-zu*, *Ḫu-un-zu-'-u*, wohl auch *Ḫu-un-zu-ḫu* [4], auf nichtsemitischen Ursprung hin. Ba. dazu v R 44 Col. III 45: *mḪu-un-zu-'* in der nichtsemitischen Kolumne, erklärt (sic!) durch sem. *m ilEn-lil-mu-di-e-nîšêpl*. Vgl. JADD 446 Rev. 21: *Ḫu-un-zu-di-i*.

Huzzubu.

Rev. d'Ass. 1911, 76 N:r v, 7 und Siegel, 2: *Ḫu-zu-bu-um* (vgl. LINDL N:r 1560). Vgl. GAUTIER N:r LXV, 5: *Ḫa-zi-ba-tum* und RANKE 87a: *Ḫa-az-zi-bu-tum*.

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[1] Vgl. SAI. 225.

[2] Ob der Tiername *ḫadilu* (vgl. den Pflanzennamen *šamḫadilu*) zu diesem Stamme oder zu dem GES.-BUHL[15] 212b gebuchten Stamme חדל oder zu keinem von beiden gehört, bleibt auch vorläufig unentschieden.

[3] Vgl. arab. *ʾaḫḏaʿu* „mit von Natur aus gekrümmtem Rücken"?

[4] Alles bei CLAY a. a. O.

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Etymologie unklar. Nach RANKE westsem. (vgl. Bibl. *ʿAzūbā* von *ʿzb*). Vielmehr zu demselben Stamme, wovon *ḫišbu* „Körperfülle", zu stellen. Dann wären Namen wie *Unnubu*, *Ḫunnubu*, *Ḫubbuṣu*, *Kunzubtu* „mit üppiger Figur" u. a. zu vergleichen. Zum Stamme von *ḫišbu* vgl. arab. *ḫaṣaba* „fruchtbar sein" sowie *ḫaziba* „angeschwollen sein", „vor Fett geschwollen scheinen"; assyr. *ḫabâṣu* „strotzen", „üppig sein", s. o.

Ḫuzzulu.

VSchr. IX 50, 5: *Ḫu-zu-lum*. Dieselbe Person VSchr. IX 202, 12[1]: *Ḫu-zu-lum*[2].

Etymologie unsicher. Ob von dem Stamme, wovon die bekannten (westsem.?) Namen *Ḫuzâlum*, *Ḫuzâlâ*, *Ḫuzâlatum* etc. „Gazelle(?)" abgeleitet sind[3], zu trennen? Dann vielleicht zu arab. *ḫazala*, *ḫazila* „schwerfällig gehen, wie mit gebrochenem Rücken", *ʾaḫzalu* „mit gebrochenem Rücken" zu stellen. Vgl. auch äthiop. *ḫäzälä* DILLMANN 119.

Ḫuzzumu, ḫazâmu.

ḫazâmu I 1 und II 1 perm. „taub sein". Vgl. Körperteile 29 und Nachträge; BOISSIER, DA. 123, 8—10 und 141, 11 = CT XXVII 16, 8–10 und 33, 11; 37, 7 ff.: *uznu-šu ḫa-az-mat* (*ma-at*) bzw. *uznâ-šu ḫu-uz-zu-ma*. Vgl. syr. *ḥ̱zīmā* „taub"! N. pr. *Ḫu-zu-mu-um* bei LANGDON, Kîš XIX, 1. Ein Adjektiv *ḫuzzumu* (Plur. *ḫu-uz-zu-mu-tu*) belegt durch HARPER, Letters 462 Rev. 9. Vgl. FIGULLA, Briefwechsel Bêl-ibni's S. 40 f., wo jedoch die Bedeutung dieses Stammes dem Verfasser unbekannt geblieben ist. Vgl. oben *Amêru* und unten *pâqu*.

[1] = MEISSNER, Altbab. PR. n. 77.

[2] TALLQVIST, Neub. Nbuch 315b l. dagegen *Ḫu-za-lum* statt *Ḫu-zu-lum*.

[3] Vgl. RANKE 87. UNGNAD, Dilbat 92. Daneben auch *Uzâlu*, *Uzallu* u. ä. Vgl. arab. *ġazalun* Gazelle! Assyr. *as zlu*, Tiername, worüber zuletzt KB VI (1) 418, usw.

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Ḫullulu.

CT VI 15 II 24: *Ḫu-lu-lum*. Wohl nur eine Analogiebildung und zwar eine Nebenform zu den häufigen *Ḫulalu* [1], *Ḫalulu*, *Ḫalilu* etc., worüber TALLQVIST, Neub. Nbuch 315[b], CLAY, Cass. Names 174[b] etc. Zum Stamme: „bohren" vgl. unten *Ḫurrura* von חרר „bohren". [VSchr. IX 202, 12: *Ḫu-lu-lum*.]

Ḫuluqqu.

CT II 21, 24: *Ḫu-lu-uq-qa*.

CLAY, Cass. Names 174[b], nimmt zweifelnd für *Ḫuluqqa* hettitisch-mitannischen Ursprung an. Oder hat man an den semitischen Stamm חלק „glatt machen oder sein" (GES.-BUHL[15] 233[b]) zu denken? Vgl. arab. *'aḥlaqu* „glatt (Stirn)", *ḥalaqa* „das Haar scheren", äg. *ḥ'q* „rasieren" etc. *Ḫuluqqu*, statt *Ḫulluqu*(?), dann etwa „kahlköpfig" o. ä. Vgl. *Gubbuḫu* etc. — Oder sind die biblischen, von חלק II abgeleiteten Namen wie *Ḥelqai*, *Ḥilqiā* etc. heranzuziehen? [2]

Ḫu-mu-um s. *Ûmu*.

Ḫummuṣu.

CT IV 9 b 16: *Ḫu-mu-ṣum*. RANKE 87[b]. Wohl auch TH.-DANGIN, Lettres et contrats 62, 3: *Ḫu-mu-sa-tum*.

RANKE vergleicht pun. n. pr. חמצי. Ob nicht besser zum assyr. Stamme *ḥamāṣu* (Etymologie GES.-BUHL[15] 239[a]) „bedrücken", „vergewaltigen" [3] zu stellen? Für II, 1 dieses Stammes s. ausser Wbb. auch Brüss. Vokab. (Rev. d'Ass. X) Col. IV 39: *GIR . GIR*

[1] Dies vielleicht doch besser einfach = *ḫulālu*, e. Edelstein.

[2] Vgl. den allerdings unsicheren nabatäischen Namen חלקו, LIDZBARSKI, Handbuch 275[a].

[3] Anders JENSEN KB VI, 1, 474: „ausziehen", wozu vgl. die unten erwähnte Syllabarstelle, wo *ḫummuṣu* in einer Gruppe mit *šuḫḫuṭu* „ausziehen" und *tabâlu* „wegnehmen" steht, sowie KLAUBER, Pol.-rel. Texte 114: *ḫimṣatu* (Mitteilung LANDSBERGERS). Vgl. aber andererseits den mit חמץ jedenfalls verwandten Stamm חמס „vergewaltigen".

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ḫu-um-mu-ṣu. — Jedoch sind auch andere Erklärungsversuche möglich. *Ḫummuzu* könnte bibl. *ḥāmūṣ* „hochrot" entsprechen. Oder mit *ḫimṣu* „eine Art Aussatz" (Kl. Btr. 9 f.) zu verbinden? Vgl. oben *Gurrubu*! Kaum syr. *ḥ'wāṣā*, Strabo. Zur Klarheit können wir hier vorläufig nicht gelangen.

Ḫummuru, Ḫummurtu.

Für Belege dieses, wie es scheint, ziemlich häufigen Namens s. RANKE 87b: *Ḫu-mu-rum*, *Ḫu-mu-ru-um*; CLAY, Cass. N. 81a: *Ḫu-um-mu-rum*, *Ḫu-mu-ru(m)*, *Ḫu-mur-ti/tum*; in neubab. Zeit Nbk. 118, 3: *Ḫum-mu-ru* (TALLQVIST, Neubab. Nb. 65a zweifelnd *Gummuru*); auch HARPER, Letters 965 Rev. 11: *Ḫu-um-mu-ru* (aus Uruk!). TALLQVIST, Assyr. Names 90a. Vgl. endlich den Ortsnamen: *Ḫu-mur-ti*ki (Dungi, Jahr 44); vielleicht ein Ort, wo es viele *ḫummuru*'s gab?

Was die Etymologie von *Ḫummuru* betrifft, scheint sie einige Schwierigkeiten zu bereiten. RANKE vergleicht bibl. *'Omrī* und *'Amrām*[1], was m. E. äusserst unwahrscheinlich ist, weil diese in keilinschriftlicher Wiedergabe bezeugt sind: *Ḫumri'ia*, *Amramu*. — Viel wahrscheinlicher scheint mir dagegen LANDSBERGER's Vorschlag, in *Ḫummuru* die assyr. Entsprechung des doppelt schwachen hebr *'iwwēr*, syr. *'wārā*[2] „blind" arab. *'a'waru* „einäugig" zu erblicken[3]. Dazu würde stimmen, dass wir im Ass. bisjetzt kein anderes Wort für „blind" belegen konnten (vgl. oben *ênu* und *la nâṭilu*), ferner spricht dafür IV R 3 a 23—4: *ki-ma pu-ri-me ša ḫa-am-ra ênâ^{pl}-šu u-pi-e*[4] *ma-la-a* „wie ein Wildesel, dessen Augen ḫ. (und) von ‚Gewölk' voll sind". Vgl. vielleicht SAI. 279: *TAR* (*HAŠ*) = *ḫu-um-mu-rum*. Dieses *ḫumâru* „blind bzw. einäugig (cfr. arab.) sein" müsste wohl dann von dem von KÜCHLER 116 vermuteten *ḫamâru* „wallen" (Etymol. GES.-BUHL[15] 239a) ge-

[1] Vgl. auch LIDZBARSKI, Handbuch 343 f.

[2] TALLQVIST, Assyr. Names 48a hat einen Namen *A-u-i-ra-a*, der auf die aram. Form zurückgehen könnte.

[3] Etymologie GES.-BUHL[15] 567b.

[4] Vgl. CT XXIII, 23, 2: *ênâ^{a}-šu bir-ra-tú i-pi-tú i-ši-tú*.

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trennt werden. Der Wechsel von sonst. ʿ und ass. *ḫ* ist ja in diesen Namen nicht selten. — Gegen die Identifizierung von *ḫummuru* mit dem Stamm *ʿwr* könnte allerdings hervorgehoben werden, dass das assyr. Wort für „Blindheit" *tûrtu* (< **taʿwartu*) vom schwachen Stamme *ʿwr* herkommt[1], weshalb wir, wenn das oben Gesagte sich bewahrheiten sollte, gezwungen sind, zwei Nebenformen dieses Stammes für das Assyr. anzunehmen, was allerdings nicht ohne Parallelen ist[2]. — Für ähnliche Namen vgl. talm. Samjā (Levy III 542a); lat. Luscus, Cocles etc. Vgl. auch Kleinpaul, Die deutschen Personennamen 102: Einauge etc.

Abzulehnen sind wohl arab. *ḫaʿwārun*, äthiop. *ḫĕʿwūr* „Schwächling". — An arab. Ursprung, etwa entlehnt von *ʾaḥmaru* (auch als Name) = Rufus, *Πύρρος* „rot(haarig)" (talm. N. pr. סורוק[3]) ist wohl kaum zu denken.

Ḫunnubu, Ḫunnubtu.

Ranke 87b: *Ḫu-nu-bu-um*. 187b: *Ḫu-nu-ub-tum*. Strassmaier, Warka Nr. 85, 22: *Ḫu-nu-bu-um*. Clay, Cass. N. 81: *Ḫu-un-nu-bu/bi*, *Ḫu-nu-bi*, *Ḫu-un-nu-ub-tum/ti*. VSchr. VIII 17, 20; 50, 10: *Ḫu-nu-bu-um*. 123/124, Siegel c: *Ḫu-nu-bu-*[*um*]. IX 160/161, 1: *Ḫu-un-nu-bu-um*; 171, 17: *Ḫu-nu-ub-tum*. CT II 30, 24: *Ḫu-nu-ub-tum*. Th.-Dangin, Lettres et contrats 62, 20 und 69, sceau: *Ḫu-nu-bu-um*. CT VIII 38 b 5: *Ḫu-nu-ub-tum*. Lindl n:r 968 (Como 4), 25: *Ḫu-nu-bu-um*. Gautier 12, 26: *Ḫu-nu-bi-ia*. Wohl auch Bu. 91—5—9, 2487, 12 (AJSL XXIX 163) zu ergänzen.

Ḫunnubu haben wir sicherlich zum Stamme *ḫnb* „üppig sein" zu stellen, der wohl als eine Nebenform des Stammes *ʿnb* (woraus der Name *Unnubu*!)[4] anzusehen ist. *Ḫunnubu* also „kräftig entwickelt", „dick" „mit üppiger Figur (Frau)" etc. Vgl. eventuell

[1] Vgl. Körperteilnamen, Nachtr. zu S. 15.

[2] Vgl. *namâru* : *nûru*; *lamû* : *laʿû* u. ä. Übrigens hat auch die Ähnlichkeit des Stammes mit dem Oppos. *amâru* „sehen" das Beibehalten des *m* in *ḫummuru* befürworten können.

[3] Vgl. Roth, Rossini, Rousseau etc. S. Kleinpaul 104. — Vgl. *Ḫuššû*, *Muqquru*, *Sâmu* etc.

[4] Vgl. für das *ḫ* auch das oben zu *Ḫummuru* Gesagte.

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v R 19 a—b 8: *ḫu-un-nu-bu*. Auf denselben Stamm[1] sind ferner die nach anderen Nominalformen gebildeten Namen wie *Ḫanbu*, *Ḫambu*, *Ḫanbatu*, *Ḫannabu*, *Ḫannubtum*, *Ḫunâbu* etc. zurückzuführen. — Cfr. *Ḫubbuṣu*, *Ḫuzzubu*, *Kubburu*; auch Namen wie *Lalû*, *Lulû* u. ä.

Ḫunnunu.

UNGNAD's (Ḫamm. v 95) Lesung *Ḫu-un-nu-nu* in CT VI 15 II 18. 19[2] ist zu unsicher, um irgendwelche Vermutungen betreffs der Herkunft des Namens zu ermöglichen. Vgl. *Unnunu*. Oder westsemitisch? — LANDSBERGER machte mich auf den Ortsnamen *Ḫu-nu-un-tum* (SCHEIL, Sippar 10, 7) aufmerksam.

Ḫupû, Ḫuppî, Ḫupûtu.

TALLQVIST, Neub. Nb. 68[a]: *Ḫu-pu-ú*. CLAY, Cass. N. 81[b]: *Ḫu-up-pi-i*. Wohl auch VSchr. IX 176 (177), 4 (5): *Ḫu-pu-ú-tum*.

Wahrscheinlich II,1 von *ḫepû*[3] „zerschlagen"; *ḫuppû* daher wohl Name irgendeines Körperfehlers (vgl. *ḫepu šinnâ* „zahnlückig"!). Vgl. *ḫuppû* DHWB 286[b] und *ḫuššulu*. Näheres lässt sich über diesen Namen vorläufig kaum sagen.

Ḫûru.

TALLQVIST, Neub. Nb. 68; 315: *Ḫu-ú-ru* und *Ḫu(?)-ra-a*. Stamm sicherlich חור (GES.-BUHL 216[b]) „weiss sein", wovon bibl. N. pr. *Ḫūr*. Oder aus diesem entlehnt?

Ḫurruk/qu.

Auf diese Form muss wohl der Name *Ḫu-ru-uk/q*, CLAY 81[b], zurückgeführt werden. Ob aber hier die *quttulu*-Form des im

[1] Vgl. zu *ḫanâbu* auch KB VI (1) 425 f. — Vgl. *še'u ḫunnubu* in ZA VIII 200 f., Sch. 23.

[2] So auch LINDL Nr. 1411.

[3] Zur Etymologie s. jetzt OLZ 1913, 493. Vgl. auch die Bedeutung „schlaff sein (Gelenke)" des arab. *ḫafa'a*. Ba. altäg. *f'ḫ* „auflösen" „zerstören".

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Assyr. belegten Stammes *ḫrk* „einschneiden" (*ḫurruku* also irgendwie „geschnitten")[1] vorliegt, oder ob wir dabei an arab. *ḥariqa* „dumm, närrisch sein", wovon *'aḥraqu* „linkhändig"[2], zu denken haben, vermag ich nicht zu entscheiden. Unsicher.

Ḫurrumu.

Reisner, Tempelurk. aus Telloh 125 II 3; Th.-Dangin, Recueil 419 Obv. 13 Rev. 3; Génouillac, Tabl. de Dréhem 15ª: *Ḫu-ru-mu.*

Ḫurrumu lässt sich etymologisch kaum aus irgend einem Stamme des uns sonst bekannten assyrischen Wortschatzes erklären. Dagegen halte ich es für äusserst wahrscheinlich, dass *Ḫurrumu* auf den Stamm *ḫrm* „durchstechen"[3] zurückgeht, wovon das auch als N. pr. vorkommende arab. *'aḫramu* „durchstochene Augen, Ohren od. Nasenscheidewand habend" und hebr. *ḥārūm* „spaltnäsig" herkommen. Auch das bibl. n. pr. *Ḥ^{a}rūmaf* ist wohl aus diesem Worte + *'af* „Nase" zusammengesetzt! — Vgl. SAI. 8560. — Cfr. *Ḫulludu, Ḫurruru, Ḫurrutu.*

Ḫurruzu.

Ranke 87ᵇ: *Ḫu-ru-zum* (= King, Ḫamm. 15, 17). JADD 352, 2: *Ḫur-ru-ṣ*[*u*]. Vgl. Ranke a. a. O.: *Ḫur/Ḫu-ur-za-*(*a-*)*nim*, Th.-Dangin, Lettres et contrats 71, 15: *Ḫu-ur-za-nu-um*, 75, 25: *Ḫu-ru-za-nu-um*, Ranke 187ᵇ, Th.-Dangin 220, 21: *Ḫu-ra-za-tum.* VSchr. IX 60, 22: *Ḫu-ra-za-ni.*

Ḫurruz/ṣu gehört natürlich zu demselben Stamme, wovon *ḫurâṣu* „Gold", und bedeutet demgemäss „gelb-, gold-, blond(haa-

[1] Vgl. das zu *uṣṣudu* Gesagte.

[2] Vgl. oben *Uššuru* und *Burrutu.*

[3] Vgl. auch äthiop. *ḫărăwă* „perforare", wozu arab. *ḫurwatun* „Loch, Ohr des Beils". Arab. *ḥarṭun* „Schriftstück" geht wohl auf die spezielle Bedeutung „literas insculpere" des äthiop. *ḫărăm/wă* zurück (vgl. *ḫĕrmat* „litera"). Stammverwandt sind endlich √*ḫrr* „bohren", sowie ass. *ḫirû* „graben". — Mit Haupt liegt ja dieser Stamm *ḫrm* dem assyr. *ḫarimtu* „Hierodule" zugrunde.

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rig)", dem hebr. N. pr. *Ḫārūṣ* (sin. חרוצ) genau entsprechend. Vgl. ferner gr. Ξάνθος, lat. Flavius, unser Gehlhaar etc. S. oben *Urruzu*. Vgl. KLEINPAUL 105.

Zu trennen[1] sind Namen wie *Ḫa/iriṣâia*, *Ḫariṣannu* etc. (von *ḫarîṣu* „Graben") vgl. TALLQVIST, Neub. Nb. 316b.

Ḫurruru.

CT VI 17 IV 31: *Ḫu-ru-ru-um*; VSchr. IX 79, 3; 119, 7; 121, 12 sowie SCHEIL, Sippar, 572, 2 und FRIEDRICH 45, 6: *Ḫu-ru-rum*.

Ḫurruru ist jedenfalls vom Stamme *ḫarâru* „bohren" abzuleiten. Die Bedeutung bleibt trotzdem unsicher: „mit durchstochenem, durchbohrtem X". Vgl. oben *Ḫullulu*, *Ḫurrumu*, unten *Ḫurrutu*.

Ḫurrušu.

BE XIV 120, 36: *Ḫu-ur-ru-šú*; CLAY, Cass. N. 81b.

Nach CLAY a. a. O. 175 soll *Ḫurrušu* ein als N. pr. gebrauchter Pflanzenname sein. Dies scheint mir jedoch sehr unwahrscheinlich, da der Pflanzenname eigentlich *ḫuruššu* heisst (vgl. SAI. 2961. 2964) und *Ḫurrušu* daher besser als die *quttulu*-Form eines Stammes *ḫrš* aufzufassen sein wird. Was den Stamm von *Ḫurrušu* betrifft, so liegt es auf der Hand, dabei an hebr. *ḥāraš*, syr. *ḥreš*, arab. *ḥarisa* „stumm sein", hebr. *ḥērēš* (< *ḥirrēš*), arab. *'aḥrasu* etc. „stumm"[2] zu denken, zumal da, soviel ich weiss, ein Wort für „stumm" bisher im Assyr. nicht mit Sicherheit zu belegen war (vgl. oben jedoch *uqququ*).[3]

[1] Oder haben wir, mit LANDSBERGER, *Ḫurruzu* von *ḫarâṣu* „einschneiden" abzuleiten? Vgl. *Ḫurruku*, *Ḫurrumu*, *Ḫurruru*, *Ḫurrutu*!

[2] Ob davon ass. *ḫarurtu* (< *ḫaruštu*) „Kehle" = syr. *ḫarāštā* (vgl. Körperteile 42)?

[3] Oder von חרש I „einschneiden" (vgl. *Ḫurrumu*, *Ḫurruzu*?, *Ḫurruru*, *Ḫurrutu*) abzuleiten, im Hinblick auf $^{aban}ḫar$-*šu* u. $^{amêl}ḫaršu$, wenn dies aus *ḫârišu*. GES.-BUHL s. v. vergleicht allerdings ass. *erêšu* „das Feld bestellen". — Assyr. *ḫarâšu* I bedeutet nicht „zurückhalten", „binden", sondern „aufpflanzen" (KB VI, 1, 494); daraus *ḫuršu* „Bergwald". — Zu den von GES.-BUHL[15] 260b bei *ḥereš* I herangezogenen arab. *ḫursun* „Speise der Wöchnerin", assyr. *ḫarištu* „die Gebärende" vgl. jedenfalls äthiop. *ḫārāsa* „nutrire"!

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Für ähnliche Namen vgl. bibl. *Ḫereš* und *Ḫaršā*, palm. חרשא, arab. *ʾAḫrasu* (Enc. Bibl. 3297), unser Stumme u. ä.

Ḫurrutu.

Revue d'Ass. VIII 142. 144: *Ḫu-ru-ta*.

Ḫuruta ist wohl auf einen sonst nicht belegten assyr. Stamm *ḫrt* zurückzuführen, der arab. *ḫarata*, hebr. *ḥrt* „einschneiden", „eingraben" entspricht (vgl. für das Etymon GES.-BUHL[15] חרשׁ I, חרת)[1] *Ḫuruta* inhaltlich also etwa identisch mit *Ḫurrumu*, *Ḫurruru* (s. oben).

Ḫušûtu.

Vgl. RANKE 187, wo mehrere Belege: *Ḫu-šú-tum* (p. 21 vergleicht R. auch *Ḫa-ši-ia*). Desgleichen TH.-DANGIN, Lettres et contrats und WATERMAN in AJSL XXIX 145 ff. passim. Ob CT VI 48 a 17 *Ḫu-šú*(!)*-tum* statt *Ḫu-ša*(?)*-tum* zu lesen?

Vielleicht mit RANKE 21 als *Ḫuššûtu* zu fassen. Etymologie und Bedeutung bleiben mir trotzdem unsicher. Ob fem. zu *ḫuššû*, *ḫušû* „herrlich" DHWB 295[a], KB VI (1) 570 (etwa „rot"[2])? Oder zu hebr. חשׁה I[3] „schweigen"? Vielmehr jedoch von *ḫašû* „binden, fest zusammenschnüren, erwürgen" (M.-A.)[4]. *Ḫuš(š)ûtu* dann eine ähnliche Bildung wie *uṣṣulu*, *buṣṣulu* etc.: „gebunden", d. h. „gelähmt" o. ä.

ḫašikku

„taub" s. Wbb. und GES.-BUHL[15] 261[b]. Vgl. dazu arab. *ḫašaka* „den Sack vollstopfen". — Syr. *ḫaššīchā* „blind" gehört dagegen zum Stamme des syr. *ḥšech* „finster sein", assyr. *asakku* „Finsternis".

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[1] Zu den zahlreichen von *ḥr* weitergebildeten semitischen Stämmen der Bedeutung „einschneiden" vgl. endlich auch חרם, GES.-BUHL s. v.

[2] Vgl. *Ḫummuru*(?), *Muqquru*, *Sâmu* etc.

[3] Vgl. KB VI (1) 513.

[4] Vgl. jetzt auch SCHORR in VAB V Index: *ḫašû* „binden", sowie *ḫîšu* „Kopfbinde" und das von TH.-DANGIN RA. VIII 125 Anm. 1 festgestellte *ḫîšu* „Schuldschein", wie *u'iltu* von *"l* „binden"! (Mitteilung LANDSBERGERS).

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ḫuššulu.

CT XXVII 5, 26: *šumma sinništu ḫu-šú-lam tâlid.* Voran gehen: *lâ nâṭila, ki-ta-at lib-bi, ku-ub-bu-lam, sukkuka, šú-la-nam,* es folgt *ḫu-ub-bu-šu* etc. *tâlid.* Auch *ḫuššulu* muss daher Name einer körperlich fehlerhaft gebildeten Gestalt sein und scheint sprachlich zum Stamme *ḫašâlu*[1] „zerschlagen" gestellt werden zu müssen. Inhaltlich also etwa identisch mit *Ḫuppû* (s. oben)[2]. Oder haben wir *ḫuššulu* mit hebr. *n'ḥ'šālīm* „Schwächlinge" (St. *ḥšl* „schwach sein", Nebenform zu *ḥlš*, wovon *ḥallāš* „Schwächling") zu verbinden? Vgl. auch äthiop. *ḥăšălă* „capistro coërcere", *ḥ'šāl* „capistrum, vinculum" und vgl. das oben zu *uṣṣulu, buṣṣulu* u. a. ä. Gesagte.

huttutu s. *kitât libbi.*

ṭummumu

„taub" (Etymologie GES.-BUHL[15] 274)[3]; als Name s. *Sukkuku.*

Ṭurruku(?) s. *Kuruku.*

Kubbubu, Kubbubtu.

CLAY, Cass. N. 100: *Ku-ub-bu-bu* und *Ku-bu-ub-ti.* TALLQVIST, Assyr. N. 116[b]: *Ku-bu-bu.* POEBEL Nr. 89, 7: *Ku-bu-bu.* S. auch unten *Lubbubu!*

Demgemäss wohl FRIEDRICH 62, 19 mit UNGNAD, Ḫamm. Nr. 1409, zu lesen: *Ku(!)-bu-bu*, statt *Ba-bu-bu.*

Die Etymologie steht nicht ganz fest. Wahrscheinlich jedoch, dass *Kubbubu* zum Stamme *kpp* „beugen" „krümmen" zu stellen ist, für dessen Etymologie s. GES.-BUHL[15] 355[b][4]. *Kubbubu*, besser *Kuppupu*, also „mit gekrümmtem Rücken" o. ä. Vgl. arab. *'aqabbu* „mit sehr schmaler Taille".

[1] Zur Etymologie s. jetzt auch OLZ 1913, 493.
[2] Vgl. K. 4335 III 38; SAI. 6838. 6840.
[3] Vgl. viell. auch syr. *'aṭṭmā* „taub".
[4] Stammverwandt *qbb*, GES.-BUHL 691[b].

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Kubbulu.

VSchr. VIII 14, 30; 119, 4 = 120, 6: *Ku-bu-lum*. POEBEL Nr. 14, 28: *Ku-um-bu-lum*. Zu CT XXVII 5, 23: *ku-ub-bu-lam* s. jedoch unter *šuppulu*.

Kubbulu gehört jedenfalls zum Stamme *kabâlu* „binden", „fesseln", über dessen Etymologie GES.-BUHL[15] 330[b]. Bedeutung also: „gebunden", d. h. „gelähmt", „verkrümmt" o. ä. Vgl. *uṣṣudu*, *uṣṣulu*, *buṣṣulu* u. a.

Kubburu. Kubburtu.

RANKE 117[a]: *Ku-ub-bu-rum*. 189[b]: *Ku(-ub)-bu-ur-tum*. POEBEL Nr. 124, 6: *Ku-ub-bu-rum*. UNGNAD, Dilbat 100 f. (81), wo mehrere Belege aus VSchr. VII: *Ku-ub-bu-rum*, *Ku-bu-rum*, *Ku-ub-bu-ru*. BE VI, 1 Nr. 83, 28: *Ku-ub-bu-rum*; 70, 23: *Ku-ub-bu-úr-tum*. Vgl. auch unten *Šubburu*.

Kubburu ist natürlich II,1 vom gemeinsemit. Stamme *kbr* „dick, massig sein" und bedeutet demnach einfach „dick", „gross" u. ä. Das ist gr. *Μέγας*, lat. Crassus, unsere Dickmann, Groth, Groos etc., finn. Paksula u. ä. KLEINPAUL 98 f. Vgl. *Unnubu*, *Ḫunnubu*, *Šummuḫu* u. a.

Kubbutu, Kubbuttu.

RANKE 117[a]: *Ku(-ub)-bu-tum*. UNGNAD, Dilbat 101[a] (81), wo Belege aus VSchr. VII, ferner TH.-DANGIN, Lettres et contrats 11, 13; 65, 51: *Ku-ub-bu-tum*. POEBEL Nr. 54, 28: *Ku-bu-tum*. LANGDON Kiš XXXI, 21: *Ku-bu-tum*. BE XV 198, 65: *Mâr-Ku-ub-bu-ti*. TALLQVIST, Neub. Nb. 92[b]: *Kub-bu-tu* und fem.: *Ku-ub-bu(-ut)-tum*, *Kub(-ub)-bu-(ut-)tum*. S. auch *Lubbutu!*

T. liest, m. E. mit Unrecht, *Kupputu* etc. und hat die Namen unter *kpp* gebucht (320[a]). *Kubbutu* haben wir zweifellos zu *kabâtu* „schwer sein" zu stellen. Bedeutung also „schwer", „gross" u. ä. Man vergleiche das obige *Kubburu*!

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Kun-gu-la,

REISNER, Telloh 2 II 13 (HUBER, Personennamen 127[b]). Unsicher.

Kuzû *s. kasû.*

Kunzubtu.

BE XV 188 V 12; PEISER, Urk. d. III Dyn. 127, 8: *Ku-un-zu-ub-tum* (CLAY, Cass. N. 101[a]; TALLQVIST, Assyr. Names 118[a]).

Mit CLAY (a. a. O. 178[b]) ist *Kunzubtu* von *kuzbu* „üppige Körperfülle" abzuleiten und steht also für urspr. *Kuzzubtu*, als Frauenname daher = „üppig", „mit üppiger Figur". Vgl. DHWB 324[b], M.-A. 376[a]: *kunzubu* „strotzend" (*abnu*), ferner SAI. 2258, und ba. den Namen *Ku-za-ba-tum* TH.-DANGIN, Lettres et contrats Nr. 108, 7. Vgl. *Unnubu*, *Ḫunnubu*, *Ḫuzzubu* u. a.

Kuzzuzu.

AO 5508 II 3 (GENOUILLAC, Tabl. de Dréhem 15[b]): *Ku-zu-zu* [1]. Wohl von *qaṣâṣu* „abhauen", „abschneiden" (GES.-BUHL[15] 716[a]) [2]. *Kuzzuzu* daher etwa „mit verstümmelten Gliedern" o. ä. S. auch CT XXVII 47, 4 f.: *šumma iz-bu qur-sin-ni imitti-šu ka-az-za-at* bzw. *qur-sin-na-šu ka-az-za.* — Vgl. *Kurrutu* u. a.

Kunzuru s. *Kuṣṣuru.*

Kullû.

TALLQVIST, Neub. Nb. 92[b]: *Kul-lu-ú* und *Ku*(?)*-lu-ú*. Vielleicht II,1 eines schwachen Stammes *kl'* oder *klw̯/ỵ*. Dann wohl von *kalû* „absperren" abzuleiten, zu dessen Etymologie vgl. GES.-BUHL[15] 342[a]. *kullû* dann etwa „ein (in seiner körperlichen Entwickelung) gehemmter", „verwachsen", „verkrüppelt" o. ä. — Kaum zu arab. *kalâ'a* „schmutzig, hässlich, krätzig sein" zu stellen.

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[1] Prof. TALLQVIST machte mich auf diesen Namen aufmerksam.

[2] Verwandt כסס „kauen" und קסס „abreissen".

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Kuluḫḫu,

Clay, Cass. N. 101a. Unsicher. Vgl. arab. *qaliḥa* „schmutzgelbe Zähne haben"?

kamû s. *kasû*.

Kunnuru.

Th.-Dangin, Lettres et contrats 145, 25; 200, 4: *Ku-nu-rum*. Die Etymologie von *Kunurum*, das wir wohl jedenfalls auf urspr. *Kunnurum* zurückzuführen haben, steht nicht ganz fest. Der Stamm fehlt in den meisten semitischen Sprachen, nur in den arab. *mukannirun* und *maknûrun*, wofür Freytag die Bedeutung „crassus et simul deformis" gibt, scheint er fortzuleben. Ob nicht *kunnuru* gerade zu diesen arabischen Wörtern zu stellen sei?

Kuzû, kasû.

Wir sahen schon oben (S. 30), dass es in den semitischen Sprachen eine Reihe von Stämmen gibt, die — ursprünglich verschiedene Handlungen bei der Ernte bezeichnend — bald „binden" bald „schneiden" (abschneiden) bedeuten. Zu dieser Art von Wörtern möchte ich auch assyr. *kasû* „binden" zählen und es mit dem gemeinsemitischen Stamm *ksḥ* „abschneiden" (bes. Wein, Gewächse etc.; Ges.-Buhl15 352a) verbinden[1] und zwar aus folg. Gründen. v R 20 a—b 16 (CT xix 16) findet sich die Gleichung *ID . LAL* = *ka-su-u*. Im Hinblick auf *kuṣṣudu*, *uṣṣulu*, *buṣṣulu* und *kamû* der nachstehenden Zeilen und auf das Ideogramm *ID . LAL* = „mit hängendem Arm"[2] kann dies *kasû* nur als Adj., keinesfalls als Verbum (so Wbb.), und zwar mit der Bedeutung „mit gebundenen Gliedern" d. h. „lahm" o. ä., gefasst werden. Dazu stimmt vorzüglich, dass arab. *kasiḥa* „gelähmt wer-

[1] Hebr. *kesep* kann trotzdem sehr gut auf ass. *kasû* zurückgehen (Ges.-Buhl18 353b), denn die Entlehnung scheint spät zu sein. — Zu trennen ist *kasû* „bedecken?", worüber Ges.-Buhl18 351a.

[2] Vgl. S. 14 u. Anm.

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den" und *'aksaḫu* „lahm" heissen! *kasû* Adj. also 1:o (wörtlich) „gebunden" || *ṣabtu*, 2:o „lahm" || *uṣṣulu* etc.

Dass diese Erklärung das Richtige treffen dürfte, zeigt jetzt auch der spätbabyl. Name *Ku-zu-ú* (MORGAN II), der sicher = *Kussû* zu fassen ist und also arab. *'aksaḫu* „lahm" sprachlich wie auch inhaltlich entspricht.

Auch v R 20 a—b 15 *ID . LAL* = *ka-mu-u* möchte ich als Adj., || *kasû*, nicht als Verbum fassen. *kamû* ist natürlich von *kamû* „binden" abzuleiten. Etymologisch wird dies *kamû* mit dem semit. Stamm *kmh* „schwach insbes. blind sein" (hebr. „schmachten")[1] zu verbinden sein[2]. Alle Bedeutungen dieses Stammes in den verschiedenen Sprachen müssen m. E. auf eine Grundbedeutung „schwach, gebunden sein" zurückgeführt werden (vom Tageslichte: „grau werden", von der Gesichtsfarbe: „fahl werden", vom Auge: „schwachsichtig, blind werden" etc.). Vgl. noch, dass assyr. *kamû* das Ideogramm *LAL* hat, das speziell für Schwäche, körperliche Schwäche verwendet wird!

Kuppupu s. *Kubbubu*.

kussudu.

v R 20 a—b 13: *ID . LAL* = *ku-uṣ-ṣu-du* (vgl. Z. 7; SAI. 4735). Im Hinblick auf die nahestehenden Wörter (*uṣṣulu*, *akû* etc.) und das Ideogramm = „Arm" + „gebunden", muss *kuṣṣudu* als ein Wort für „lahm" o. ä. aufgefasst werden. Beachte ferner Sp. II 265 a VII 10 (ZA X 6, 76)): *il an-nu ku-uṣ-ṣu-du pa-na-an-ni lil-li*. — Etymologie unsicher. Ob arab. *qaṣada* „zerbrechen" zu vergleichen? *kuṣṣudu* dann „mit zerbrochenen Gliedern".

Kussuru.

Der durch UNGNAD, Dilbat 81. 101a belegte Name *Ku-un-zu-rum* muss natürlich, wie schon UNGNAD richtig bemerkte, auf **Kuṣṣuru* zurückgeführt und daher vom Stamm *k/qṣr* „knoten"

[1] Gehört bibl. n. pr. *Kimhām/n* hierher?
[2] Vgl. GES.-BUHL[15] 346a.

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abgeleitet werden. *Kunzuru* bedeutet also „ein (an irgend einem Körperglied) gebundener", „verkrüppelt", „lahm", „hinkend" o. ä. Für ähnliche Wörter s. schon oben *uṣṣudu*, *uṣṣulu*, *buṣṣulu* u. a.

Durch diesen Namen gewinnt übrigens auch die Zusammengehörigkeit der zwei von Ges.-Buhl[15] getrennten semitischen Stämme *qṣr* an Wahrscheinlichkeit. Im Hinblick auf das zu *uṣṣudu* sowie zu anderen ähnlichen Wörtern Gesagte scheint es nämlich äusserst wahrscheinlich, dass *qṣr* II „kurz sein" nichts anderes ist als die intransitive Form des transitiven *qṣr* I „ernten" urspr. „binden". *qṣr* II also ursprünglich einfach „gebunden sein" (hebr. *qāṣēr* < **qaṣira*), d. h. „verkrüppelt, kurz sein". Beachte dass hebr. *qṣr* II sich gern mit *yād* „Hand" verbindet. Wichtig ist ferner die hebr. passivische Form *qūṣār* „verkürzt sein", die also eine transitive Bedeutung für Qal, „kurz machen", d. h. etwa „binden", voraussetzt (vgl. die Bedeutungen des arab. *qṣr*!). Vgl. endlich arab. *'aqṣaru* „mit vertrockneter, d. h. wohl zusammengeschnürter Kehle" sowie *qaṣīru-lqaddi* „Zwerg".

Kurû, Kurî, Kurîtu.

Th.-Dangin, Lettres et contrats 61, 18; 220, 29: *Ku-ru-um*. Poebel Nr. 24, 4. 15. 22: *Ku-ri-tum*. VSchr. VII 134, 42: *Ku(!)-ru-ú*. VIII 69, 12 = 70, 15: *Ku-ri-tum*. VIII 52, 32 = 53, 30: *Ku-ru-um*. Scheil, Sippar 242, 4: *Ku-ru-um*. Clay, Cass. Names 101—102: *Ku-ru-ú*, *Ku-ri-i*, *Ku-ri-tum/tu*, *Ku-ri-i-ti*. Auch *Ku-ri-ia-ni*. Tallqvist, Assyr. Names 118[b]: *Ku-ri-e*.

Es kann m. E. kein Zweifel darüber herrschen, dass dieser Name nichts mit dem kassitischen Element *kuri* (z. B. in *Kurigalzu*) gemeinsam hat, dass er vielmehr auf einen semitischen Stamm zurückgeht. In der Tat lässt sich dieses ohne weiteres nachweisen. *Kurû* ist nämlich für jeden Fall identisch mit assyr. *kurû* (< **kurrû*) „kurz (als körperlicher Mangel)", welche Form als II,1 von *karû* „kurz sein" aufzufassen ist. Zu diesem Stamm[1] vgl. ausser Wbb. KB VI (1) 356; Br. 10192; SAI. 7675;

[1] Etymologisch natürlich mit syr. *k'rā* „brevis, decurtatus fuit" identisch. — Die Ges.-Buhl[15] 357[b] vorgeschlagene Etymologie hat mich nicht überzeugt.

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vor allem ÖLZ 1911, 476; MSuppl. 50[a]; in den Omina passim (z. B. JASTROW, Religion II 252[6], 337 f., 921 etc.; K. 12861 in CT XXVIII 17 etc.); Körperteile 25, usw.[1] Dass man an *kurû*, das natürlich auch in der Bedeutung „kurz (schlechthin)" vorkommt (vgl. z. B. *šiddu kurû* „Kurzseite"), ganz spezielle körperliche Schwächen und Fehler knüpfte, geht aus den vielen Omen-Stellen (in K. 12861 durchwegs von *šêpu* gesagt), insbesondere aber aus v R 29 g—h 73 f., wo *ku-ru-*[*u*] auf *pi-is-su-*[*u*] „hinkend" folgt, hervor. *Kurû* also sicherlich „mit (zu) kurzen, verkümmerten Extremitäten", „lahm", „hinkend" o. ä.

Ähnliche Namen gr. *Χῶλος*, lat. Claudius, unser Hinke etc. S. auch oben zu *buṣṣulu* u. a. Vgl. *samû*, *pissû*, *Šubburu*, *Šuppulu*.

Kuruku (?)

JADD. 228, 6: *Ku-ru-ku*. BE XIV Nr. 12, 31: *Ku-ru-uk-* .....

Im letzten Worte könnte man, wenn dies in *Ku-ru-uk-*[*ku*] zu ergänzen, den Vogelnamen *kurul.ku* (auch SAI. 8031) erblicken. In *Ku-ru-ku* liegt wohl dagegen eine *quttulu*-Form vor. Ob wir aber *Ku-ru-ku* oder *T/D/Ṭur-ru-ku* zu lesen haben, steht nicht fest. In jenem Falle könnte man an arab. *karika* „hochrot sein" oder *qariqa* „Hodenbruch haben" denken[2]. Wahrscheinlicher scheint mir jedoch die letztere Alternative, wenn auch der erste Radikal nicht sicher ist. Entweder gehört das Wort zu demselben Stamm *drk*, wovon im assyr. *dirku* „klein", *dirkatu* „Nachkommenschaft" und der Name *Da-ri-kum*, RANKE 78[b 3], oder wir haben es *Ṭurruku* zu lesen und mit arab. *ʾaṭraqu* „krummbeinig" — vgl. lat. n. pr. Varus, gr. *Κύλλος*[4] — zu verbinden. Zur Entscheidung können wir vorläufig hier nicht kommen[5].

[1] Vgl. BOISSIER. Choix I 50, 18: *ki-ra-ti qâtâ²(!)-ia*, nach B. „Paralysie meiner Hände". Vgl. jedoch JASTROW II 257[1].

[2] Vgl. auch assyr. *karâku*, wahrsch. „umdrehen", syr. *krach*. Cfr. M.-A. 436, BEHRENS 35, 76, sowie HARPER 312, 10: *mê kar-ku*. Babylon. IV 185.

[3] Für ähnliche Namen vgl. oben zu *Daqqum*. [Vgl. auch Inventaire de Tello I 3: *Du-ur-kum*.]

[4] Weitere Parallelen hat BECHTEL 33 f.

[5] Möglich ist auch ein Zusammenhang mit bibl. *Darqôn*, das vielleicht mit arab. *darqun*, syr. *ṭarqā*, äthiop. *dĕrūk* „asper, durus, fortis" zu verbinden?

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Kurrutu.

BE III,1 Nr. 110 Col. IX 1: *Ku-ur-ru-tu*. Lies aber, mit LANDSBERGER, nach der Photographie: *Ku-ur-ru-ub-e-la-ak*, identisch mit *Kur-bi-la-ak* LEGRAIN Nr. 355, 4.

Kuttunu s. *Quttunu*.

kitat libbi, kuttutu.

CT XXVII 5, 22: *šumma sinništu ki-ta-at lìb-bi tûlid*. Voran geht: *lâ nâṭila* „ein blindes Kind“ [1] *tûlid*, es folgt: *šú(!)-up-pu-lam tûlid* (s. unten). Es kann meines Dafürhaltens kein Zweifel darüber herrschen, dass dieses *kitatu* von demselben Stamme *ktt* (hebr. *ktt*) [2] „zerschlagen“ abzuleiten ist, wovon bekanntlich die *quttulu*-Form *kuttutu*, || *ḫuttutu*, herkommt [3]. *kitat libbi* haben wir wohl, wegen *libbi*, mit JASTROW a. a. O. 911 in körperlichem Sinne zu fassen: „mit schwächlichem (eig. zerschlagenem) Körper“ d. h. „Schwächling“, „Krüppel“ o. ä. Dagegen könnte *kuttutu* wegen des Parallelismus mit *ḫuttutu*, das zu *ḫatâtu* „erschrocken sein“, hebr. *ḥaṭ* „niedergeschlagen, erschrocken sein“ etc. [4] zu stellen ist, auf psychische Schwäche Bezug haben: etwa „schwachsinnig“; jedoch lässt sich dies vorläufig nicht abmachen. Vgl. jedoch auch das Ideogramm *GUD . UD . BUL . BUL*, wo *BUL . BUL* „stottern“ o. ä.!

Zu *kuttutu* vgl. noch den Namen *Ku-ta-tu*, TH.-DANGIN, Lettres et contrats Nr. 238, 11. M.—A. 461[b], oben, hat[1] einen Namen *Ku-ta-tum* gebucht; Beleg mir unbekannt. Vgl. den bibl. Namen *Ḥ[a]ṭaṭ*.

Lubbubu.

CLAY, Cass. Names 103[a]: *Lu-ub-bu-bu*. Lies, mit TORCZYNER, Rez., besser *Ku-ub-bu-bu*!

[1] JASTROW, Religion II 911 unrichtig: „etwas, das kein Gesicht hat“, „also Aprosopie“.

[2] GES.-BUHL[13] 365[b]. Verwandt: hebr. *ktš* „stossen“, wozu assyr. *katâšu* (ZA XVII 391 XXII 102) „kämpfen“ und syr. *k'paš* „pugnavit“ zu stellen.

[3] Oder von ass. *katû* „schwach sein“ abzuleiten?

[4] Grundbedeutung von *ḫtt*, wie von *ktt*, allerdings „schlagen“.

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Lubbumu.

JADD 912, 8: *Lu-ub-bu-mu*. TALLQVIST, Ass. Names. Der Stamm fehlt, soviel ich sehe, sonst im Assyrischen. Dagegen möchte ich arab. *labima* „ungleich sein (Schulter)" vergleichen. *Lubbumu* dann „mit ungleichen Schultern", „krummachselig" o. ä. Unsicher.

Luḫḫutu.

CT VIII 43 b 24: *Lu(!)-ḫu-tum*; RANKE 118b. Unsicher. Vgl. vielleicht arab. *laḫtun* „beleibt", „gross", und cfr. den Volksnamen *Luḫuti* bei SCHIFFER, Die Aramäer 58 f. Oder vielleicht besser *Zu(!)-ḫu-tum* zu lesen?

Lillu.

Dieser durch UNGNAD, Dilbat 102a: *Li-il-lu*, *Li-il-lum*[1] belegte Name ist gewiss nichts anderes als das dem syr. *lellā* entsprechende assyr. *lillu*, dessen Ursprung wohl onomatopoetisch zu fassen ist: „der Lallende", „blödsinnig", „stultus". Für dieses Wort verweise ich hier auf die Wbb. sowie BOISSIER, Choix II 50, 20; 52; SAI. 4791; FRANK, Studien I 154; JASTROW, Religion II 854[6]. 910[11]. 911[1]. 913[9]. 920[3]. 931[1]; REISNER, Hymnen 110, 22; KING, 7 Tablets II 80, 59; ZA XVI 170, 40. Nomen abstr. also *lillûtu*. Zu *lillu* als Namen eines Gottes ba. ausser IV R 27 a 56 noch CT XXIV 26 a 107, wonach ibid. 13, 59 zu ergänzen, ferner die bei RADAU, *Nin-ib* (BE XIX, 1) S. 18 Anm. 6 angeführten Stellen, vgl. auch TALLQVIST, Neub. Nb. 321a. Für ähnliche Götternamen vgl. *dZâriqu* (oben) und *dSukkuk/lu* (unten).

Als N. pr. ist *Lillu* urspr. ein typischer Spitzname.

Lummunu.

VSchr. VIII 14, 29: *Lu-mu-ni*. Wohl II,1 von *lmn* „schlecht sein", *lummunu* also „schlecht gemacht", „verletzt" o. ä., wohl auf

[1] HARPER, Letters 630, 3: *Li-li-i*(?) möchte ich nicht mit TALLQVIST, Assyr. Names 121b heranziehen.

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irgend eine körperliche Schwäche Bezug habend. Das erste Zeichen könnte allerdings auch *Su-* sein, vgl. aber Inventaire de Tello II p. 44 n. 918: *Lum-ma-num*.

Lussumu.

JADD. 444, 12: *Lu-su-mu*. TALLQVIST, Assyr. Names 122[b]. Wohl auch GÉNOUILLAC, Tabl. de Dréhem 16[a]: *Lù-su-me*. [Vgl. die von LEGRAIN Index S. 121 sub *Su-a*[ki] angeführten Stellen, wo der Name als Volksname vorliegt. LANDSBERGER.]

Lusumu < **lussumu* kann gut vom assyr. Stamm *lasâmu* „munter, feurig sein, galoppieren" etc. abgeleitet werden. *lussumu* dann „feurig, eifrig, schnell" u. ä. Oder haben wir an arab. *lasima* „vor Ermüdung verstummen" zu denken? *lussumu* dann etwa = *ḫurrušu* (s. oben).

Lupputu.

VSchr. VIII 14, 28: *Lu-b/pu-tum* [1]. Entweder aus einem mit *Lipit* zusammengesetzten Namen verkürzt oder im Hinblick auf *liptu* „Schlag Gottes" d. h. „Aussatz" (Kleine Beiträge 10 f.) als „von Gott geschlagen" d. h. „aussätzig" zu fassen. Vgl. hebr. *nega*[c] „Aussatz" von *nāga*[c] „berühren", assyr. *muššu* von *mašâšu*, lat. contagio von tangere etc. — Oder hat es etwas mit SAI. 10981 (vgl. ZA XVI 168[7]; CT XXIII 41 Col. II 1) zu tun?

Mulluk/qtu.

POEBEL, BE VI,2 Nr. 85, 2: *Mu-ul-lu-uk-tim*(!).

Vielleicht zu hebr. *mālaq* „mit dem Nagel abkneipen", syr. *m*[c]*laq* (vgl. arab. *malaḫa* V u. VIII, äth. *mălĕḫa*) „evellere, eradicare, exstirpare"; *mulluktu* dann: „eine Frau, der irgend ein Glied bzw. irgend welche Glieder (Haar, Augen, Zähne, Nägel o. ä.) fehlen". Oder „unfruchtbar"? Unsicher. Vgl. folg.

[1] Es wäre verlockend einfach *Ku*(!)-*bu-tum* zu lesen, jedoch sieht das erste Zeichen nicht wie *Ku-* aus (vgl. Z. 30!).

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Mullušu.

GENOUILLAC, Tabl. de Dréhem AO. 5508 R. III 7: *Mu-lu-uš*. Vgl. TALLQVIST, Neubab. Nb. 112a: *Mu-lu-uš-šu*.

Allem Anscheine nach haben wir das Wort zu arab. *malasa* „ausreissen", *malusa* „glatt sein", *ʾamlasu* „kurzhaarig" (urspr.: einer, dem die Haare ausgerupft sind) zu stellen. Derselbe Stamm liegt auch im assyr. *tu-mal-la-ša* v R 45 III 21 vor. — Stammverwandt sind: assyr. *malâsu*, arab. *malaša* „ausrupfen", „enthaaren", äthiop. *mălăšă* „polire"; ferner arab. *malaṭa* (*ʾamlaṭu* „unbehaart"), hebr. *mālaṭ*, syr. *mʿlaṭ*, äthiop. *mălăṭă* [1]; arab. *malaṣa* (*ʾamlaṣu* „kurzhaarig", „kahl"), hebr. *mālaṣ* etc., denen allen die Bedeutung „rupfen" bzw. intrans. „gerupft", d. h. „glatt, schlüpfrig sein" deutlich zugrunde liegt. Vgl. DILLMANN 146. 154. — Vgl. *Gubbuḫu* und *Gurrudu* sowie *Nuttubtu*.

mussuku.

CT XXVII 5, 31 = 4, 1: *šumma sinništu mu-us-su-ka tûlid*. Es gehen mehrere Namen für körperlich und geistig Schwache voran, von Z. 29 ab: *riḫût* ^{d}*Šul-pa-è* „*Šul-pa-è*-Erzeugnis" [2] (30) vielleicht (trotz 17 f.) *á-kam* [3] *lû zikari lû sinništi*, es folgen: (32) *ruʾ-tam* bzw. *ruʾtam* „eine schleimige Masse" (33) *ṣu/su-un-du-ru/ra* (s. unten) usw.

Es ist zweifellos, dass auch *mussuku* irgend ein anomalisches Geschöpf bezeichnen muss. In der Tat lässt sich dies, soviel ich sehe, auch etymologisch vorzüglich sichern. Zu *mussuku* haben wir m. E. in erster Linie hebr. *māsach* „mischen", speziell (Jes. 19, 14) „einen Geist der Verwirrung mischen" heranzuziehen. Demnach müsste *mussuku* soviel sein als „einer, dessen Verstand verworren ist", „gestörter", was an unsrer Stelle vorzüglichen Sinn gibt (vgl. *zunduru*). — Dass der von den Wbb.

[1] Vgl. auch RA VII 160 Anm. 1.

[2] Es ist vielleicht kein Zufall, dass bei ZIMMERN, Götterliste S. 111, ^{d}*Lil* (= *lillu*) als ein Sohn des *Šul-pa-è* und der Göttin *Maḫ* erscheint! (Mitteilung LANDSBERGERS).

[3] JASTROW's (Religion II 912[1]) Erklärung dieser Zeichen scheitert schon daran, dass auf *ID* nicht *UZU* sondern *KAM* folgt. — Für Z. 29 vgl. ibid. Anm. 6, und s. CT XXVII 14, 33. Vgl. *ri-ḫu-ut* ^{d}*A-nim* IV R 2 b 1.

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gebuchte assyr. Stamm *msk* mit dem unsrigen identisch ist, ist äusserst wahrscheinlich. Die von DEL. allerdings zweifelnd vorgeschlagene Bedeutung „vorenthalten" würde dann nicht zutreffen (vgl. auch KB VI,1, 386 f.). Dem Richtigen näher kam schon ZK II 340 Anm. 2: „to alter". Demnach möchte ich IV R² 60* C Obv. 14—15: *šá dam-qat ra-ma-nu-uš a-na ili qul-lul-tum* (15) *šá ina lib-bi-šu mu-us-su-kát eli ili-šu dam-qat* folgendermassen übersetzen: „was einem selbst als rein erscheint, ist vor Gott eine Schande, was aber im eigenen Herzen als ‚gemischt' d. h. verkehrt erscheint, findet Gnade vor Gott".

Es ist ferner kein Grund vorhanden, dieses *msk* II,1 „mischen", „stören" von *msk* III,1 „von seinem Platze rücken", „zerstören" zu trennen, wie es MEISSNER-ROST (BA III 280) wollten [1]. Eine andere Frage ist es, inwieweit *nasâku* und *masâku* stammverwandt sind, was freilich nicht unwahrscheinlich. — Ba. übrigens das schwed. Wort rubba = *šumsuku*, part. pass. rubbad (gestört) = *mussuku*!

In der häufigen Form *ušamzaku*, *ušazaku* < *ušamsaku* hat der Sonorlaut seinen Stimmton auch dem folgenden Radikal verliehen (vgl. BROCKELMANN, Grundriss I § 54 d). Demnach scheint es mir so gut wie sicher, dass assyr. *munziqu*, *munzuqu* „gemischter Wein" auf *munsuku* < *mussuku* zurückgeht, was schon GES.-BUHL[15] 435ᵃ vermutete. *munziqu* liegt übrigens bekanntlich auch im bibl. *mezeg* vor (GES.-BUHL 406). Der Wechsel *k* > *q*/*g* beruht teils auf demselben Sonorlaut (vgl. BROCKELM. a. a. O. mom. ε; MEISSNER, Ass. Gr. § 15) teils auf dem sekundären *z*. In den übrigen semitischen Aequivalenten ist tatsächlich weder *s* noch *k* rein erhalten: syr. *mʿzaq*, arab. *maḏaqa*, *maḥaga*, *mazaga* [2], alles „mischen".

Muqquru(?).

JADD 225 Rev. 9: *Mu-qu-ru*. TALLQVIST, Assyr. Names 140ᵃ. Etymologie ganz unsicher. Gewiss nicht mit *muqaru* (in

[1] Vgl. TH.-DANGIN in RA VIII 140 Anm. 5 und Sargon 37, Anm. 7. Dadurch wird die Bedeutung „zerstören" auch für II,1 tatsächlich bezeugt!

[2] Vgl. DOZY: *māzaga*(III)-*l'aqla* „troubler la tête, la cervelle"!

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CT XXVII 5, 4 verglichen mit XXVIII 40, K. 6286, 7: *šumma sinništu mu-qa-ra tûlid*) zu verbinden, weil dies allem Anscheine nach gleich syr. *mūqrā* „luteum (ovi)“ [1], was an den citierten Stellen gut passt. Wohl auch nicht zu *meqêru* „bewässern“ zu stellen, trotzdem dies nach MVAG 1910, 517 (MEISSNER) mit *q* anzusetzen sein wird (vgl. dagegen jedoch arab. *makara* „bewässern“!) [2]. Kaum endlich syr. *m'chārā* „rubica sinopica“, arab. *makira* „rot sein“ (für solche Namen vgl. oben *Ḫummuru*).

nu'u.

Hierher gehört gewiss auch das von DHWB 460[b], M.—A. 627[a] gebuchte *nu'u*, II,1 von *nî'u* „hemmen“ [3]. *nu'u* mit DEL. daher „in der körperlichen oder geistigen Entwickelung gehemmt“, „untauglich“, „gebrechlich“ u. ä., was auch durch den Kontext der in den Wbb. zitierten Stellen feststeht. Vgl. KB VI,1 309.

Nuḫḫuru.

CLAY, Cass. Names 113[b]: *Mâr-Nu-uḫ-ḫu-ri.*

Nuḫḫuru gehört gewiss zu demselben onomatopoetischen Stamme *nḫr*, wovon *naḫîru* etc. „Nasenloch“ (Körperteile p. 20), und der im hebr., syr., arab. und äthiop. in der Bedeutung „schnauben“, „schnarchen“ vorliegt. GES.-BUHL[15] 493[a]. *Nuḫḫuru* daher wahrscheinlich „einer, der schnaubt, durch die Nase spricht“ o. ä. Ist Br. 81: .... *ḪAL* = *nu-ḫu-rum* in Betracht zu ziehen? Inhaltlich identisch sind TALLQVIST, Assyr. Names 166[a]: *Na-ḫi-ri(-i)*, CT XXXIII 16, 12: *Na-ḫi-ri* sowie CLAY, Cass. Names 110: *Na-ḫi-ra-ni*. Vgl. oben S. 12, Anm. 2. — Vgl. bibl. N. pr. *Nāḥōr* und vielleicht *Naḥ'raï*, *Naḥraï*. KÖNIG, Wbuch 273[b].

[1] Ist arab. *maǧrun* etc. „foetus in utero (ovis, camelae)“ damit verwandt?

[2] Stammverwandt: arab. *maǧira* „den Magen mit Wasser gefüllt haben, ohne satt zu sein“, *maǧara* „dürsten“.

[3] Etymologie GES.-BUHL[15] 485[a].

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Nummuru.

Mehrere Belege bei TALLQVIST, Neub. Nb. 168b: *Nu-um-mu-ru*. Desgleichen Rev. d'Ass. x 53. Gewiss *quttulu*-Bildung von dem bekannten Stamme *namâru* „fröhlich, heiter sein", *nummuru* also mit T. „heiter".

Nummušu.

Nk. 95, 8: *Nu-mu-šum*. TALLQVIST, Neub. Nb. 169a. Vgl. TH.-DANGIN, Lettres et contrats Nr. 147, sceau: *Nu-mu-*..... Oder vielmehr *Nu-mu-*[*rum*] zu ergänzen? TALLQVIST 324b verglich bibl. N. pr. *Nimšī*. Hat man für die Bedeutung an arab. *'anmasu* „fuscus, turbido colore praeditus" bzw. *namiša* „fleckig sein", „Sommersprossen haben", *'anmašu* „plein de taches de rousseur" (DOZY)[1] zu denken?[2] [TH.-DANGIN 37a: *Na-ma/mi-šú*. Assyr. Names 167a: *Nam-ša-a* . . .]

Nurrubu, Nurrubtu.

RANKE 21. 135a: *Nu-ru-bu-um*. Bu. 91—5—9, 2189 (WATERMAN in AJSL XXIX 173) Rev. 5 und Bu. 91—5—9, 2189 A (ibid.) Obv. 17: *Nu-ru-bu-um*. CT II 30, 9: *Nu-ru-ub-tum*. Vgl. RANKE 192b: *Narubtum* (auch CT XXXIII, 27, 4; SCHEIL, Sippar 139 = FRIEDRICH 51, 2; u. ö.), sowie *Na-ar-bu-um* Rev. d'Ass. VIII 76 und *Na-ar-bat-tum*, TALLQVIST, Assyr. Names 168a.

Der Stamm dieser Namen ist wohl der in den Wbb. unter *narâbu* gebuchte, dessen Bedeutung etwa „zerreissen, zerstören" sein wird. II,1 nicht selten in Omina: JASTROW, Religion II 339. 341. 355 („zerfasert"). SAI. 3656. *nurrubu* daher wohl etwa „zerstört", „verstümmelt" „verkrüppelt" o. ä.

Nuttubtu, Nuntubtu.

RANKE 193a: *Nu-tu-ub-tum* (4-mal). Dazu VSchr. IX 9, 3: *Nu-ut-tu-ub-tum*, Z. 14: *Nu-un*(!)*-tu-ub-tum*. Ibid. Nr. 172, 41:

[1] Vgl. HESS, Beduinennamen 51a!

[2] Die von KÖNIG, Wbuch 279a gegebene Erklärung wirkt nicht überzeugend.

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Mârat-Nu-tu-u[*b-tum*], ähnlich Nr. 174, 28: *Mârat-Nu-tu-*[*ub-tum*]. Nr. 196, 11 = 197, 15: *Nu-tu-ub-tum.*

Die Etymologie ist etwas unsicher. Eventuell arab. *nataba* „eminuit", „etumuit", *nuttubu* dann etwa „geschwollen", „gross"? Oder vielmehr von arab. *natafa*, syr. *nᵉpaf* „ausreissen", „rupfen", wozu vgl. oben *Mulluktu* und *Mullušu*. Dann *Nuttuptu* zu lesen.

Sungugu.

KING, Ḫamm. III Nr. XXXI, 4: *Su-un-gu-gu-um.* RANKE 166ᵇ. 253. Wohl < *Suggugu.*

Etymologie mir unklar. Vielleicht stammverwandt mit dem N. pr. *Z/Sugâgu* (RANKE 166ᵃ), das ich jedoch kaum zu assyr. *suqâqu* (syr. *šᵉqāqā*; arab. *zuqāqun*!)[1] „enge Strasse" stellen möchte. Kaum arab. *ʾašağğu* „mit einer Stirnnarbe", weil dieser Stamm im Assyr. mit *š* anzusetzen zu sein scheint (Kleine Beiträge 18⁴). Eher arab. *ʾazağğu* „mit langen, feinen, dünnen Augenbrauen". — Ob nicht *Z/Sugâgu* jedoch im Hinblick auf arab. *zuğâğun* „Email, Krystall, Glas" einen Edelstein o. ä. bezeichnete? (Für ähnliche Namen vgl. *Elmêšum*, Dilbat u. ö.; *Ḫulalu*, s. oben; im Griechischen s. FICK 330: *Βήρυλλος*, *Σμάραγδος*, *Ἀμέθυστος* etc.).

Sugguru.

CLAY, Cass. Names 127ᵃ: *Su-gu-ra.* Damit ist wohl das von WEIDNER in OLZ 1913, 206 f. besprochene Wort *su-un-gu-ru* (P. 206, 2) zu verbinden. Wie aber W. zu der Bedeutung „berufener" für *sunguru* kommt, leuchtet nicht ein, im Gegenteil fordert der ganze, allerdings äusserst schlecht erhaltene Abschnitt Zz. 1–5 der betr. Tafel für *sunguru* eine Art körperlicher oder geistiger Schwäche, wenn ihm überhaupt etwas zu entnehmen ist. Demgemäss scheint es mir ziemlich naheliegend, *sugguru* von *sikêru* „verschliessen, verstopfen" abzuleiten, zumal da *sikêru* II 2

[1] Vgl. BA III 582 Anm. 2.

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gerade vom Verstopftsein der Ohren, wie hebr. *skr* Nif.[1] vom Verstopftwerden des Mundes gebraucht werden. Die Form *suggurū* gegenüber *sukkurū* ist zu beurteilen wie hebr. *sāgar*, syr. *s'gar* (vgl. *z'gar* „obtumescere fecit"!), arab. *zağara* und *sağana*, alles „verschliessen", „abhalten", gegenüber hbr. *skr*, syr. *s'char*, arab. *sakara* etc.[2] Nach dem Gesagten müsste *suggurū* so viel sein wie „einer, dessen Sinne verstopft sind", „dessen Sinne in ihrer Entwickelung wie gehemmt sind"[3]. Das würde auch oben P. 206, besonders im Hinblick auf Z. 5, Sinn geben. — Vgl. *Amêru*, *Sukkuku* u. ä.

Suddu'u.

Clay, Cass. Names 127[a]: *Su-ud-du-'/ú*. Mit Clay in BE xv 42[b] sicher = *suddu'* = $^1/_6$ Seqel und somit nicht hierhergehörig. Für aus Münznamen gebildete Eigennamen verweise ich hier kurz auf Kleinpaul, Die deutschen Personennamen 108 ff., wo mehrere Parallelen. Vgl. finn. Markka, Markkanen.

Suddurtu s. *Ṣuddurū*.

Sukkuku, Sakku.

Ursprüngliche Bedeutung „gestopft", dann „taub" (s. Wbb.; SAI. 4029—4031. 4318. 4342[4]; für die Etymologie Ges.-Buhl[15] 537[b]). Als Name: Clay, Cass. Names 127[b]: *Su-uk-ku-ku*, 122[b]: *Sa-ak-ka*. CT II 13 (225), 16: *Sa-ak-kum* (vgl. VAB v, Schorr, p. 151). Ranke 180[b]: *Zu-(uk-)ku-kum*, auch ^{m}*IS. KU. PI. LAL*, d. h. *S/Zukkukum* (Hilprecht's Erklärung daselbst von *Sukkukum* als Hypokoristikon ist also irreführend). Vielleicht auch Gautier

[1] Ges-Buhl[15] 538[b], wo Etymologisches.

[2] Urverwandt gemeinsem. *skk* „verstopfen"? *ḫašikku* „taub"?

[3] Abseits stehen wohl syr. *m'saqar* „strabo"; arab. *'asğaru* „mit roten Adern im Weissen des Auges".

[4] Vgl. auch Jastrow, Die Religion II 911[15] und CT xxviii 3, 2: *šumma šarratu suk-ku-ku t[ûlid]*. Demnach xxvii 5, 24 nicht *ṭummumu* sondern *sukkuku* zu lesen. — Vgl. auch *ḫašikku*.

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7, 10: *Su*(!)-*ku-ku-um*(!) zu lesen. Vgl. *Sa-ku-ku* JADD 860 II 14 (TALLQVIST, Assyr. Names 190b). Demnach KING, Hamm. III Nr. XII, 4. 12. 18. 20 nicht *Amêl-Ṭummumu*, sondern besser *Amêl-Sukkuku* bzw. ^{amêl}*Sukkuku* zu transkribieren. — Vgl. endlich CT XXIV 28 b 74: ^{il}*Su-*[*uk-*]*ku-ku* (16, 20 dagegen ^{il}*Suk-ku-lu* [1]), einer der Hunde Marduks; (vgl. ^{il}*Lillu* und ^{il}*Zâriqu*). — S. oben *Amêru*, *Ḫuzzumu*, *ṭummumu* und *Sugguru*, sowie unten *piḫû* (*Puḫû*) und *pâqu*.

Suluntu,

CLAY, Cass. Names 127b, ist wohl < *Sullumtum*, also fem. zu dem gewöhnlichen Hypokoristikon *Sullumu*.

Sâmu,

bekanntlich „dunkelfarbig", „braun" (Wbb., KB VI,1, 570), als Name BE VIII,1, 63a: *Sa-a-mu*, TALLQVIST, Neub. Nb. 180a (326a): *Sa-a-mu*, Assyr. Names 191b u. 192a: *Sa-a-mi*, *Sa-'-mu*, CLAY, Cass. Names 122b (versehentlich zweimal gebucht): *Sa-a-mu/mi*. Demnach wohl auch RANKE 141a: *Sa-mu-um* und als Kosename 140b: *Sa-mi-ia*. BE VI,1, 51a und Anm.: *Sa-mi-ia* [2]. Der Name hatte entweder auf die braune Farbe des Haares oder auf die Gesichtsfarbe des Betreffenden Bezug. Die „braunfarbigen" scheinen, im Hinblick auf BOISSIER Choix II 50, 23 (Ideogr. SAI. 2440) [3], wo die *sâmu*'s zusammen mit *sukkuku*'s (SAI. 4318), *lâ nâṭilu*'s und anderen körperlich oder geistig Geschwächten angeführt werden, für irgendwie unnormal gegolten zu haben. Vgl. auch ^{il}*Sa-a-mu* M.-A. 765a, CRAIG, Rel. Texts I 36 Rev. 2.

Für Farbennamen als Nn. prr. vgl. das zu *Adirtu*, *Ûmu*, *Ḫummuru*, *Ḫuššû*, *Muqquru*, *Ṣalimtu* u. a. Gesagte.

Dem Namen *Sâmu* entsprechen inhaltlich lat. Fuscus, unsere Braun(e), Bruhn, Bruun, Brunou, Brown etc. Vgl. KLEINPAUL a. a. O. 104 f.

[1] *sukkulu* = *saklu* „töricht". GES.-BUHL[18] 538a.

[2] Vgl. Nk. 310, 2: *Sa-mu-ú-a*? — Das von RANKE zu *Sâmu* Gesagte gilt in erster Linie für *Ṣalimtu*.

[3] Geschrieben *DIR*^{pl}. Die Lesung *adru* wäre auch möglich.

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samû.

Für *samû* s. oben unter *ênu*, wo der Erweis gebracht wurde, dass *samû* kaum „blind" heissen kann. Zu demselben Resultat ist nunmehr auch MEISSNER (Ass. St. VI 59 f.) auf etymologischem Wege gekommen, indem er mit Recht *samû* die Bedeutung „blind" abspricht. Die von ihm [1] gegebene Bedeutung „hinkend", „lahm" o. ä. scheint den Vorzug zu haben. *samû* von aram. *s'mī* etc. „blind" etymologisch zu trennen, scheint mir aber nicht gefordert. Es kann diesem Stamme eine Grundbedeutung wie „schwach sein" zugrunde liegen, die dann verschiedener Spezialisierung anheimgefallen ist. Vgl. oben *kasû*! — Die unter *Sâmu* gebuchten Schreibungen *Sa-mu-um* und *Sa-mi-ia* könnten natürlich auch *samû* darstellen, s. BE VI,1, 51 Anm. — Vgl. *Kurû*, *pissû*, *Šubburu* u. ä.

Surundu.

TALLQVIST, Neub. Nb. 184b: *Su-ru-un-du*. Das ist wohl [2] < **Surrumtu*, was zu syr. *s'rāmā* „plattnasig", arab. *šarama* „die Nasenspitze abschneiden", *'ašramu* „mit verstümmelter Nase" [3] zu stellen sein wird. Vgl. gr. Σῖμος, Σιμίας etc. (FICK S. 251, BECHTEL, Spitznamen 25 f.). Ba. auch bibl. *Zilpā* und s. dazu oben *Dullupu* (S. 45 Anm. 2).

Sâriqu vide *Zâriqu*.

Puzzuru

CLAY, Cass. Names 117b. S. *Buṣṣuru*.

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[1] Wegen syr. *'asmī* „hinken"

[2] *Surundu* könnte, weil der betr. Text aus persischer Zeit stammt, persisches Lehnwort sein; vgl. VULLERS II 288.

[3] Fem. *šarmā'u* auch „ruptam habens vulvam, ut duo eius meatus in unum coiverint", „mit durchbohrtem perineum", „entjungfert". Jedoch möchte ich der obigen Bed. den Vorzug geben.

Etymologisch zu trennen: *surummu* „After" (Körperteile, 68. 172) = arab. *surmun* „anus". — *sa-ar-me* ‖ *kištu* und *'ssaramâ*, vgl. arab. *šarmun*, nomen arboris.

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Puḫum; piḫû.

BE VI,1, Nr. 99, 2: *Pu-ḫu-um*. Ähnlich RANKE 76a: *B/Pu-ḫu-um* und *B/Pu-ḫa-nu-um*. Nach MEISSNER erklärte RANKE den Namen für *Pûḫum* „Tausch", „Ersatz", was an und für sich am nächsten zu liegen scheint. Jedoch fällt es auf, dass der entsprechende fem. Name (Rec. de Trav. XXII 12 f.) *Pu-ḫu-tum* lautet. Von *pûḫu* kann aber, so viel ich sehe, die fem. Form nur *pûḫtu* bzw. *pûḫatu* heissen. *pu-ḫu-tum* setzt dagegen die Lesung *puḫûtu*, masc. *puḫû* voraus. *Pu-ḫu-um* stünde also für *Puḫû*, wie oben *Ku-ru-um* für *Kurû*, *Gu-ru-um* für *Gurrû*. Wenn dem so ist, muss *puḫû*, fem. *puḫûtu*, m. E. eine Nebenform von *piḫû* „verschlossen" speziell „taub" (DHWB 519)[1] darstellen und auf eine ursprüngliche *qutṭulu*-Form **puḫḫû* „taub" zurückgehen[2]. Für *puḫû* könnten JADD 310 Rev. 18: *Pu-ḫi-i*, dagegen die von CLAY, Cass. Names 164b angeführten Formen wie *Bu-u-ḫi* etc. sprechen, wenn diese semitisch sind. Auch könnten in diesen Namen beide Wurzeln stecken. S. auch TALLQVIST, Assyr. Names 65a. 182a. — Vgl. *Amêru*, *Ḫuzzumu*, *Sunguru*, *Sukkuku*, *pâqu*.

Übrigens hat man, soviel mir bekannt, bis jetzt keine Etymologie für *piḫû* gefunden. *piḫû* ist wohl arab. *ḫafā* „verbergen" (synon. *katama* wie *piḫû* || *katûmu*!), *'aḫfā* „verbergen", „verschliessen", hebr. חפה, aram. חפא „verbergen", „bedecken", mit denen folgg. Stämme stammverwandt sind: arab. *ḫaba'a*, äthiop. *ḫăbĕ'ă*. hebr. חבא und חבה usw. alles „bedecken", „verbergen". Vgl. endlich altäg. *ḥ'p* „verbergen". Ba. auch, dass für diese Wörter bisher kein assyr. Aequivalent nachzuweisen war.

Puḫḫuru, Hypokoristikon, s. Einl.

pissû

„hinkend", hebr. *pissēḥ* (Etymologie GES.-BUHL15 645a). Litteratur über *pissû*: OLZ 1911, 476; BOISSIER, Choix II 52; M.-A. 815a *pissu 1* und *pisû*; DHWB 532a; Ideogr. *BA.AN.ZA* SAI.

[1] Vgl. SAI. 4032!

[2] *piḫû* verhält sich zu *puḫû* wie *pissu* zu *pussû* (s. unten).

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9818 (DHWB 180[b]) und *PI. EL. LAL* (*LAL* s. Einl.!) SAI 5960 (vgl. 5962). CT XXVII 5, 15 f., 8 b 10 f.; 14, 25 f. (vgl. JASTROW, Die Religion II 911[1]), dazu noch XXX 41 b 16. Neben dieser (westsemitischen)[1] *qiṭṭilu*-Form scheint auch die (echtassyr.) *quttulu*-Form geläufig gewesen zu sein, vgl. DHWB 532[a]: *pu-us-su-u* (M.-A. 815[a], SAI. 4074). Als Name ist soviel ich weiss *pissû* bis jetzt nicht zu belegen (vgl. jedoch *Bunzû*!). Dagegen hebr. *Pāsē[a]ḥ*, wozu Namen wie *Kurû*, arab. *ʾAʿraǧu*[2], *Χῶλος*, Claudius, Hinke etc. zu vergleichen sind. Cfr. *samû* und *Šubburu*.

Pussutu.

PSBA XXIX Nov. pl. II Rev. 29 (TALLQVIST, Assyr. Names 182[b], CLAY, Cass. Names 68[a]): *Pu/Bu-us-su-tú*. Etymologie unsicher. Weil *Pussutu* ein männlicher Name ist, hat es wohl nichts mit dem obigen Worte zu tun. Dagegen eventuell identisch mit dem Stamme *pazadu* (M.-A. 792[b]), der parallel mit *napâšu* „zerrupfen" und *kazâru* „binden" steht (auch SAI. 5092). Vgl. auch SAI. 3657 *puzzudu*, geschrieben mit demselben Ideogramme wie *nurrubu* (s. oben *Nurrubtu*) und *napâšu*. *pazâdu* daher wohl etwa „zerstören" o. ä. Vgl. arab. *fasada* „verdorben sein"? Vgl. auch *Kuṣṣuru*.

pâqu.

v R 23 d 28 steht als eines der vielen Aequivalente von *TUR. TUR pa-a-qu* (*ṣiḫḫirûtu, daqqaʾuqûtu, sukkukûtu* „Taubheit", *unnušûtu* „Schwäche", *unnûtu* „Gedrücktheit", *rabbu* [cfr. BOISSIER, Choix II 50], *dallu* „schwach"), dessen Bedeutung bis jetzt nicht näher zu bestimmen war. Doch kann, im Hinblick auf Z. 24: *sukkukûtu*, kein Zweifel darüber herrschen, dass *pâqu* syr. *pēqā* „taub" entspricht. Diese Bedeutung gibt K. 2401 III 6—7 (BA II 628) vorzüglichen Sinn: *ma-a ta-qab-bi-a ina libbi-ku-nu* (7) *ma-a Ištar pa-aq-tú ši-i* „(sagend:) Ihr sprechet in Eurem Herzen:

[1] Oder *u* > *i* wegen des aufgegebenen ת?
[2] Vgl. oben *Ugula* und *Ḫungulu*.

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‚Ištar ist taub'" usw. Allerdings könnte für *pâqu* an dieser Stelle auch die andere Bedeutung des syr. *pēqā*, „balbutiens", „garrulus", eingesetzt werden: „Ihr sprechet: ‚Ištar schwätzt nur'". Dem mag so sein, dass aber *pâqu* auch „taub" bedeutet haben muss, werde ich im folgenden zeigen.

Zunächst ist *pâqu* natürlicherweise von dem Verbum *pâqu* II 1 „schauen", „blicken", „harren" zu trennen. Indessen ist dieses *pâqu* „schauen" besser tertiae infirmae anzusetzen, das zeigen Schreibungen wie *ú-paq-qu-u* etc., vor allem aber die Etymologie. *puqqû* ist nämlich für jeden Fall mit hebr. *pāqah*, arab. *faqaha* und *faqa'a* „die Augen aufmachen", worüber GES.-BUHL[15] 649 f., identisch!

Mit *pâqu* „taub" scheint mir dagegen das von MEISSNER MVAG 1910, 517 f. besprochene Adjektivum *piqû* „eng", das nur in den Pluralformen *pi-qu-te* und *pi-qa-a-te* belegt ist und daher ebensogut *pîqu* angesetzt werden kann, zusammengestellt werden zu müssen, zumal da die Etymologie dieses Wortes bisher unsicher war. *pîqu* also „verschlossen", von Pässen und Wegen gesagt „eng". Die Bedeutung dieses Stammes „verschlossen sein" liegt ganz deutlich vor CT XXVIII 28, 12 b: *šumma ditto-ma înu-šu ša imitti pi-qat* „sein rechtes Auge verschlossen ist" (voran geht: *sa-ri-qat* „schielt"). Dass hier nicht *piqû* „schauen" vorliegen kann, zeigt schon der ganze Inhalt, der eine Anomalie fordert. Das zeigt ferner ibid. Z. 15: *šumma ditto-ma pû-šu pi-iq* „sein Mund verschlossen ist". Auch *pâqu* muss demnach ursp. „verschlossen", speziell „taub" bedeutet haben. — Ausser im Syrischen finde ich in den sonstigen semitischen Sprachen keinen etymologischen Anhaltspunkt. Stammverwandt ist wohl das unter *Ubbuqu* besprochene assyr. *epêqu*, *uppuqu* „verschliessen".

Sudduru

(*Sudduru*, *Zuduru*, *Zunduru* etc.). RANKE 180[a]: *Zu-du-ru-um*. Das Fragezeichen bei R. kann im Hinblick auf CT VI 17 Col. VI 27: *Zu-du-rum* getrost getilgt werden. CLAY, Cass. Names 146[a]: *Zu-un-du-ri*, *Zu-un-du-ur-tum*. CLAY, Cass. Names 90[b]: *Ip-un-ku-tum*

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lies mit TORCZYNER, Rez.: *Zu*(!)*-un-dúr-tum*. TALLQVIST, Neub. Nb. 183ᵇ: *Su-ud-dúr-tum*. Vgl. Assyr. Names 247ᵃ: *Za-an-du-ru*.

Den einzigen Versuch, diesen Namen etymologisch zu erklären, hat soviel ich weiss CLAY gemacht, der ihn (S. 193) mit *ṣudûru* „Panzer" (s. ZA. XXVIII 150 ff.) zusammenbringen wollte. Dass aber diese Erklärung nicht richtig ist, geht aus einigen Omenzeilen hervor, wodurch sich *zunduru* vielmehr als Namen eines körperlich oder geistig unnormalen Geschöpfes erweist. Das sind CT XXVII 4, 3: *šumma sinništu zu-un-du-ra tūlid* (s. Corrigenda!). 5, 33: *ṣu-un-du-ru*. 14, 34: *zu-un-du-ru* (s. Corrigenda!). Auch 3, 13 zu ergänzen. *zunduru* steht hier regelrecht nach *mussuku* (s. oben) und *ru'tu* „eine schleimartige Masse", weshalb es FOSSEY (Babyloniaca V 8) „vomissement" übersetzt. Inwieweit FOSSEY dabei an syr. *ṣadar* „erbrechen" denkt, geht nicht hervor, dass aber die beiden Wörter etymologisch zusammengehören, scheint mir ziemlich sicher. Jedoch möchte ich, trotz des vorangehenden *ru'tu*, im Hinblick auf die sonstige Bedeutung der *quttulu*-Wörter, *ṣunduru* etwa als „einer, der (viel) erbricht" fassen. Vielleicht ist die Bedeutung im Assyr. jedoch allgemeinerer Art, wie die m. E. zu dieser Sippe zu führenden arab. *sadira* „verblüfft, verwirrt sein", „nicht wissen was tun", *sādirun* „verwirrt", „vom Schwindel erfasst" usw. (vgl. syr. *ṣdr* part. pass.: vino obtusus, Af.: ebrium fecit) zeigen. Dass in der Tat assyrischem *z ṣudduru* eine allgemeinere Bedeutung zukam, beweist übrigens K. 11004, 16 (Babyloniaca I 197 f.): [*šumma ina a*]*ṣê-šu ênâᵖˡ-šu zu-un-du-ra* „wenn bei seinem Herausgehen seine Augen verwirrt sind". Vgl. dazu arab. (sekund.) *smdr* „schwachsichtig, geblendet sein"! Dem oben Gesagten gemäss können wir *ṣ/zunduru* etwa „geblendet, verwirrt" o. ä. übersetzen. Ganz ähnlich wird, wie wir oben sahen, *lillu* „blödsinnig" als Eigenname verwendet.

Suḫḫutu.

POEBEL BE VI 2 Nr. 85, 5: *Zu-ḫu-tum*. REISNER, Telloh 227 I 4 (HUBER 156ᵇ): *Zu-ḫu-ti*. VSchr. IX 199, 4: *Zu-ḫu-tum*. BE XV 46ᵃ: *Zu-uḫ-ḫu-tum* (vgl. CLAY, Cass. Names 146ᵃ). Desgleichen

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BE XIV 80 a, 8: *Zu-uḫ-ḫu-tum* (von CLAY, Cass. Names 127a unrichtig unter *s* gebucht). Vgl. auch oben *Luḫḫutu*. [Nachtrag: Inventaire de Tello II Nr. 786: *Su-ḫu-tùm*.]

Etymologisch ist *Zuḫḫutu* wohl zu *ṣaḫâtu* „auspressen" zu stellen (ZA XVII 92; KÜCHLER, Medizin 144; GES.-BUHL15 777a; OLZ 1905, 247; GGA 1911, 147). Was man unter *ṣuḫḫutu* „gepresst" zu verstehen hat, lehrt uns v R 31 c 69: *ênâšu uz-za-ḫa-ta* „seine Augen sind gepresst". *Zuḫḫutu* also allem Anscheine nach „einer, dessen Augen wie gepresst herausstehen"! S. *Zuḫḫuntu*.

Ṣu-lu-lu,

TALLQVIST, Ass. Names 206b; l. *Ṣulûlu* und s. TALLQVIST, Neub. Nb. 328b.

Ṣalimtu.

BE XV 196, 15: *Ṣa-lim-tum*. Jedenfalls fem. von *ṣalmu* „schwarz". Vgl. CLAY, Cass. Names 194a. Vgl. arab. *'Aswadu*, gr. *Μέλας*, lat. Niger, unser Schwarz, slaw. *Czerny*, finn. Mustala etc. Vgl. *Adirtu*, *Sâmu*, *Ûmu* [1]. Ob *Ṣalimtu* Name einer Negerin (vgl. BE VI 1 p. 51 Anm.) ist, ist schwer zu entscheiden. Vielleicht hat nur die dunkle Farbe des Haares, der Haut, der Augen o. ä. ursprünglich die Veranlassung zu diesem Namen gegeben. Ob *Ṣalmu* (CLAY 134; TALLQVIST, Assyr. Names 205a) hierher gehört oder aus einem mit *ṣalmu* „Bild" zusammengesetzten Vollnamen verkürzt ist, muss dahingestellt werden. Vgl. auch ibid. *Ṣalmûti/e* und den Namen einer weiblichen Gottheit *Ṣalimûti*.

qudquddu.

CT XXVII 5, 28: *šumma sinništu qud-qud-du tûlid*. Vgl. 3, 11 und 14, 32. JASTROW, Religion II 9125 liest *šulluṭu* (Br. 387), was jedoch unmöglich ist, weil das Zeichen *TAR* im Sinne von *šalâṭu* die Aussprache *SIL*, nicht *QUD* hat. Vielmehr phonetisch

[1] Vgl. KLEINPAUL a. a. O. 104.

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zu lesen und als deminutive redupl. Bildung (vgl. oben *Diqdiqu*, und *Šeršeru* bei RANKE) von *qadâdu*, קדד „beugen" zu fassen. *qudquddu* dann wohl „mit gekrümmtem Körper", „Krüppel" o. ä. Vgl. *Guddudu*.

Qunnunu.

CLAY, Cass. Names 118b: *Qu-un-nu-nu, ni*. Vgl. ibid. 101a: *Ku-nu-nu* und 78a: *Gu-nu-nu, ni*. Vgl. VSchr. VII 114, 4: *Ku-un-nu-nu*. Etymologie mir unklar. Ob von *kanânu* „sich beugen, ducken"? Dann vgl. *Kubbubu*, *qudquddu*.

Qussusu s. *Kuzzuzu*.

Qussuru s. *Kussuru*.

Qarḫā.

BE IX 68b: *Qar-ḫa-'*; TALLQVIST, Neub. Nb. 172a: *Qar-ḫa-a* und *Qa-ri-ḫi-ia*. Sicher westsemit. Lehnwort. Vgl. hebr. n. pr. *Qārēaḥ*, eig. „kahlköpfig", syr. *qrāḥā*, arab. *'aqra'u* (vgl. GES.-BUHL15 s. v.). S. oben *Gubbuḫu* und *Gurrudu*, wo weitere Parallelen.

Quttunu.

VSchr. VII 183 I 10 II 27 V 12; 186 II 20; 187 II 14: *Ku-ut-tu-nu*; ibid. VIII 119, 5 = 120, 6: *Ku-tu-nu-um*. TH.-DANGIN, Lettres et contrats Nr. 170, 5. 16: *Ku-ut-tu-ni*. Vgl. UNGNAD, Dilbat 81; 128a.

Stamm natürlich *qatânu*. Weil aber assyr. *qatânu* nicht „klein sein", sondern „dünn sein" (opp. *kabâru* „dick sein") heisst, ist *quttunu* nicht „klein" (vgl. hebr. n. pr. *Haqqāṭān*; s. oben *Daqqu*), sondern „mager", wie syr. *qeṭen* „tenuis fuit". Vgl. *Ubbulu*, gr. *Λέπτος*, *Λεπτίνης* etc. (BECHTEL 15 f.), unsere Mager, Magerfleisch, Hager u. ä.[1]

[1] Vgl. KLEINPAUL a. a. O. 100.

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Šubbubu.

CLAY, Cass. Names 133a: *Šú-ub-bu-bu* (BE XIV 10, 22; 25(!), 9). Über die Etymologie wage ich mich nicht zu äussern [1].

šabâsu, šabsu s. *uḫḫuru*.

Šubburu.

CT XXXIII 32, 19: *Šú-ub-bu-rum*. CLAY, Cass. Names 133a: *Šú-ub-bu-ri* [2]. Allem Anscheine nach von *šebêru* „zerbrechen", *šubburu* also „mit zerbrochenen Gliedern". Was wir darunter zu verstehen haben, lehrt uns äthiop. *sĕbūr* „fractus", speziell „claudus" (Stamm שבר; DILLMANN 358 f.), was zugleich ein Fingerzeig ist für die richtige Beurteilung solcher *quttulu*-Namen, die von Verba der Bedeutung „zerbrechen" u. ä. abgeleitet sind. Für *šubburu* „claudus" ist ferner wichtig HARPER, Letters Nr. 462 Rev. 22 ff.: *u ana eli 1 sîsi ana maṣṣartia u 2, 3 sîsê šub-bu-ru-ú-tu ana bêl šarrâni bêlia ašpuramma* „und in Betreff eines Pferdes für meine Wache und 2—3 Pferde, die hinken, habe ich dem Herrn der Könige, meinem Herrn, Nachricht [3] geschickt". Vgl. FIGULLA, Briefwechsel 38 f., der „die weggeschickt sind" übersetzt. Cfr. BE XIV 41, 4: *ku-ri-is-su* (des Stieres) *iš-bi-ir-ma* (vgl. Körperteile 137). — Vgl. *Kurû*, *pissû*.

Šuddušu.

BE XIV 138, 5: *Šud(ud)-du-šú*. Lies aber mit TORCZYNER, Rez. *Rêš-aṣû-šú*. So wird auch PEISER, Urk. d. 3. Dynastie 97, 25: *Bu-ud-du-šu* (CLAY, Cass. Names 66a) mit TORCZYNER zu lesen sein.

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[1] Wenn von *šabâbu* „brennen" abzuleiten, möchte ich oben *Kubbubu* vergleichen, das dann zu *kabâbu* „brennen" gestellt werden könnte. Oder bietet das Original *Ku*(!)*-ub-bu-bu* statt *Šú-ub-bu-bu*? [Korrekturzusatz: TORCZYNER Rez. liest *Kubbubu*, was wohl besser.]

[2] CT XXXIII könnte *Ku*(!)*-ub-bu-rum* gelesen werden; BE XV 199, 9 steht dagegen ganz deutlich *Šú-ub-bu-ri*.

[3] Nämlich weshalb er diese 3 nicht geschickt hatte.

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Šukkubu(?).

Gautier 7 Verso 2: *Šú*(!)-*ku-bi*(!), gesichert durch Scheil, Sippar Nr. 384: *Šukubi*. Etymologie unklar. [Nachtrag: Ranke liest *Gimil-ku-bi-im*. Cfr. JRAS 1914, 208! Wahrscheinlich also keine *quttulu*-Form.]

šulânu.

CT xxvii 5, 25; 14, 31 (unter lauter Anomalien): *šumma sinništu šú-la-nam tâlid*. Damit ist wohl das eine monströse Gestalt bezeichnende *I(i)šullânu* KB vi,1 170, 64. 68. 70 zu verbinden (vgl. oben *Dallalu*)[1]. Die Etymologie zu ermitteln ist mir leider nicht gelungen. Grundwort ist kaum das von mir Kleine Beiträge 21 f. besprochene *šulu*, *šulû* „Aussatz", „Lepra".

Šulluqu.

Clay, Cass. Names 133[a]: *Šú-ul-lu-qu*[2]. Stamm: *šalâqu* „aufschlitzen", „spalten", „aufreissen" etc. Vgl. K. 10094, 8 (MSuppl. pl. 16): *šul*(!)-*lu-qu*. CT xxvii 33, 9: *šumma iz-bu uznâ*[pl]*-šu šú-ul-lu-qa* „wenn die Ohren des Neugeborenen gespalten (Fossey, Babyl. v 99: fendues) sind". Im Hinblick auf eben diese Stelle scheint es mir sicher, dass der Stamm *šalâqu* mit arab. *šalaqa* „(das Ohr) der Länge nach spalten" identisch sein muss[3]. Unklar bleibt trotzdem die spezielle Bedeutung des als Namen gebrauchten Adj. *šulluqu*.

Šummuḫu.

Ranke 152[a]: *Šú-mu-ḫu-um*. Th.-Dangin, Lettres et contrats Nr. 70, 2: *Šú-mu-ḫi-im*. Friedrich 45, 4: *Šú-um-mu-ḫu*. Clay,

[1] Dagegen gehört K. 4195 Rev. 13: *šú-ul-la-nu* wohl zu *šullû* (wovon *tešlîtu* „Befehl") urspr. „senden", wegen des Parallelismus mit *mu-'-ru* (von *ma'âru* „senden").

[2] Vgl. CT xxxiii 35, 6 f.: *Šú-ul-ki*?

[3] Vgl. *šilqā'u* „Messer"! *mišliqun* „ridendo os aperiens". — Assyr. *šilqu*, *silqu* „gekocht" entspricht dagegen arab. *salaqa*, syr. *šlaq*.

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Cass. Names 133b: *Šum-mu-ḫi*. Vgl. *Šamḫum*, *Šamḫatum*, *Šamuḫtum* etc., RANKE 149b; 194a, CLAY 200a, TALLQVIST, Neub. Nb. 333 f. u. ö. [1]

Šummuḫu kommt jedenfalls vom Stamme *šamâḫu* „üppig sein" her und kann demgemäss als Männername nichts anderes als „dick", „fett" heissen (vgl. *Unnubu*, *Ḫunnubu*, *Kubburu*!). Kommt bekanntlich auch als Attribut des Wortes *igisû* „Gabe" vor: „fette Geschenke". Für *Šummuḫu* als Namen vgl. ausser die unter *Kubburu* angeführten Parallelen die griech. *Γάστρων*, *Γάστρος*, *Φύσκων* etc. (BECHTEL 31 f.), unsere Bauch, Beuchel [2]. — Den von mir, Körperteile 82 f., besprochenen Körperteilnamen *šamaḫḫu* möchte ich nunmehr auch auf diesen Stamm zurückführen und darin einen Namen des Bauches, des Magens erblicken. Das äthiop. *sĕmāḥ* „Milz" ist dann besser als Lehnwort zu bezeichnen [3].

Šunundu.

GENOUILLAC, Tabl. de Dréhem 17b: *Šú-nu-un-du*. *Šunundu* könnte eine *quttulu*-Form darstellen (< **šunnumtu*, vgl. arab. *sanima* „buckelig sein"; *šunnumtu* „buckelig"? [4]; vgl. Körperteile 149). Andererseits liegt es nahe, darin den Namen für die Schwalbe zu erblicken, zumal da neben *sinundu* auch die Form *šinânûtu* (mit *š*) vorkommt, und das *i* der ersten Silbe an das *u* der folgenden Silben (ba. arab. *sunūnuwatun*!) [5] assimiliert sein könnte. Vgl. auch K. 8665 c 7 (MSuppl. pl. 14): *šú-nun-d*[*u*], gefolgt von *a-ia*-[*ú*], das nach K. 8229 (von mir in London kopiert) ebenfalls ein Vogelname ist. Dagegen spricht wieder CT XVIII 13 a—b 21 [6], wo *šú-nun-du* ohne das Vogeldeterminativ,

[1] Unter diesen Namen können allerdings Verkürzungen aus Vollnamen wie *Šumuḫ-Sin* u. a. sich finden. Vgl. auch blosses *Šú-mu-uḫ* GAUTIER 43, Siegel. — S. DAICHES. Rechtsurk. 51.

[2] Vgl. KLEINPAUL a. a. O. 100.

[3] Anders LANGDON in AJSL XXX 74. 79[1]. Ich werde auf diese Frage anderwärts noch zurückkommen.

[4] Vgl. gr. *Γυρίδας*, *Γύρων*, *Κύρτων* (BECHTEL 31), unsere Buckel, Bühel. KLEINPAUL 101.

[5] Vgl. Kleine Beiträge 52.

[6] v R 28 e—f 21 demnach zu korrigieren.

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und zwar parallel mit *a-we-lu* steht. Zur Entscheidung können wir vorläufig hier also nicht kommen [1].

šuppulu.

Fossey (Babyloniaca v 6) liest auf Grund eines Paralleltextes (wo?) CT xxvii 5, 23: *šumma sinništu šú(!)-up-pu-lam tûlid.* Wenn dem so ist (vgl. aber auch oben *Kubbulu*!), haben wir gewiss an Stellen wie CT xxviii 16, 82—3—23, 84, 11—13 zu erinnern: [*šumma šêpi*]-*šu ša imitti* bzw. *šumêli ša-pu-lat* bzw. [*šêpâᵘᵗ-š*]*u maḫrâti ša-pu*(!)-*la*(!). CT xxvii 45, K. 4129, 24 f.: [*šumma iz-bu*] *sûni-šu ša imitti* bzw. *šumêli ša-pu-*[*lat*] „wenn die rechte bzw. linke Hüfte des Neugeborenen ‚niedrig' ist". Ibid. K. 4071, 7—8: *šumma iz-bu imitti-šu* bzw. *šumêli-šu ša-pu-*[*lat*] „wenn die rechte bzw. linke (Seite) des Neugeborenen niedrig(er) ist"; usw. *šuppulu* danach „einer, dessen eine Seite niedriger ist als die andere", deshalb „hinkend" u. ä. Vgl. schwed. låghalt. S. auch *Kurû* u. a. Die Lesung *ku-ub-bu-lam* ist jedoch nicht ausgeschlossen.

šuqallulu.

Unter den mannigfachen Termini für den Begriff „körperlich schwach" in v R 20 a—b findet sich auch das bekannte Wort *šú-qal-lu-lu*, das wir hier dem Inhalt des ganzen Verzeichnisses zufolge kaum infinitivisch, sondern vielmehr adjektivisch aufzufassen haben. Entscheidend ist m. E. hier das Ideogramm *ID . DA . LÁL* „Arm + gebunden (bzw. hängend)", wodurch sich *šuqallulu* als ein Parallelwort zu *kuṣṣudu, uṣṣudu* usw. erweist. Die genaue Bedeutung dieses Namens einer körperlichen Schwäche ergibt sich wohl aus dem Stamme *šaqâlu* „hängen"; *šuqallulu* danach wohl einer, dessen Arm bzw. Fuss völlig gelähmt ist und tot am Körper hängt. Gewissermassen ist hier arab. *ṯaqula* „schwerfällig sein" (wovon *ṯaqlatun* etc. „Schwerfälligkeit", „Schwere in den Gliedern") zu vergleichen, weil dies eigentlich

[1] Kaum vom Stamme des *šinnu* „Zahn" abzuleiten („mit scharfen, hervorstehenden Zähnen") trotz lat. Dento.

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„durch grosses, angehängtes Gewicht beschwert sein“ und deshalb „schlaff hängen“, „schwerfällig sein“ heisst. Man vergleiche auch die in den Wbb. aus III R 65 b 44—46 angeführten Omenzeilen. S. oben S. 14.

ti-ig-ri ili.

CT XXVII, 4, 12. 14; 3, 19; 6, 7; 7, K. 3793 Obv. 6. Was zur Zeit über *tigri* (*tilri*, *tiqri*?) *ili* gesagt werden kann, findet man bei JASTROW, Religion II 913[7], 914[1], weshalb ich es hier nicht wiederhole. Wenn J. — was ich nicht bezweifle — mit der Bedeutung „Zwerg“ (der beigefügten Erklärung gemäss einer, der sonst normal entwickelt ist: bärtig, redend, beweglich, mit Zähnen versehen, nur aber eine „halbe“ [1] Gestalt hat) recht behalten wird — und vielleicht auch in dem Falle, dass sich die Bedeutung als eine allgemeinere erweisen würde — könnte man für die Etymologie arab. *ǧaṭarun*, *ǧūdarun* „Zwerg“ vergleichen, was vielleicht aus assyr. *tigru*, besser *tîgru*, entlehnt ist. Wenn dem so ist, haben wir wohl *tîgru* vom Stamme *agâru* „binden“ (ZA XXVI, 381; GES.-BUHL[15] 211[b]) abzuleiten. *tîgru* danach ein in der Entwicklung gehemmter (arab., syr. *ḥgr* „hemmen“) Mensch! Vgl. arab. *maḥǧūrun* „pupille“, „orphelin“ (DOZY), syr. *ḥ'gīrā* „claudus“! Zur Form vgl. *migru* < (?)*mîgru* „Kopfbinde“ o. ä.

[1] BAR-*ú la-an-šu*. Oder *aḫû lânšu* „mit fremdartiger Gestalt“ zu lesen? Dann kaum „Zwerg“, sondern überhaupt „Anomalie“.

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Nachträge.

S. 8. Neuerdings hat, wie ich nachträglich sah, auch Torczyner (ZDMG 67, 652) auf die Verwendung der *quttulu*-Form zur Bezeichnung von Körperfehlern kurz hingewiesen, ohne der Frage näher nachzugehen. Auf das dort Gesagte konnte nicht mehr Rücksicht genommen werden.

S. 16 und Anm. Wie aus dem lexikalischen Teil ersichtlich ist, habe ich am meisten auch die in der Onomatologie sich findenden nicht-*quttulu*-Formen von solchen Stämmen angeführt, von denen die *quttulu*-Form zu belegen war. Dies geschah nur um zu zeigen, dass die resp. Stämme in der Namengebung sich allmählich eingebürgert hatten. Ich möchte aber besonders hervorheben, dass es sich in den meisten Fällen sicherlich nur um blosse Analogiebildungen handelt, und dass diese Formen m. E. nur in Ausnahmefällen (wie etwa bei *Ḫunnubu* u. ä.) auch begrifflich als Nebenformen der resp. *quttulu*-Namen angesehen werden dürfen.

S. 17 f. Gerade das Fehlen mehrerer *quttulu*-Stämme im Assyrisch-babylonischen macht es in einer Reihe von Fällen unmöglich, die genaue Bedeutung der betr. Wörter zu ermitteln. Darauf beruht es, dass wir bei vielen Wörtern nur die allgemeine Art der Bedeutung nachweisen können.

S. 18 Anm. 3. Vgl. auch *Lussumu*.

S. 29. *Unnunu*. Zu arab. *'anna* „seufzen" vgl. auch *hanna* „seufzen".

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S. 34. Füge hinzu: *Buddušu* s. *Šuddušu*. — *Bullulu*, vgl. auch LEGRAIN, Catal. des cylindres orientaux 55: *Bu-la-la-tum*.

S. 36. Vielleicht gehört hierher auch *Bu-ṣu-ṣu*, vgl. TALLQVIST, Assyr. Names 67ª; vgl. auch die unter ibid. *Bu-za-zu* und 53ª *Ba-sa-su* und *Ba-su-su* angeführten Namen. Cfr. RANKE 72 und TH.-DANGIN, Lettres et contrats, Index. Gehört hierher bibl. *Bōṣēṣ* Name eines Felses? Für die Etymologie habe ich nichts Sicheres vorzuschlagen.

S. 41. *Gulusu*. Der nabat. Name könnte auch etwa G e l a s i o s sein.

S. 47. Füge hinzu: *Du-šú-mu-um*, LEGRAIN, Le temps des rois d'Ur Nr. 182, 9. Ohne Zweifel zum Stamme des hebr. *dāšēn*, arab. *dasima* „fett sein" zu stellen. Zum assimilatorischen Übergang *m* > *n* in der Nähe eines Dentals vgl. BROCKELMANN, Grundr. I § 54 f; HAUPT, SBOT Jesaja 133; SCHULTHESS in ZA 25, 288. Assyr. *duššânu* ist nur als spec. westländisches Wort angeführt. Vgl. GES.-BUHL[13] s. v. Mitteilung LANDSBERGERS.

S. 48. Bei *Zâriqu* füge hinzu AJSL XXX 296 Rev. 3: *Za-ri-qum*.

S. 51. Anm. 2, Z. 3 l. חבש.

S. 52. Anm. 2. Zu *ḫubšu* vgl. TH.-DANGIN, Sargon p. 76 n. 10.

S. 62. *Kubbubu* s. auch *Šubbubu*!

S. 62. Anm. 3. Vgl. hebr. *'ṭm* und s. GES.-BUHL s. v.

S. 76. *Sungugu* könnte freilich auch < *Sunkuku* < *Sukkuku* sein (LANDSBERGER). *k* > *g* wegen *n*. Arab. *zugāgun* s. FRÄNKEL 64.

S. 78. Zu *Sukkuku* s. auch CT XXIV Einl. p. 18. In der Tat ist „taub" kein passender Name für einen Hund, daher besser *Sukkulu*, das vielleicht nicht „töricht", sondern vielmehr „frevelhaft". Vgl. SAI. 2063; dasselbe Ideogramm = *aiabu* „Feind" und *raggu* „böse"; cfr. syr. (LANDSBERGER). PSBA 1914, 31.

S. 79. Zum Stamme von *Surundu* vergleicht LANDSBERGER noch assyr. *šarâmu* (mit *š*!) „abhauen" (Wbb.; CH 21ª, 58; VAB V p. XX. 458). Ideogr. *ŠAB*, das auch für *baqâmu*, *gaṣâṣu*!

S. 80. Zu *pissû*, *pussû* (*Bunzû*) vgl. vielleicht auch *Bu-zu-ú* (TH.-DANGIN, Lettres et contrats), *Bu-zu-um* und *Bu-zi-ia* bei RANKE: vgl. Assyr. Names 67ª. Gegebenenfalls von bibl. *Būz* zu trennen.

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Wörterverzeichnis.

1. Sonstige besprochene assyrische Wörter.

aṣiau Vogelname 88.
A-u-i-ra-a N. pr. 28[1].
ubbuṭu „fesseln“ 24.
abbuttu „Sklavenmal“ 24.
abâku „zerstören“ 23[1].
abâlu „trocken s.“ 22.
ibqu „Aussatz“ 22.
abâru „binden“ 23.
agâgu „zürnen“ 24.
agalu „Kalb“ 25.
Agalu, Iglânu N. pr. 25[2].
agâru, itguru etc. „binden“ „gürten“ 52[2]. 90.
mîgru „Binde“ 90.
tîgru 90.
Idî, Idâia etc. N. pr. 11[3].
Uzâlu N. pr. 54[1].
Uzna', Uznânu N. pr. 11.
Ukukku, Ikukku N. pr. 31.
ekêmu „rauben“ 26.
elêbu „lang s.“ 27.
Înia, Înatum N. pr. 11[3].
asakku „Finsternis“ 61.
aslu, Tiername 54[3].
Appânu, Appûnu N. pr. 11.
epêqu „fest s.“ 22. 82.
1. *upqu* „Gesamtheit?“ 22[1].
2. *upqu* 22[1].
eṣêdu „ernten“ 30.
Aqubu, Aqqubu, Iqubu etc. N. pr. 31.
eqêqu 31[2].
Urdânu N. pr. 32[4].
Arrizu N. pr. 32.
arḫu „Weg“ 33.
arḫu „Wildochs“ 33[2].
Iškânu N. pr. 11.
Atamu N. pr. 34.
Buzum, Buzia N. pr. 92.
Bazalu, Basali N. pr. 35[2].
balâlu „mischen“ 34.
baṣiltu „Kopfbinde“ 35.
bišlalu 35.
baṣâru „abschneiden“ 36.
batâru „verstümmeln“ 38.
gullubu 41[1].
Gulusu Nachtr.
garâbu „Krätze“ 42.
Garidâ N. pr. 42.
gardu, gardûa (amêl) „Weber“ 43[2].
Dulbu N. pr. 44[2].
dalâpu „eilen“ 44 f.
dirku „klein“ 68.
Dariku N. pr. 68.
Durku N. pr. 68.
dašâpu „süss s.“ 47.
Zugâgu N. pr. 76.

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zḫm II,¹ „verstossen“ 47.
zarâqu „schielen“ 49.
Ḫabasu, Ḫambusu etc. N. pr. 51.
ḫabâṣu „strotzen“ 50.
ḫabâšu „binden“ 51².
ḫubšu „pedites“ 51². Nachtr.
Ḫubuttatu, N. pr. 50².
Ḫumû N. pr. 27¹.
ḫamâṣu 55 u. 55¹.
ḫamâru „wallen“ 56.
ḫepû „zerschlagen“ 58.
ḫiṣbu „Körperfülle“ 54.
Ḫarišannu, Ḫa/irišaia N. pr. 60.
ḫarurtu „Kehle“ 60¹.
ḫurušša Pfl.name 60.
ḫarâku „aufpflanzen“ 60².
abanḫaršu, amélḫaršu 60³.
ḫašû „binden“ 61⁴.
ḫîšu „Kopfbinde“; „Schuldschein“ 61⁴.
ḫašâlu „zerschlagen“ 62.
ḫatâtu „erschrocken s.“ 69.
kuzbu „Körperfülle“ 64.
kalû „absperren“ 64.
kapâpu „beugen“ 62.
karâku „umdrehen“ 68¹.
katû „schwach“ s.“ 69¹.
katâšu „kämpfen“ 69².
katâtu „zerschlagen“ 69.
lagabbu „Klotz“ 22¹.
Lalû, Lulû N. pr. 58.
lasâmu „feurig s.“ 71.
malâsu „rupfen“ 72.
muqaru 73.
nuppuqu „verlegen“ 22¹.
sukkulu, saklu, ᵘSukkulu 78. Nachtr.
sikêru „verschliessen“ 76.
Sapsapu, Sapsapânu N. pr. 11 f.
sarmu, ᵘsaramû 79³.
puzzudu 81.
pizillu „Fesselung“ 35.
Pazzalu, Pasilatu N. pr. 35².
Paḫallu, Paḫallânu N. pr. 11 f.
paṣâlu 35.
pîqu „verschlossen“, „eng“ 82.
puqqû „schauen“ 82.
ṣaḫâlu „pressen“ 84.
qadâdu „beugen“ 85.
Qûqubannu, Qûqubâtu N. pr. 12.
Qaqqadânitu, Qaqqadînu N. pr. 12.
Qâti N. pr. 11³.
rabbu „schwach“ 81.
šamaḫḫu Körperteil 88.
šarâmu „abhauen“ Nachtr.
Šeršeru („klein“) N. pr. 85.
Tulubbi N. pr. 44³.
tûrtu „Blindheit“ 28.

2. Besprochene nicht-assyrische Wörter.

(in Auswahl).

ʿḥr „zögern“ gemeinsem. 26.
ʿaṭîmā „taub“ syr. (hebr. *ʿṭm*!) 62³.
ʿĀṭēr N. pr. hebr. 33.
ʿuchāmā „niger“ syr. 26.
ʿımr „taub s.“ äg. 27.
ʿArd, ʿArdōn N. pr. hebr. 32¹.
ʿarḫun „junger Stier“ arab. 33³.
Buz, N. pr. hebr. 92.
baslun, basilun „deformis“ arab. 35.
Bōṣēṣ N. pr. loci hebr. Nachtr.
baraqa „geblendet s.“ arab. 37.
ʾabraqu „fleckig“ arab. 37.
bᵉraq „obtusus fuit“ syr. 37.
bᵉrāqā „pustula“ syr. 37³.
Bārāq N. pr. hebr. 37.
Birša N. pr. hebr. 38.

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birši'un „gross u. dick“ arab. 38.
barita „verwirrt s.“ arab. 38.
barata „zerschneiden“ arab. 38.
batara (arab.), *bāþar* (hebr.) „verstümmeln“ 38.
'ubātirun „Zwerg“ arab. 38.
ǧabhatun „Stirn“, *'aǧbahu* „hochstirnig“ arab. 39.
gibbēaḥ (hebr.), *gᵉƀāḥā* (syr.) „kahlköpfig“ 39.
gđm „abschneiden“ 40.
'aǧđamu arab. 40.
Gazzām N. pr. hebr. 40[1].
gāzām „Heuschrecke“ hebr. 40[1].
ǧaḫirun „hässlich“ arab. 40.
gᵉḥar „excreare“ syr. 40.
Gaḥar N. pr. hebr. 40.
ǧilsun „mentis inops“ arab. 41.
Gērā N. pr. hebr. 41.
garbā (syr.), *'aǧrabu* (arab.) „krätzig“ 42.
Gārēƀ N. pr. loci hebr. 42.
gᵉrādā (syr.), *'aǧradu* (arab.) „kahlköpfig“ 43.
ǧaitarun, ǧidarun „Zwerg“ arab. 90.
dalafa „mühsam gehen“ (arab.) 45.
Dalfōn, Jidlāf N. pr. hebr. 45.
dlp „träufeln“ 45[1].
'adlaqu „zahnlos“ arab. 46.
Darqōn N. pr. hebr. 68[1].
darqun „asper“ arab. 68[1].
dasima „fett s.“ arab. Nachtr.
dāšēn „fett s.“ hebr. Nachtr.
'ađlafu „plattnasig“ arab. 45[2].
đalfā'u N. pr. arab. 45[2].
zaḫima „stinken“ arab. 47.
zaḫama „verstossen“ arab. 47.
Zilpā N. pr. hebr. 45. 79.
znḥ „stinken“ (Hiph.), „verwerfen“ (Kal) hebr. 48.
zaniḫa „riechen“ arab. 48[1].
Zarqāwī, alZarqā'u N. pr. arab. 49.
ḥubusun „pedites“, arab. 51[2].
ḥbš „binden“ hebr. 51[2].
ḥaǧala „springen“ arab. 25. 52
ḥiǧlun „Fussfessel“ arab. 52[2].
Ḥoglā N. pr. hebr. 52.
ḥaǧalun (arab.), *ḥaglā* (syr.) „Rebhuhn“ 52.
ḥāǧilun „Rabe“ arab. 52.
ḥᵉgar „hinken“ syr. 25. 52[2].
ḥᵉgīrā „claudus“ 90.
ḥgr „binden“ 52[2]. 90.
maḥǧūrun „pupille“ arab. 90.
ḥadila „ungleiche Schulter h.“ arab. 53.
ḫadila „dick s.“ arab. 53.
Ḥadlai̯ N. pr. hebr. 53.
ḫazila „schwerfällig gehen“ arab. 54.
ḥᵉzīmā „taub“ syr. 54.
ḫlq „glatt s.“ 55.
Ḥelqai̯, Ḥilqii̯ā N. pr. hebr. 55.
ḥlš „schwach s.“ hebr. 62.
ḥûm „schwarz“ hebr. 27.
ḥamma „schwarz s.“ arab. 27.
ḥāmūṣ „hochrot“ hebr. 56.
ḫaniza „stinken“ arab. 48[1].
ḫaṣaba „fruchtbar s.“ arab. 54.
ḥᵉṣad (syr.), *ḥaṣada* (arab.) „ernten“ 30.
ḫafā „verbergen“ arab. 80.
חפה 80.
hafāchā „perversus“ syr. 23[2].
ḫafā'a arab. 58[1].
Ḥūr N. pr. hebr. 58.
ḫrm „durchstechen“ 59.
Ḥᵃrūmaf N. pr. hebr. 59.
ḥārūm „spaltnäsig“ hebr. 59.
ḥᵉrā'ā „flavius“ syr. 33.
Ḥārūṣ N. pr. hebr. 60.
ḥariḍa „geschwächt s.“ arab. 32.
ḥārāḍā „comminuere“ äth. 32.
ḫariqa „dumm s.“ arab. 59.
ḫrr „durchbohren“ 59[1]. 60.

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ḫărăsă „nutrire“ äthiop. 60[3].
ḫarisa „stumm s.“ arab. 60.
'Aḫrasu N. pr. arab. 61.
ḥrš „stumm s.“ hebr.-aram. 60.
Ḥereš, Ḥaršā N. pr. hebr. 61.
ḥrt (hebr.), *ḫarata* (arab.) „einschneiden“ 61.
ḫrw/i̯ „durchstechen“ 59[3].
ḥᵉšech „finster s.“ syr. 61.
ḥašaka „vollstopfen“ 61.
nᵉḥᵉšālim „Schwächlinge“ hebr. 62.
ḥĕšāl „vinculum“ äth. 62.
ḥaþ „erschrocken s.“ hebr. 69.
Ḥᵃþaþ N. pr. hebr. 69.
'aṭraqu „krummbeinig“ arab. 68.
ṭarqā „asper“ syr. 68[1]
i̯asarun, 'ai̯saru „linkshändig“ arab. 33.
kmh „schwach s.“ 66.
Kimhām/n N. pr. hebr. 66[1].
mukannirun, maknūrun „crassus“ arab. 65.
ksḥ „abschneiden“ 65.
kasiḥa „gelähmt w.“ arab. 65 f.
kᵉrā „kurz s.“ syr. 67[1].
kᵉrach „involvere“ syr. 68[2].
ktš „stossen“ hebr. 69[2].
labima „ungleich s. (Schulter)“ arab. 70.
lellā „blödsinnig“ syr. 70.
lasima „verstummen“ arab. 71.
maǧrun „foetus“ arab. 74[1].
maǧara „dürsten“ arab. 74[2].
mᵉzag (syr.), *mazaga, maḏaqa* etc. (arab.) „mischen“ 73.
mezeg „Wein“ hebr. 73.
makara „bewässern“ arab. 74.
makira „rot s.“ 74.
malaḫa (arab.), *mălĕḫă* (äth.) 71.
mlṭ 72.
mālaq (hebr.), *mᵉlag* (syr.) „evellere“ etc. 71.
malusa „glatt s.“ arab. 72.
mlṣ 72.
malaša (arab.) „ausrupfen“, *mălăšă* (äth.) „polieren“ 72.
māsach (hebr.) „mischen“ 72.
meqêru „bewässern“ 74.
mūqrā „luteum“ syr. 74.
matara (arab.), *mătără* (äth.) s. *batara*.
Nāḥōr, Naḥᵃrai̯, Naḥrai̯ N. pr. hebr. 74.
'anmasu „fuscus“ arab. 75.
Nimši N. pr. hebr. 75.
namiša „Sommersprossen h.“ arab. 75.
nataba „etumuit“ arab. 76.
natafa (arab.), *nᵉþaf* (syr.) „rupfen“ 76.
'bd 50.
'iǧlun (arab.), *'ēgel* (hebr.) „Kalb“ 25.
'Eglā N. pr. hebr. 25.
'Eglōn N. pr. hebr. 25.
'Azūbā N. pr. hebr. 54.
'a'mā „blind“ arab. 27[1].
'Amrām, 'Omri N. pr. hebr. 56.
'ṣl „zögern“ hebr. 31[1].
'ăḍădă „ernten“ äth. 30.
'aḍada „binden“, „schneiden“ arab. 30.
ma'ᵃṣād „Axt“ hebr. 30.
'Ānuḇ N. pr. hebr. 28.
'a'nabu „mit üppiger Nase“ arab. 28.
'ānōg „weichlich“ hebr. 29.
'anna „seufzen“ arab. 29.
'nn „impotent s.“ arab., syr., äth. 29.
'afika „dumm s.“ arab. 23[2].
'aqqeq „binden“ syr. 31.
'arida „fliehen“ arab. 32.
'ārad „verjagen“ nhbr. 32.
'ardun (arab.), *'ārōd* (hebr.) „Wildesel“ 32.
'Arōd, 'Arād, 'Īrād N. pr. hebr. 32.
'Erēd, 'Ardān N. pr. arab. 32[1].
'a'saru „linkshändig“ arab. 33.
'wr „blind s.“ gemeinsem. 28. 56.

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ġaniğa „coquettieren“ arab. 29.
ġanna „näseln“ arab. 29.
fḫ „auflösen“ äg. 58⁴.
pēqā „taub“ syr. 81.
pāqah (hebr.), *faqaha*, *faqa'a* (arab.) „schauen“ 82.
farita „schwachsinnig s.“ arab. 38.
fasaḫa, *faṣaḫa* „verrenken“ arab. 34.
pissēᵓḫ „hinkend“ 81.
faslun, *fislun* „stultus“ arab. 36.
fuslun „Rebsetzling“ arab. 36.
ṣadar „erbrechen“ syr. 83.
ṣḫn hebr. 48¹.
ṣlᶜ „hinken“ hebr. 31¹.
ḍabisa (arab.), *ḍăbèsă* (äth.) „schwach s.“ 26.
'aqabbu „mit schmaler Taille“ arab. 62.
Haqqāṭān N. pr. hebr. 11¹. 46².
qaṣada „zerbrechen“ arab. 66.
qṣr I „binden“, „ernten“ 67.
qṣr II „kurz sein“ 67.
qᵊrāḫā (syr.), *'aqra'u* (arab.) „kahl“ 85.
Qārēᵓḫ N. pr. hebr. 85.
sĕbūr „claudus“ äth. 86.
sadira „verwirrt s.“ arab. 83.
skr „verschliessen“ 77.
sᵉmi „blind“ syr. 28¹.
'aṣmi „hinken“ syr. 79.
smdr „schwachsichtig s.“ arab. 83.
saniḫa s. *zaniḫa*.
sanima „buckelig s.“ arab. 88.
serāmā „plattnasig“ syr. 79.
šbr 86.
šalaqa „spalten“ arab. 87.
šilqā'u „Messer“ 87³.
šarama „die Nasenspitze abschneiden“ arab. 79.
'ašrama „plattnasig“ 79.
ṯaṣala „binden arab. 31.

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Die „Marmorgruppe aus Sparta“ und ihre Erklärung.

Von

Einar Heikel.

In den Mitteilungen des K. Deutschen Archeologischen Instituts (Athenische Abteilung X, S. 177 ff.) gab der hervorragende und bekannte deutsche Philolog Friedrich Marx im Jahre 1885 eine ihrer Ausführung nach altertümliche Marmorgruppe heraus, über die er zugleich eine gründliche und, wie bisher ohne Bedenken angenommen worden ist, giltige und in allen Einzelheiten zutreffende Erklärung gab. Das diesem Artikel beigefügte Bild ist der genannten Veröffentlichung Marx' entliehen. Diese bei Magula in der Nähe von Sparta aufgefundene Gruppe ist aus blauem Marmor gehauen. Ihre Höhe ist 0,48 m. Der Frauenfigur in der Mitte fehlen der Kopf und der Hals, die linke Schulter und die Brust, die Arme und die Füsse von den Knien an. Zu beiden Seiten der Frauengestalt ist je ein männliches Wesen abgebildet, von denen das eine, rechts stehende viel vollständiger erhalten ist als das links stehende. Die rechts stehende Figur ist so mit der Mittelfigur zusammen gehauen, dass das linke Bein der männlichen Figur beim Abbröckeln doch teilweise erhalten ist, da es den rechten Schenkel der Frauengestalt entlang gezeichnet ist. Aber das rechte Bein ist, da es besonders gehauen war, ein wenig oberhalb des Knies glatt abgebrochen. Ein eigentümlicher Zug der Figur ist es, dass die rechte Hand, die allein ziemlich deutlich sichtbar ist, so erhoben

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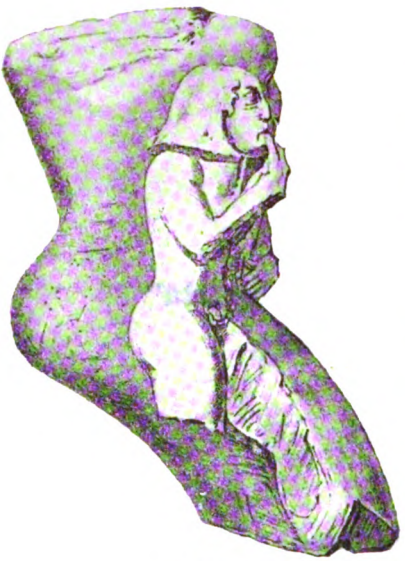

Abb. 1.

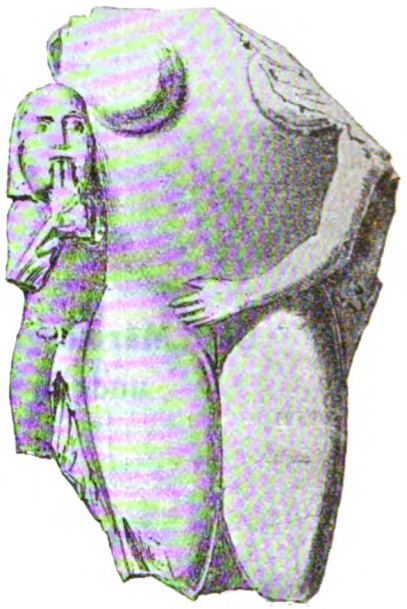

Abb. 2.

ist, dass die Figur offenbar zwei Finger an die Lippen hält. Von der zur linken Seite der Frau stehenden — wie man aus der der linken Seite der Mittelfigur zugewandten erhaltenen brüchigen Fläche noch schliessen kann — männlichen Gestalt ist nicht viel mehr erhalten als die ganze linke Hand und der linke Arm, der so ausgestreckt ist, dass die Hand auf dem Leibe der Frau ruht.

Dass die in dem von Marx veröffentlichten Bilde vorgenommene Ergänzung annähernd richtig ist, darüber kann kaum ein Zweifel herrschen. Die Mittelfigur ist wahrscheinlich kniend dargestellt gewesen, und die beiden Nebenfiguren zu beiden Seiten der Frau stehend und zwar so, dass die kniende Frau und jene beiden verhältnismässig viel kleineren, stehenden Nebenfiguren bis zu derselben Höhe reichten.

Diese Gruppe erklärt Marx so, dass in der Mitte eine kreissende Frau und zu ihren beiden Seiten zwei männliche Geburtsdämonen abgebildet sind. Er begründet diese Erklärung damit, dass die kniende Stellung im alten Griechenland und auch in Italien für die Gebärenden angeblich charakteristisch war, dass verschiedene griechische Mythen von Geburten erzählen, bei denen die

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Gebärende auf den Knien lag, oder von *Eileithyi*, der Geburtsgöttin, deren Bild in dieser Stellung wiedergegeben worden sei, wie auch von *Damia* und *Auxesia*, den Göttinnen der Fruchtbarkeit, die der Sage nach auch in genannter typischer Stellung dargestellt wurden. Ausserdem beruft er sich auf die römischen Götter *Nixi di*, die nach

Abb. 3.

einer Angabe des Grammatikers Festus Geburtsgötter waren und deren Name „die knienden Götter“ auf den wahrscheinlichen, auch durch einige andere Angaben angedeuteten Umstand hinweise, dass auch unter den Römern die kniende Stellung charakteristisch für die Gebärenden gewesen sei. Dazu erbringt der Verfasser nach Erzählungen verschiedener obstetrischer Schriftsteller eine Menge Beweise dafür, dass die kniende Stellung bei verschiedenen Völkern, besonders auf einer primitiven Kulturstufe, sowohl früher als jetzt eine ganz allgemeine Geburtsstellung war und noch ist.

Die Erklärung, die Marx von der Marmorgruppe aus Sparta gibt, und die Theorie, die er in seinem Artikel merklich entwickelt hat, ist bisher immer und überall als gültig und gut begründet anerkannt worden. Verschiedene Schriftsteller (zuletzt Ernst Samter: Geburt, Hochzeit und Tod, Leipzig 1911) haben neuerdings die griechischen und römischen Angaben, besonders die griechischen Mythen, ausführlich untersucht, in denen die kniende Stellung im Zusammenhange mit Geburten erwähnt wird, und freilich hat überall die Erklärung der Marmorgruppe aus Sparta wegen ihrer wissenschaftlichen Gründlichkeit als wichtigstes Beweisstück gedient. Besonders muss dieser Umstand hervorgehoben werden, der aus dem oben Gesagten klar hervorgehen dürfte, dass von allen Bildwerken,

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die seit Marx' Artikel nacheinander als Stütze für die genannte Theorie angeführt worden sind, und die — im Vorbeigehen gesagt — nur höchst mangelhaft mit derselben so in Einklang zu bringen sind, dass die Gründe und Beweise zuverlässig erscheinen, die Marmorgruppe aus Sparta selbst der wichtigste und nach allen Kritikern der klarste und sprechendste Beweis dafür gewesen ist, dass die kniende Stellung der Gebärenden wenigstens bei den Griechen bekannt und allgemein und allem Anscheine nach auch ursprünglich war. Da ich die Absicht habe in absehbarer Zeit eine kleine einheitliche Untersuchung über die hier berührten Fragen herauszugeben und zugleich sowohl die verschiedenen antiken Quellen wie auch die sich darauf gründenden Aussagen eingehender zu behandeln, so muss ich mich hier darauf beschränken die Marmorgruppe aus Sparta nur kurz und vorbereitend von einem neuen Gesichtspunkte aus zu prüfen.

Ich bestreite nicht, dass die von dem berühmten deutschen Wissenschaftler gegebene Erklärung mit durchaus vorzüglicher Genauigkeit und gründlicher Anhäufung und Verwendung von Beweisen anscheinend so erschöpfend geworden ist, dass man ihre Berechtigung nur mit den allerbesten Gegengründen in Zweifel stellen und eine neue Erklärung an ihre Stelle setzen kann. Jedoch möchte ich auf einen Umstand aufmerksam machen, der meiner Ansicht nach weder bei der Behandlung dieses noch mancher anderen entsprechenden antiken Bildwerke genügend berücksichtigt worden ist: da es ein Erzeugnis archaischer Kunst ist, erwartet man von ihm unbedingt mehr Naturähnlichkeit und fast roher Offenheit in den Einzelzügen, als wir an der Frauengestalt der Marmorgruppe aus Sparta beobachten können, wenn sie wirklich so zu erklären ist, wie Marx es tut. Ich kann nicht verhehlen, dass Marx' Darstellung mir gerade in diesem Punkte erscheint, als ob er diesen Mangel an künstlerischer Aufrichtigkeit durch fast zu starkes Ausmalen der Einzelzüge des Bildes ersetzen wollte, sodass er z. B. unnötiger Weise von der Tiefe des Körpers spricht [1], wo meiner Ansicht nach auch nicht der geringste Versuch bei dem Künstler zu bemerken ist, verschiedene Teile des mittleren Körpers merklich hervortretend

[1] Vgl. a. a. O. S. 186.

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darzustellen und dadurch die Vorstellung zu unterstützen, die augenscheinlich Marx' Feder gewissermassen beherrscht hat.

Besonders sachlich und klar erscheint mir die Darstellung, die H. Dressel und A. Milchhoefer in dem von ihnen herausgegebenen Verzeichnisse des Spartanischen Museums, in der Ath. Abt. der „Mitteilungen“ (Bd. II. S. 297) über diese Gruppe gegeben haben. Ich entlehne daraus folgendes:

„Die völlig nackte Frau muss sich, wie aus der Richtung der Beine und dem Umstande hervorgeht. dass der Körper rund ausgearbeitet und ohne Ansatzfläche ist, in kauernder Stellung befunden haben. Zu jeder Seite, mit ihrem Körper gleichsam verwachsen, ein nacktes männliches Kind; beide sind wohl neben der Hauptfigur auf der Basis stehend zu denken. Das kleinere, in Vorderansicht an ihrer r. Seite, dem die Unterschenkel fehlen (auch sonst mehrfach bestossen). führt beide Daumen zum Munde, um daran zu saugen. Der Kopf ist unverhältnismässig gross; die quellenden Augen, die stumpfe Nase und die dichte, lange, rings umschnittene Haarmasse (die allerdings für ein Kind sehr wenig passt), erinnern an einen männlichen Kopf der bekannten „spartanischen Stele“ —. Von dem zweiten grösseren Knaben ist nur der sehr lange, quer über den unterleib der Frau gelegte l. Arm mit geöffneter Hand und die Contour des Köpers als Ansatz erkennbar; der obere Körpertheil muss sich so an die Mittelfigur angeschmiegt haben, dass seine Brust der l. Seite der Frau platt auflag. Der Frauenleib ist durchaus formlos, flach und viel zu kurz, die Schultern verhältnissmässig breit, die untere Partie läuft dreieckig zu und ist ganz verkümmert. Die Brüste treten halbkugelförmig hervor, der Nabel ist garnicht angegeben, wohl aber die *rima*. Die eng an einander geschlossenen Schenkel sind nicht sehr stark und zeigen runde Formen. Die Rückseite der Gruppe ist roher behandelt; das ganze ist noch stillos und erinnert stark an primitive Idole syrisch-aegyptischer Herkunft.“

Zur obigen Schilderung möchte ich nur bemerken, dass, soweit man mit ziemlicher Klarheit aus dem Bilde schliessen kann, keine Stütze für die Hypothese vorhanden ist, dass die rechts stehende Figur ihre beiden Daumen an den Mund halte. Mir scheint die

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Annahme richtiger, dass Zeige- und Mittelfinger der rechten Hand auf dem Unterkinne und der Unterlippe ruhen (dass sie nicht im Munde stecken, lässt sich klar daraus schliessen, dass der Zwischenraum zwischen den Fingern seiner ganzen proportionellen Länge nach sichtbar ist). Die linke Hand hat man sich wahrscheinlich so zu denken, dass sie sich nach der rechten Hand dreht, um den rechten Arm zu stützen (siehe bes. Bild 2).

Soweit ich die abgebildete Gruppe mit anderen Kunsterzeugnissen der alten Zeit vergleichen und ihren Ursprung erraten kann, glaube ich, dass man für die oben angeführte Bemerkung Milchhoefers, der zufolge die Gruppe in einigen Beziehungen stark an syrisch-ägyptische Erzeugnisse erinnert, auch andere Gründe ausfindig machen kann als z. B. die stillose Ausführung der Rückseite, welche ja an sich als eines von den am meisten charakteristischen Kennzeichen der ägyptischen Kunst gelten kann, weil ihre Bildwerke und namentlich die menschlichen Gestalten, unter welchen die ältesten als Zierden der Portale und Wände gegen Säulen oder architektonissen Kolossen gestützt standen, ursprünglich nur für die Vorderansicht bestimmt waren [1].

Um diesmal noch nur einige solche Gesichtspunkte zu besprechen, will ich bemerken, dass der einzige Gesichtstypus, der in dieser Gruppe erhalten ist, offenbar sehr wenig griechisch ist und sehr wenig den in den griechischen Bildwerken gewöhnlich vorkommenden Typen ähnelt, dagegen aber äusserst deutlich orientalisch oder noch besser ausgesprochen ägyptisch ist. Wenn man die ägyptischen Bildwerke jeder beliebigen Zeit betrachtet, so sieht man den Typus mit kurzem, breitem Gesichte und niedriger Stirn, der besonders an der kurzen aber gebogenen Nase erkennbar ist, reichlich vertreten. Dieses roh gemeisselte Gesicht und der wie erstarrte Ausdruck desselben, wenn hier von Ausdruck überhaupt die Rede sein kann, schliesslich der gaffende Blick der grossen quellenden Augen, das alles sind Züge, die ihre Herkunft aus dem alten Sfinxenlande schwerlich verleugnen können. Ferner ist die eigenartige Haartracht des Knaben typisch ägyptisch, wie wohl auch die glatten halbkugelförmigen Brüste der weiblichen Mittelfigur.

[1] Vgl. OVERBECK, Geschichte der Griechischen Plastik I S. 14—15.

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Aber gerade an jener zur rechten Seite der Frau stehenden Figur gibt es auch anderes, was auf den ersten Blick den Gedanken auf Sagenmotive ägyptischen Ursprungs und Kunstprodukte, die durch ihre Einwirkung entstanden sind, leitet. Das betreffende Bild ist mit einem Worte eine genaue Nachahmung der primitiven Denkmäler, durch die die Ägypter den Gott *Hor*, den Sohn *Osiris'* und *Isis'* darstellten.

In der ägyptischen Mythologie schliesst sich ein ungewöhnlich weit ausgedehnter und vielgestaltiger Sagenkreis an den Namen des Gottes *Hor*. Darin werden in zahlreichen Varianten Erzählungen wiedergegeben von der Geburt des Gottes, vom Zorn seines Bruders, des Gottes *Seth*, gegen ihn und von den vielen Kämpfen, die zwischen den Brüdern stattfanden, bis *Hor* schliesslich den Sieg davontrug. Die Mythologie schreibt diesem Gotte als der die Natur und die Lebewesen erquickenden Gottheit auch unzählige Aufgaben zu, wie seine vielen Beinamen, wie z. B. folgende zeigen: *Horjerti*, „H., der Besitzer der beiden Augen“, und eine andere Benennung, die in der Übersetzung lautet: „H., der dieses Land mit seinen beiden Augen erleuchtet“. Die Augen des Gottes *Hor* sind Sonne und Mond, sodass, wie es scheint, nach der allgemeinen ägyptischen Auffassung *Hor* der Gott des Lichtes und sein Gegner *Seth* der Gott der Finsternis war. Wir brauchen unsere Aufmerksamkeit hier jedoch nicht auf die Erzählungen dieser Mythen zu lenken, desto mehr aber auf eine besondere und bei den Ägyptern unvergleichlich allgemeinere Erscheinungsform des Gottes *Hor*. Sie war *Hor-pe-chrod*, „*Hor* — das Kind“.

In der Vorstellung der Ägypter dürfte *Hor-pe-chrod* kaum etwas anderes gewesen sein als die idealisierte Personifikation des Kindes. Als solche wurde er der Liebling der volkstümlichen Mythologie und Kunst und so erscheint er auch öfter als in irgend einer anderen Gestalt. In ihren Bildwerken gaben schon die ägyptischen Künstler jener kindlichen Gottheit das typische Kennzeichen des Kindes: sie darstellten ihn mit dem Finger im Munde oder auf den Lippen. Zahlreiche Bronze- und Terracottastatuetten, die das Finger saugende *Hor*-kind darstellen, sind uns als Zeugnis dafür erhalten, wie allgemein bekannt und beliebt diese ewig Kind bleibende

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Gottheit bei den Ägyptern war. Um ihn wob sich allmählich auch ein grosser Teil des alten Mythenstoffes, der früher das besondere Eigentum des älteren Gottes *Hor* gewesen war.

Um von den Erzählungen, in denen *Hor-pe-chrod* vorkommt, nur einige anzuführen, die unseren Gegenstand näher beleuchten, werden wir zuerst den Mythus von der Geburt des *Hor*-kindes erzählen, wie ihn Plutarch (De Iside et Osiride c. 19) darstellt. Dort wird erzählt, dass *Osiris* nach seinem Tode seiner göttlichen Gemahlin *Isis* einen Besuch abstattete, und dass *Isis* später infolge dieses Besuches vor der natürlichen Zeit einen Sohn gebar. Aber der Sohn war körperlich schwach, und besonders sein Unterkörper war unvollständig entwickelt. Nach einem anderen Mythus flüchtete *Isis*, nachdem sie ihr Kind geboren hatte, in eine einsame Gegend und nährte und erzog es dort vor *Seths* Verfolgungen verborgen.

Besonders diese Mythen von der Geburt und heimlichen Erziehung des *Hor*-kindes dürften dem Volke bekannt gewesen sein, daraus zu schliessen, dass man ihre Spuren in verschiedener Form in den *Isis* und das *Hor*-kind darstellenden Kunstwerken sieht. Die Statuetten der säugenden *Isis* sind sehr zahlreich unter den Erzeugnissen der ägyptischen Kunst vertreten, die sich aus dem alten Ägypten in die griechisch-römische Welt verpflanzt haben. *Horpe-chrod* wird in den kleinen Standbildern, die von ihm erhalten sind, wie gesagt, mit dem Finger im Munde oder auf den Lippen dargestellt. Ein anderes, für ihn sehr typisches und echt ägyptisches Kennzeichen ist sein dickes und langes, bis zum Nacken herabreichendes Haar.

In die griechische und römische Welt drangen die Gottheiten der ägyptischen Religion endgültig erst in der hellenistischen Periode. Im athenischen Gesetze war ja die Verehrung fremder Götter und die Einführung fremder Gebräuche bei Todesstrafe verboten.[1] Dessungeachtet aber sind mehrere Zeichen dafür vorhanden, dass die ägyptischen Götter schon viel früher, als ihre Verehrung legalisiert wurde, einen sicheren Plats in der religiösen Vorstellung der Grie-

[1] Vgl. Schömann, Opuscula academica III, S. 433—434.

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chen eingenommen haben. Auch diesen „Handel“ werden hauptsächlich die Phönizier vermittelt haben. In Tyros, Sidon und in den phönizischen Kolonien hat die ägyptische Religion schon so früh eine angesehene Stellung eingenommen, dass die in diesen Gegenden aufgefundenen oder von dort mit anderen Handelswaren bis nach Etrurien und Latium gebrachten *Isis*-bilder schon aus dem siebenten oder sechsten Jahrhunderte v. Chr. stammen. Bei diesen aus Phönizien gebrachten Statuetten ist besonders hervorzuheben, dass viele von ihnen ihrer Ausführung und ihrem Typus nach offenbar Nachahmungen der ursprünglich ägyptischen Bilder sind.[1] Die Insel Kypros, die ihre Einwohner wohl aus den phönizischen Küstenstädten bekommen hatte, war, wie bekannt, bereits in den Zeiten der Homerischen Poesie oft von den Griechen besucht, und hier, das nördliche und westliche Ufer entlang, in der Nachbarschaft der semitischen Bevölkerung, bildete sich allmählich eine starke griechische Kolonie, deren Ideenwelt so natürlich in hohem Grade den fremden Einflüssen ausgesetzt wurde. Das zeigt sich auch klar genug in den reichen Funden, welche die Ausgrabungen auf Kypros in letzten Jahrzehnten aus Licht gebracht haben und unter denen bald griechische bald phönizische oder sogar assyrische Göttergestalten neben den von phönizischen Seefahrern importierten ägyptischen Gottheiten durcheinander auftreten. Auch hier war die säugende *Isis* bekannt[2].

Delos, wo die Verehrung ägyptischer Götter schon im dritten Jahrhunderte v. Chr.[3] allgemein war, hatte ihrerseits die neue Religion sowohl nach Griechenland als nach Italien vermittelt. Puteoli, das schon in frühen Zeiten einen lebhaften Handelsverkehr mit Delos unterhielt, war eine der Hauptstätten des ägyptischen *Sarapis*-Kultus. Aber auch in den Uferstädten der Campania hat man bereits aus dem zweiten Jahrhunderte, in Sizilien aus noch früheren Zeiten beredte Zeugnisse von der Verehrung ägyptischer Gottheiten gefunden[4].

[1] Vgl. Perrot, Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité III S. 475, 526, 751, 812.

[2] Vgl. Cesnola-Stern, Cypern, S. 20 ff. u. a.

[3] Drexler, Mythologische Beiträge, Leipzig 1890, I S. 5. Anm. 1.

[4] Nissen, Pompejanische Studien S. 170 ff.

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In Greichenland war Athen die Hauptstätte der ägyptischen Religionsformen. Vielleicht schon vor 333 v. Chr.[1] wurde dort den ägyptischen Händlern auf Initiative des Lykurgos des Älteren, Grossvaters des Redners, dem die Komiker aus diesem Grunde den Schimpfnamen „Ägypter" beilegten, die Erlaubnis erteilt in Peiraios einen *Isis*-tempel zu errichten. Pausanias berichtet (I. 18. 14), dass in Athen ein *Sarapis*-tempel existierte, den die Athener auf Ptolemaios' Aufforderung hin errichtet hatten. Mit den Ptolemäern pflegte ja Athen freundschaftliche Beziehungen, und dieser Umstand dürfte seinerseits dazu beigetragen haben, dass die ägyptischen Götter zu dieser Zeit sehr bekannt in Griechenland wurden. Die Verbreitung der ägyptischen religiösen Vorstellungen wurde natürlicherweise durch die überall bekannte und in Griechenland ganz allgemeine Erscheinung gefördert, dass die fremden Götter mit den einheimischen identifiziert wurden. Von solchen Versuchen in betreff der ägyptischen Götter berichtet schon Herodotos, der um die Mitte des fünften Jahrhunderts Ägypten besuchte. Er führt an (II. 41. 59) dass die griechischen Kolonisten, die sich in der Stadt Naukratis niedergelassen hatten, die Eigenschaften ihrer eigenen Götter auf die ägyptischen zu übertragen versuchten.

Eine solche Identifizierung wurde freilich durch die vielen gemeinsamen Züge und die mannigfachen Versionen der Mythen sehr erleichtert. So hatte *Isis* viele der Muttergöttin eigenen Züge, die vormals der *Demeter* der Griechen charakteristisch waren, und so wurde aus ihr schon teils auf ägytischem und besonders dann auf griechischem Boden ganz allgemein eine neue Erscheinungsform der *Demeter*. Schon in ägyptischen Texten wird ihr der Name „die Gottesmutter" oder „die Gottesmutter des *Hor-Ka-nacht*" beigelegt. Nach Plutarch (De Is. et Os. c. 56) wird sie *Μοῦθ* und *Μεθύερ* genannt; das erste Wort bedeutet Mutter, in dem letzteren steckt vielleicht der Name *Mut-ur*, *Magna Mater*[2].

Hor-pe-chrod wurde natürlich durch seine Mutter und auch durch andere religiöse Vorstellungen im Zusammenhange mit jenen Göttern nahestehenden ägyptischen Göttern in Griechenland be-

[1] Vgl. Köhler, Hermes V S. 352.

[2] Vgl. Wiedemann, Herodots 2. Buch S. 116 u. a. Roschers Lex., Isis.

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kannt. Aber *Harpokrates*, wie sein Name in der neuen griechischen Gestalt lautete, erhielt in der Vorstellung der Griechen und Römer eine neue Eigenschaft; aus ihm wurde, weil er den Finger auf den Lippen hatte, *θεὸς σιωπῆς, deus silentii.*[1] So wurde aus ihm ein ganz selbständiger und nach der griechisch-römischen Auffassung ein sehr wichtiger Gott. Schon die *Isis*-säulen, die die Göttin allein oder ihren Sohn säugend darstellten, wurden als mächtige Schutzmittel gegen das böse Auge angesehen, aber ein noch allgemeineres Amulett wurde das für alle Mystik willkommene Bild des *Harpokrates*, besonders in Italien, sodass z. B. Plinius erwähnt, dass sogar die Männer Ringe an den Fingern tragen, auf denen *Harpokrates* abgebildet ist (*iam vero et Harpocratem statuasque Aegyptiorum numinum in digitis viri quoque portare incipiunt*, 33, 41). Dass aus *Harpokrates* ein selbständiger Gott des Schweigens wurde, ist leicht so zu erklären, dass die Griechen in jener geheimnisvollen Handbewegung ein besonders zutreffendes Symbol des Schweigens erblickten, gerade ein solches, dessen sie bedurften, um das unverletzliche Geheimnis der religiösen Mysterien auch durch ein äusseres Merkzeichen anzudeuten[3].

Die säugende *Isis*, deren Bilder, wie gesagt, sowohl in der ägyptischen als auch in der phönizischen und griechischen Kunst fast unzählig sind, wird bald mit dem *Hor*-kinde im Arme, bald stehend und ihrem vor ihr stehenden Sohne die Brust reichend, bald aber auch, ausdrücklich in den ägyptischen Bildwerken, in kniender Stellung dargestellt[4].

Nach dieser lückenhaften Ährenlese, deren Zweck es ist, einigermassen vorbereitend über die Schicksale der *Isis* und des *Hor*-kindes auf klassischem Boden zu berichten, brauche ich nur kurz der Tatsache zu gedenken, dass die Marmorgruppe aus Sparta an

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[1] Plutarchus, De Is. et Osir. c. 68: *διὸ τῷ στόματι τὸν δάκτυλον ἔχει προσκείμενον, ἐχεμυθίας καὶ σιωπῆς συμβολον.*

[2] Vgl. Herod. II. 156, Kern bei Pauly-Wiss. IV. 2. 2742.

[3] Vgl. G. Lafaye, Histoire du culte des divinités d'Alexandrie, Sérapis Isis Harpocrate et Anubis hors de l'Égypte, Paris 1884. S. 259 ff.

[4] Vgl. Lanzone, Diz. di mitologia egiz., tav. 61, 4; p. 372 n:o 5.

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sich ein klares und sehr interessantes und wichtiges Denkmal der ersten Schicksale der ägyptischen Götter in Griechenland ist.

Schon Marx seinerzeit machte im Vorbeigehen auf die allerdings im ersten Augenblicke auffallende Ähnlichkeit aufmerksam, die der zur rechten Seite der Frau befindliche „Jüngling" mit den Bildern des *Harpokrates* hat. Meiner Ansicht nach haben wir gerade in ihm den bis jetzt vielleicht ältesten in Griechenland angetroffenen *Harpokrates*, dessen Gestalt noch so viele orientalische Züge aufweist, dass man beinahe eher annehmen möchte, er sei als fertiger Handelsartikel entweder aus Ägypten oder aus Phönizien gekommen, als dass er in Griechenland angefertigt worden wäre.

In dem oben genannten Verzeichnisse von Milchhoefer hat der diese Gruppe erklärende Artikel die unsichere Überschrift: „Kindernährende Frau?" Diese Vermutung ist, wie ich glaube, schon auf Grund des oben Gesagten jedermann sehr wahrscheinlich geworden, man kann aber, wenn man das Bild selbst betrachtet, sich davon überzeugen, dass der zur linken Seite der Frau stehende Knabe eine gerade für jenen Zweck passende Stellung einnimmt. Wenn man den noch erhaltenen Arm betrachtet, so wird man erstens leicht gewahr, dass der Hals, weil die Schultermuskel des Armes offenbar annähernd der ganzen Länge nach erhalten ist, gerade dort skizziert sein müsste, wo die Bruchfläche anfängt, und zweitens scheint mir die andere Hälfte des Armes gerade gegen die Bruchfläche hin eine entsprechende Biegung zu bilden, obgleich sehr wenig davon zu sehen ist. Jedenfalls ist meines Erachtens die Stellung der Hand so, dass der Kopf des Knaben nirgends anders als auf der linken Brust der Frau sein konnte. Dadurch wird auch der Umstand vorzüglich erklärt, dass beim Zerbrechen der links stehenden Knabenfigur die linke Brust der Frau, deren Lage durch den darauf ruhenden Kopf sehr hervorstehend wurde, einem ähnlichen Geschick besonders ausgesetzt war. Ausserdem dürfte zu bemerken sein, dass der saugende Knabe aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach mehr hinter der Frau gestanden hat als die rechts stehende Figur und sich, wie Milchhoefer dartut, an die Seite der Frau geschmiegt hat, sodass das Geschlechtsorgan nach links neigend und gegen das linke Bein drückend abgebildet war. — Jedermann, der ein saugendes Kind

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an der Brust der Mutter gesehen hat, kann aus dem Bilde sehen, wie der saugende Knabe auf eine in der Tat natürliche aber immerhin wegen der vielleicht unproportionellen Grösse der Hand etwas ungeschickte Weise die instinktiven Bewegungen der Kindeshand nachahmt.

In dieser kurzen Darstellung haben wir noch einen Umstand zu erklären, nämlich wie es möglich ist, dass in dem Bilde das *Hor*-kind — denn dies ist der Name des saugenden Knaben — an der Brust seiner Mutter erscheint und zugleich auf der anderen Seite jener kleine Junge mit den Fingern auf den Lippen, der der gleichnamige Sohn derselben Mutter sein müsste. Die Erklärung dieses Umstandes liegt wohl darin, dass, wie die Ägypter ihrerseits ihren Gott *Hor* in viele, hauptsächlich aber in zwei Göttergestalten zerlegten, in *Hor-* den Älteren und *Hor-* das Kind, so machten später vielleicht schon sie selbst, vielleicht die Phönizier, sicher aber jedenfalls die Griechen aus dem *Hor*-kinde einen neuen Gott, einen Doppelgänger *Harpokrates*, der, wie aus dem von uns behandelten Bildwerke zu ersehen ist, sogar gleichzeitig mit seinem „Bruder“ an der Brust seiner Mutter erschien und jenes herkömmliche, Geheimnis und Schweigen heischende Zeichen machte, etwa als ob er das im Geheimen an der Brust der Mutter heranwachsende *Hor*-kind vor dem Zorne *Seths* schützen wolle.

Als einen möglichen Beweis dafür, dass *Harpokrates* und *Hor* in der griechisch-römischen Welt als verschiedene Götter aufgefasst wurden, hat man angeführt, dass ein Mann mit römischem Namen aus Neapel, der sich (C. I. Gr. 5793): *M. Οὐιος Ναουιος* schreibt, sagt, dass er *Ισιδι Απολλωνα Ωρον Αρποκρατην* schenkt[1]. Aber die Benutzung dieser Inschrift zum genannten Zweck ist vielleicht etwas gewagt, weil wir wissen, dass *Hor* ganz allgemein und wenigstens in Italien auch *Harpokrates* mit dem Sonnengotte *Apollo* identifiziert wurden.

Das Alter der Marmorgruppe aus Sparta, werden wir allerdings nur in sofern noch mehr beleuchten können, als diese neue Erklärung möglicherweise Neues zu jener Frage bietet. Diese

[1] Vgl. Roschers Lex. Harpokrates.

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Frage aber, wie auch manche andere, die bei der erschöpfenden Behandlung dieses sehr interessanten alten Kulturdenkmals entstehen, behalten wir uns, wie es unsere Absicht war, für eine andere Besprechung vor.

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Himmel und Wetter

in

Volksglaube und Sprache in Frankreich

Von

WALTER O. STRENG

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Vorwort.

„Denken ist Sprechen und Sprechen ist Denken", d. h. wie alles Denken an sprachlich festgelegte Begriffe gebunden ist, so geht auch allem Sprechen, jedem Wort einer Sprache ein Gedanke, eine Vorstellnng und als Ausgangspunkt für beides ein reales Ding, eine Sache voraus.

Jede Sprach- und Wortforschung bedarf daher einer Sachforschung, eine Forderung, die besonders seit Erscheinen der „Wörter und Sachen" mehrfach mit Nachdruck aufgestellt worden ist. Diese Sachforschung gestaltet sich jedoch sehr verschieden je nach der Art und Beschaffenheit der zu untersuchenden „Sachen". Eine Untersuchung der sprachlichen Ausdrücke für ein Werkzeug z. B. wäre unmöglich ohne genaue Feststellung der Natur und Form des zu behandelnden Gegenstandes, wozu archäologische Kenntnisse nötig sind. Ganz anders aber steht es mit den atmosphärischen Erscheinungen. Hier muss die Sachforschung andere Gebiete des menschlichen Wissens zu Rate ziehen. Ist bei einem Werkzeug in erster Linie die Kenntnis seiner tatsächlichen Natur, seiner handgreiflichen Beschaffenheit und Wirkung, für die Sprachforschung das wichtigste und kommt hier erst in zweiter Linie die Vorstellung, die das Volk von dem betreffenden Werkzeug gehabt hat, als massgebendes Moment bei der sprachlichen Bezeichnung des Begriffes hinzu, was meines Erachtens allzu wenig betont worden ist, so tritt bei den atmosphärischen Erscheinungen das erstere Moment ganz zurück,

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um dem letzteren, der Vorstellung in Geist und Phantasie des Volkes, den Platz einzuräumen. Ein Werkzeug, das im täglichen Gebrauch des Volkes ist, muss ihm seiner ganzen Natur nach durchaus bekannt sein, und die Namen, die es diesem Werkzeug gibt, hängen deshalb meist mit der wahren Natur und wirklichen Beschaffenheit desselben eng zusammen. Höchstens kann ein Werkzeug in der Phantasie des Volkes mit einem ihm ähnlichen oder ähnlich gebrauchten Gegenstande verglichen werden; immerhin steht da der Name nicht weit von dem Begriffe selbst.

Die atmosphärischen Erscheinungen hingegen stehen ihrem wirklichen Wesen nach dem Volke im allgemeinen fern. Das ganze Weltall betrachtet der ungebildete Bauer aus dem Gesichtswinkel seines Dorfes. Der Himmel ist ihm viel zu hoch, Sonne, Mond und Sterne sind ihm viel zu weit, um in ihm eine bestimmtere Idee von der wahren Beschaffenheit dieser Erscheinungen zu erwecken. Er kennt sie nur, insofern sie auf die Phantasie seiner Vorfahren und auf seine eigene eingewirkt haben. Dem unwissenden Landmann bedeutet das Toben der Elemente ein Spiel von Geistern, [1]) ihm sind die Sterne am Himmel Seelen, die herabschauen, und den stillen Regen, der die trockene Erde befeuchtet, hält er für Segenstropfen aus dem Paradies. Ihm ist es einerlei, wie z. B. der Regenbogen entsteht und was der Blitz in der Tat ist; er bewundert oder fürchtet sie und schreibt sie einem Gott und seinen vielen Heiligen zu. Der wahre, tatsächliche Sachverhalt der Erscheinungen kümmert ihn wenig, er erklärt sie auf seine eigene Weise und benennt sie danach.

Will man alle diese Benennungen kennen lernen, müssen vor allem die Phantasievorstellungen, die das Volk seit alters von diesen Erscheinungen gehabt hat, untersucht werden, kurz, die volkskundlichen Mitteilungen.

[1]) „Tous les grands phénomènes de la nature, pestes et contagions, tonnerre, météors, arc-en ciel, ouragans même étaient considérés par ce monde ignorant comme jeux des puissances célestes, ou des démons, agents mystérieux mal définis, mais à la merci desquels la pauvre humanité était livrée par la volonté du bon Dieu“ (Perron: „Broye-les-Pesmes. Histoire, statistique, langage“ in Mém. de la Société d'Emulation du Doubs, 1888, pp. 384, 385).

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Ein beträchtlicher Teil der folgenden Untersuchungen wird sich also mit dem zu beschäftigen haben, was auf die eine oder andere Art mit dem Volksglauben in Verbindung steht. Trotzdem spotten viele, ja die meisten Benennungen, einer genügenden Erklärung. Und warum? Ich glaube, die Hauptschwierigkeit rührt eben von der Natur der betreffenden Begriffe selbst her.

Betrachtet man die Benennungen eines sinnlich leicht wahrnehmbaren Gegenstandes, eines Werkzeugs, so sind die meisten aus der handgreiflichen Natur desselben leicht abzuleiten. Wie anders liegt die Sache bei einem Begriffe wie dem der Wolke z. B., die alle möglichen Formen, Farben und Grössen hat und dazu weit entfernt ist. Welche Fülle von Anregungen für die Phantasie, und wie schwer ist es, den mannigfaltigen Anlass und Grund zu diesen Anregungen zu finden!

Das Volk ist „le grand faiseur de métaphores", wie es in der Einleitung zu Robins, Prévosts Dictionnaire du pat. norm. heisst. „Formation indigène et création métaphorique, c'est là après le latin la source capitale du lexique patois" (Sainéan: Etymologies lyonnaises in Revue de philologie française et de litt. 22. 1908. p. 139), diese Worte gelten in besonders hohem Grade von den Benennungen der atmosphärischen Erscheinungen. Die volkstümlichen Metaphern sind hier zahlreich und oft überaus zutreffend und verraten scharfes Beobachtungsvermögen. Manchmal sind sie voll geistreichen Humors und erheben sich bisweilen zu poetischem Fluge. Leider aber, wie Sainéan seine obigen Reflexionen fortsetzt, „cette mine inépuisable, avec ses nombreaux filons qu'on rencontre à toutes les avenues du domaine linguistique est restée jusqu'ici à peu près inexplorée" und manches treffende Bild geht dem Verständnis verloren. Jedoch ist es mir im Laufe der Arbeit klar geworden, dass manche Schwierigheiten sich durch die Behandlung der ganzen Gruppe von Nebenbegriffen gelöst haben. Wenn es auch infolge dessen wegen der Weitläufigkeit des zubehandelnden Gebietes bisweilen der Behandlung an Gründlichkeit gebricht, was durch eine eingehendere Untersuchung eines einzelnen Begriffes zu vermeiden gewesen wäre, so hat das Heranziehen von Nebenbegriffen und ein

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Vergleich mit der Bezeichnungsweise derselben einen beträchtlichen Teil meiner glücklichsten Deutungen ermöglicht, die sonst unerklärbar geblieben wären."

Zuletzt etwas über die Anordnung der behandelten Begriffe. Indem ich immer von der Vorstellung des Volkes ausgehe, trenne ich z. B. Gestirne und Regenbogen nicht, sondern gebe in dem ersten Abschnitt „Erscheinungen am Himmel" alles, was man am Himmel sieht, also Wolken, Blitz u. ä., um dann unter dem zweiten Abschnitt „Wettererscheinungen" die anderen gewöhnlichen meteorologischen Erscheinungen zu behandeln.

Bevor ich nun zur Veröffentlichung vorliegender Studie schreite, will ich hiermit folgenden Herren Romanisten meinen tiefempfundenen Dank aussprechen: Herrn Prof. A. Zauner, der mich zu dieser Arbeit angeleitet hat, Herrn Hofrat Prof. Meyer-Lübke und Herrn Prof. E. Tappolet, die mich bei Beginn der Arbeit mit Rat und Tat freundlich unterstützt haben, Prof. Tappolet ausserdem durch die liebenswürdige Überlassung seiner ungedruckten Materialien zu Glossaire des patois de la Suisse romande, meinen Freunden, D:r O. J. Tallgren, der mir manchen wertvollen Rat gegeben hat, und Herrn Oscar Greiner, der mir bei der Korrektur behilflich gewesen ist.

Turku (Åbo), Finland.

Walter O. Streng.

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I. Erscheinungen am Himmel.

Himmel.

Wenn man wohl kaum aus der geringen Zahl der volkssprachlichen Benennungen auf den geringen Gebrauch des betreffenden Begriffes im Volksmunde direkt schliessen darf, so möchte man doch geneigt sein, dem Himmel als dem oberen Weltraum, dem gewölbten „Sitz der Gestirne" einen verhältnismässig kleinen Platz in der Phantasie des Volkes in Frankreich einzuräumen. Wenn das Volk seine Wetterbeobachtungen macht, geschieht es selten mit direktem Bezug auf den Himmel, vielmehr werden gewöhnlich dann die Sterne, die Sonne, ihr Auf- und Untergang und die Wolken berücksichtigt. Doch kommen auch Fälle vor, wo man einer ausserordentlichen Farbe des Himmels gewisse Bedeutung hinsichtlich der Wettervoraussage beigemessen hat. So z. B. bedeutet ein feuerroter Himmel oft schönes Wetter oder Gewitter (Sébillot, Légendes de la mer II., p. 14), oder wenn der Himmel abends im Osten rot ist, so deutet dies in Baugé auf kaltes Wetter, wenn er im Westen rot ist, auf Regen (Rev. des trad. pop. XX. p. 426). Ein schwarzer Himmel bedeutet gewöhnlich schlechtes Wetter; deshalb sagen die Seeleute: „Le ciel est noir comme le chapeau du commissaire: il va pleuvoir du goudron ou de l'encre" (ibd. p. 15). Wenn der Himmel grau ist, sagen sie: „Le temps est au conseil", vielleicht weil er gewissermassen noch unschlüssig ist. Der Himmel erscheint dem

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Volke gewöhnlich zu unbestimmt und zu vage: ein unendliches, uraltes Blau. Diese Farbe ist für den Himmel charakteristisch. Wenn die Wolken, die den Himmel bedeckten, sich plötzlich trennen und ein Stückchen Blau sich zeigt, sieht man den „alten Himmel" („le vieux ciel") wieder. Ist der „alte Himmel" sehr klein, sagt man an der Küste von la Manche: er ist so gross wie „la culotte d'un gendarme" (Sébillot, Légendes, croyances et superstitions de la mer. II., p. 15). Im frz. Belgien spricht man von einem Stückchen blauen Himmels, das gross genug ist „pour faire un manteau à la Sainte Vierge et des bas à l'enfant Jésus", (Rev. des trad. pop. XVIII, p. 373). Was die religiösen Vorstellungen vom Himmel anbelangt, so scheint in einigen Gegenden das Paradies in den Himmel versetzt zu sein. Man hat da nämlich Himmel mit Paradies identifiziert. So z. B. in einigen Gegenden von Anjou, wo die Kinder beim Reigen singen:

„Mouille, mouille, paradis,
tout le monde est à l'abri"

(Verr.-On., II. Folklore. p. 405).

Sonst verlegen die volkskundlichen Mitteilungen Frankreichs das Paradies mit Gott und den Engeln oberhalb des Himmels. Nach einem bretonischen Volksglauben z. B. muss man drei Wolkenschichten, eine schwarze, eine graue und eine schneeweisse, durchschreiten, um ins Paradies zu gelangen (Le Braz: La légende de la Mort en Basse-Bretagne, t. II., pp. 378—79), und man glaubt, dass die Seelen von dort oben auf die Erde herabblicken können. Auch stellt man sich gern vor, dass bei einem Gewitter ein plötzlich erscheinender blauer Punkt zwischen den Wolken, z. B. wenn der Blitz diese zerreisst, gleichsam ein Fenster sei, durch das man einen Einblick in Gottes Himmel bekommen könne.

Der Himmel hat im Volksglauben Frankreichs dann und wann die Form einer grossen Glocke oder eines Kessels, an dessen Wölbung die Sterne wie Diamanten geklebt sind. Auf die erstere Form deutet der Name *la capo dóu soulèu*, was Mistral in seinem Wörterbuch mit „la voûte céleste" übersetzt. Auch in Mistrals *Mirèio*

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findet sich *capo* (eigentlich „manteau“ aus lat. cappa) in dieser Bedeutung: *La bluio capo souleianto s'espandissié, founso, brihanto* (Mirèio X. 64). Unter dem runden Himmelskessel vollziehen Sonne und Mond, die ein unsichtbarer Mechanismus oder mächtige, übernatürliche Geister in Bewegung setzen, ihre Bahnen oberhalb der stillestehenden Erde. An der Küste von Finistère denkt man sich den Himmel, wie die Erde, mit Gras und Wald bedeckt; das Adjektiv *glaz* bedeutet da sowohl das Blau des Himmels wie das Grün der Wiese. In diesem Volksglauben sind die Sterne eine weidende Herde (Revue des Trad. pop. t. XVII, p. 585), vgl. unter den Sternen unten.

Merkwürdigerweise verdankt der Himmel selten seinen Namen den Sternen, vgl. lat. „ad *sidera* ferre“, „ad *sidera* missus“, „*sideribus* regnare“ (Georges). Im Süden habe ich nur ein *estelan* bei Mistral und ganz im Norden, in Namur, *stoèlî* (*stoèlé* étoilé) und *aistrée* bei Pirsoul (Dict. wall. fr.) belegt gefunden, das erstere ausserdem „très peu usité“.

Neben dem schriftsprachlichen *ciel* mit dessen mundartlichen Varianten kommt vereinzelt *ar* (*aer* Luftschicht, Atmosphäre) für Himmel vor (Jaubert: Gloss. du centre de la France), auch *ęr* (Horning, Zur wallon. Lautlehre, Z. f. rom. Ph. 1888) und *air-do-tomps* für „ciel, firmament“ : „o chet de l'aive de *l'air-do-tomps*“ für „il tombe de l'eau du ciel“ (Lalanne, vgl. unter *temps*). Hier muss wohl die Bedeutungsentwickelung über „Witterung“, ähnlich wie bei *temps*, vor sich gegangen sein [1]), welches Wort in vielen Gegenden *ciel* in der Bedeutung „Himmel“ verdrängt hat. [2]) Zwar hat man schon dem lat. *tempus* die Bedeutung „Himmel“ zuzuschreiben versucht (so z. B. Verrier-On. in seinem Wörterbuch unter Bezugnahme auf die bekannten Worte des Ovid: „Tempora si fuerint nubila, solus eris“, zu geschweigen von den Versuchen, wo das Wort mit temp-

[1]) Vgl. die Bedeutung von *temps* im Satze: Les hirondelles volent bas, nous aurons du temps (nous aurons de la pluie ou de l'orage) bei Humbert.

[2]) „En Champagne, le mot „ciel“ est rarement employé, on dit plutôt le „temps“ (Rev. des trad. pop. XVIII. p. 429).

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lum zusammengestellt wird), aber überzeugend sind diese Erklärungen nicht. Um den Gebrauch des *temps* für „Himmel" in der Volkssprache zu erklären, braucht man auch gar nicht diese Bedeutung schon im Lateinischen vorauszusetzen. Dieser Gebrauch kann auch sehr leicht aus solchen Verbindungen entstanden sein, wie z. B. „le temps est pluvieux, couvert" in der Bedeutung: die Zeit, die Luft, das Wetter ist regnerisch, trübe. So wie man „il fait beau temps" und „le temps est beau" sagte und meinte, das Wetter sei schön, ebenso übertrug man die Schönheit des Wetters auf den gleich schönen Himmel und sagte, dieser sei schön; zunächst bei Eigenschaften, die ebenso gut auf das Wetter wie auf den Himmel passten, und dann auch bei anderen. Vielleicht liegt dieser Übertragung die Vorliebe des Volkes für alles mehr sinnlich Wahrnehmbare, die Vorliebe für das Bildliche zugrunde: die Luft, das Wetter ist schwerer zu verbildlichen als der grosse Himmels„kessel" droben. Wie reich an Metaphern das Volk eben bei diesem Begriff ist, mögen folgende Ausdrücke veranschaulichen. Dabei ist zu bemerken, dass die begriffliche Grenze zwischen Wetter und Himmel oft sehr undeutlich ist, was ja eben den betreffenden Übergang erleichtert. Zuerst einige Ausdrücke, bei denen die Grundbedeutung „Witterung" deutlich zu sein scheint: die auch in der Schriftsprache vorkommenden *„temps de chien"*, *„temps de demoiselle"* (das eine so schlechtes Wetter, wie es nur Hunde auszuhalten vermögen, das andere ein Wetter unbestimmten Charakters, wobei es weder regnet, noch windig, noch sonnig ist), *temps malade* „t. lourd, orageux" (Verr.-On.), *un temps solide* „qui est de durée" (Humbert), *lòu tens es mouel* „le temps est humide" (Chabrand-de Rochas), *le temps est noyé* „quand il pleut et que cela semble devoir continuer" (Lecomte), *un riche temps* „qui hâte et favorise la végétation, celui qui est propre à combler les voeux du laboureur et à l'enrichir" (Humbert), ähnlich wie *un têms d'or* „un temps favorable aux récoltes" (Mstrl.), *méchant temps* [1]) (opposé de *biâ-temps* „beau temps") „temps de pluie" (The-

[1]) *l'mauvâs temps* bedeutet in Morvan „l'hiver". „Le printemps, l'été, l'automne sont pour nous des expressions poétiques dont nous n'avons guère

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venin). Vielleicht eine Mittelstufe zwischen „Witterung“ und „Himmel“ stellt der Gebrauch des Wortes *temps* in folgenden Ausdrücken dar: „Le *temps* se met au vert“, c.-à-d. à la pluie (Thibault), eine Redensart, die wohl dadurch entstanden ist, dass der Regen für das Spriessen des Grüns notwendig ist (hiermit vergleiche man eine ähnliche Ausdrucksweise für Regen aus der Normandie: „*Il tombe du beurre* „quand la pluie fait pousser l'herbe“, Robin, Prévost etc.), *tă bī* „ciel couvert de nuages gris“ (Edmont), *le temps gras* „ciel chargé de nuages“ und *le temps s'engraisse* „le ciel se charge de nuages“ (Jaubert, Moisy etc.) *lou tŏn s'îepureue* „le temps s'épure, s'éclaircisse“ (Vautherin), *le temps s'essuie* in der Bedeutung „la pluie va cesser“ (Humbert). Am deutlichsten zeigt sich die Verwendung des Wortes in der Bedeutung „Himmel“ in folgenden Fällen: *ĕl tă ĕ d'ĕn pyĕf*, d. h. wenn der Himmel wie „aus einem Stück“ ist, entweder ganz bewölkt oder wolkenlos (Edmont), oder in „les étoiles brillent au *temps*“; „le *temps* est bas; chargé“ (Verrier-On.); „le *temps* est étoilé“; „il y a des fumées dans le *temps*“, oder wenn von dem „feu du *temps*“ in der Bed. von „le feu du ciel“, „la foudre“ gesprochen wird (de Chambure); „il y a des nuages dans le *temps*, de la grêle dans le *temps*“; „il y a ce soir beaucoup d'étoiles au *temps*, dans le *temps*“ (Jaubert, Centre) „Gna poin d'étwèl ô *tan*“ (Richenet); „oiseau bleu, *couleur du temps*, viens à moi promtement“ (Chansons, Contes de fées bei Jaubert, Gloss. du centre); *tèmps estela, t. esperluca* (ex-perlucare dessiller les yeux; p. p. resplendissant d'étoiles. Mirèio, VIII. 105). Für dieselbe Verwendung sprechen auch: „mouiller à plein *temps*“ für „pleuvoir à verse“ (Verrier-On.); le *temps* va se déboucher“ für „il va pleuvoir“ (Choussy) und folgende eigentümliche Redensart aus dem Jura: „une vieille fée court par le *temps*“, womit man meint, dass eine alte Fee Ende März oder Anfang April — eine Zeit, die in der Gegend des Jura wegen

besoin. L'année se divise seulement en deux parties: la *saïon* (saison) et l'*mauvâs temps*. Le bon temps et la *saïon* sont synonymes“. (De Chambure). Auch im Vulgärlat. kommt die Zweiteilung des Jahres vor: *satio aestivatica* und *satio hibernatica*.

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häufig eintretenden Frostes für die Bodenprodukte verhängnisvoll zu sein pflegt — über den Himmel läuft und Reif auf die Erde fallen lässt (Rev. des trad. pop. XIV. p. 179). Vgl. auch: „l'oiseau s'est envolei jusqu'au *temps*" (Grosjean et Briot) und andere Beisp. weiter unten.

Wenn der Himmel sich aufklärt, sagt man bald, dass er „sich erweitert": *relargà* (Calvino, Mstrl.), bald, dass er „sich öffnet": *s'épénił* (s'épanouit) (Ledieu), bald wieder, dass er „sich glatt macht": *lou tèms s'espeio* (von ex + pilum Haar, Mstrl.) oder *ěl tă s'debarbūł* („le temps se débarbouille" bei Edmont), bald, dass er „sich erhebt": *lou tèms s'enausso* (in-altiare = hausser), *lou tèms s'aubouro* (arborare, arbor Baum), beide Ausdrücke bei Mstrl. belegt. oder: *i s'èlev* (*l'tan*) bei Richenet, bald endlich, dass er „rot wird": *lou tem ses escorlota* (fr. *écarlate* rot) „pour dire que les nuages ont disparu" („L'écarlate dut paraître bien brillante à nos pères et ils pourraient bien avoir exprimé par ce mot ce qui frappait leur vue agréablement". Béronie). Einem Ausdruck „le temps *s'épare*" (Puichaud) für „le ciel s'éclaircie" liegt vielleicht die Vorstellung von „Wetterleuchten" zugrunde (vgl. d. W. *épar* unter „Wetterleuchten" und *il épare* für „il fait des éclairs" in Anjou, n. Verrier-On.) In Unter-Wallis kommt ein Ausdruck *s'ębidä* für „s'éclaircir" bei *temps* „Himmel" vor, ein Wort, das von Fankhauser in Rev. de dial. rom. 1910. I—II $^3/_4$ auf ein *bida* „trou à une porte, entrée de la poche des robes de femme" zurückgeführt wird und wahrscheinlich dasselbe Wort ist, wie das von F. in Troistorrents belegte *le beyde* „trous de bleu dans le ciel gris". Somit läge hier ein Ausdruck vor, der mit einem *le cel trauco* „der Himmel öffnet sich" „les nuages forment un trou par lequel on peut apercevoir le bleu de la voûte céleste" in Haute-Garonne (Rev. des trad. pop., XVIII. p. 425) vergleichbar wäre und mit dem obenerwähnten „alten Himmel" (*le vieux ciel*) eng zusammenhängt.

Auch für den bewölkten Himmel hat man eine ganze Menge volkssprachlicher Ausdrücke je nach Art und Ausdehnung der Wolken. Von der Redensart: der Himmel ist „aus einem Stück", wenn er völlig mit Wolken überzogen ist, ist schon die Rede gewesen.

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Wenn man keine einzelnen Wolken unterscheiden kann, sondern der ganze Himmel gleichmässig bewölkt ist, „glättet", „poliert" sich der Himmel: *le temps s'aipoulit* (*à* + *polir*) „le ciel prend une teinte uniforme à l'époque des grandes pluies d'automne" (de Chambure).

Wenn der Himmel nur zum Teil bewölkt ist, drückt man sich verschieden aus, je nachdem die Wolken sich vereinzelt oder in ganzen Haufen zeigen. Im ersteren Falle ruft die Formation der einzelnen Wolken verschiedene Ausdrücke hervor. Wenn die Wolken wie Streifen, stratusartig, erscheinen, sagt man sowohl im Norden als im Süden Frankreichs, dass der Himmel sich mit „Stangen" überzieht: *s'embarrer* (*barre* „nuage en forme de barre": *i' no des barres à che temps, au soleil*, was als Zeichen eines herannahenden Regens zu betrachten ist, Ledieu); *ĕl tà il ĕ bârè* und *s'bârĕ* „se charger de *bâr*" (Edmont); lou tèms *s'embarro* (Mstrl.), vgl. unter „Wolke".

Sind die Wolken dagegen cumulusförmig, spricht man von einem Himmel, der mit runden „apfelförmigen" Wolken bedeckt ist (un ciel pommelé [1]) oder von einem Himmel voller Schafe, einem „Schäfchen"himmel („ciel moutonneux" [2]), und sagt, dass er sich „wollig" macht: „le ciel se moutonne", [(*mouton* bedeutet in der Gegend von Metz direkt „nuage en forme de cumulus". Lorrain; dasselbe W. für „nuage" auch bekannt in der Schweiz (Genf u. Waadtland), wo ausserdem (Berner Jura) ein *berbijat* „kleine Lämmer" für Cirruswolken belegt ist (Materialien zu Gloss. des pat. d. l. Suisse rom.). Auch in Haute-Bretagne nennt man die weissen Cumuluswolken „moutons" oder „balles de coton" [3]), und man sagt: „les

[1]) „Grüner Apfel", *la pomme verte*, heisst eine Wolkenmasse in den Ardennen, nach der man 48 Stunden vorher mit Bestimmtheit vorauszusagen vermeint, ob es Regen gibt oder nicht: „suivant son parcours dans le ciel il fera beau ou il pleuvra pendant 15 jours" (Meyrac, Trad., coutumes, légendes et contes des Ardennes, p. 180).

[2]) „Kälber" nennt man die Wolken in Schleswig-Holstein, wo man von „Wetterkalwer„ spricht, die, wenn die Luft nicht recht klar ist, vor den Augen „herumzugaukeln scheinen". (Volkstümliche Findlinge aus Schleswig-Holstein in „Am Urquell" Bd. III, Heft IV).

[3]) In Südfrankreich auch *balo de lano* (Piat).

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moutons montent en bergerie" (Sébillot, Légendes, croyances et superstitions de la mer II. p. 12) (vgl. ital. „cielo pecorelo" in Venedig)]. Auch sagt man: „le ciel se *matonne* (Ledieu) und *ciel matonné* (Moisy), wobei wohl eine ähnliche Vorstellung dem Volke vorgeschwebt haben dürfte. Eigentlich liegt hier das deutsche *matte* „geronnene Milch" und norm. *matte*, oder vielmehr ein verkürztes *mat* in derselben Bedeutung, zugrunde, wovon z. B. norm. *matons* „grumeaux de lait caillé" (Moisy). Doch mag sowohl formell wie begrifflich eine Verwechselung der beiden Wörter *maton* und *mouton* in diesem Zusammenhang stattgefunden haben, was um so leichter geschehen konnte, als *maton* auch in der Bedeutung „partie de la laine échappée à la carde et restée au peloton" vorkommt (HDT.).

Vielleicht liegt ein, wenn auch nicht ähnliches, so doch nicht ganz fernes Bild auch folgendem Ausdruck zugrunde. In Savoyen sagt man: *É s'eraznë su Êneci* in der Bedeutung: „(le ciel) se couvre du côte d'Annecy" (Const.-Désorm.) Hier liegt nach C.-D. ein Wort *razon* vor, das wohl dasselbe ist wie ein anderes von ihm belegte Wort: *rason* „nuage allongé et peu épais". Ich wäre geneigt, dieses *rason* mit dem im Süden gewöhnlichen Ausdruck „lou tèms es bèn *ras*" (Mstrl.) in Verbindung zu setzen, wo also von einem bewölkten Himmel die Rede ist. Somit wäre hier von einem „kurzgeschnittenen" Himmel oder von einem Himmel mit „kurzwolligen" Wolken die Rede.

Auch sagt man: der Himmel bedeckt sich mit „Bündeln": Lyonn. *o bottille* „le ciel se couvre", wo ein *bottillî* (> botta „Bündel" + Suff. *-illî* = frz. *-iller*) nach Puitspelu zugrunde läge.

Bei Mstrl. kommt für „le temps se couvre" ein: *lou tèms s'emboutilho* (s'emboutilho) vor, was dem ebengenannten Ausdruck, was die Form des Verbums betrifft, nahe kommt (vgl. *s'embarro* und *barro*).

Der Himmel bedeckt sich bisweilen mit „Blumen". Dies findet statt, wenn man es am Himmel wetterleuchten sieht, so im Picard.: *ël tă ỳ flèri* „der Himmel blüht" (Edmont). Auch spricht man daselbst von „Gewitterblumen": *flèr d'öräj* "petits nuages orageux qui tendent à s'agglomérer" (Edmont) oder *fleur d'hernu* „nuages précur-

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seurs d'un orage" (Ledieu), über *hernu* als „Gewitter" siehe Göhri, Blitz u. Donner, S. 50 u. 51.

Wenn der Himmel sich mit ganz leichten, feinen Wolken bedeckt, kommt es dem Volke vor, als sähe es ihn mit einem „Spinngewebe" oder „Netz" überzogen; dann heisst es: *le tẽ s'arañè*, wo ein *arã* „léger nuage ressemblant à une toile d'araignée" (Odin) zugrunde liegt (*aran*, *eran*, *aragno*, *iragno* bei Mstrl. < lat. araneum, eigentl. textum araneum „Spinngewebe"; Levy: *aranh*, *eranh* „Netz"), vgl. auch *aranyé* für „nuages en forme de cirrus" in Waadtland (Mater. zu Gloss. des pat. d. l. Suisse rom.), *rantelo*[1]) „léger nuage" in Südfrankreich (Piat) und *cel rantelad* in Haute-Garonne (Revue des trad. pop. XVII. pp. 425—426).

Ohne die einzelnen Wolken zu berücksichtigen, sagt man in der Schriftsprache vom Himmel, er sei „bedeckt" oder „verschleiert": couvert, voilé.

Diese „Bedecktheit" liegt wahrscheinlich folgenden Ausdrücken zugrunde, bei denen ausserdem oft an eine Personifizierung des Himmels gedacht worden sein dürfte. So sagt man z. B.: „der Himmel bedeckt sich mit einem Käppchen": *le temps se calotte* (Verrier-On.). Bildlich wird auch von dem „Käppchen des Himmels" gesprochen: *la calotte des cieux* (HDT.), vgl. auch capo dou soulèu S. 6. Bald versteckt sich der alte, blaue Himmel vollständig, er „zieht sich in seine Hütte zurück": *lou tèms s'encabano* (in *capannare < capanna) oder er verschwindet wie „in einen grossen Ledersack": *lou tèms s'embourso* (bursa).

Die Personifizierung des Himmels geht aber noch weiter. Sowie man auch im Lat. den Himmel in gewissen Beziehungen mit Gott oder einer Gottheit überhaupt identifiziert, d. h. diesen Begriff für jenen nimmt und z. B. anstatt unter freiem Himmel: *sub caelo* „unter Gott", „unter Jupiter": *sub divo*, *sub Jove* (Cic., Verg., Nep. u. A.) sagt, so ist es auch leichtverständlich, wenn man in französischen Mundarten dem Himmel Tätigkeiten und Eigenschaften zumutet, die

[1]) vgl. afrz. *arantele* „toile d'araignée" (Gdfr.) u. Cohn, Suffixwandlungen, S. 218.

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eigentlich einem Gott oder den im Himmel waltenden Geistern zukommen. So kann man z. B. in der Picardie hören, dass der Himmel, wenn er sich bewölkt, „sich grämt“: *vlo le temps qui se chagrinne* (Ledieu); *„le temps se chagrine“* (Robin, Prévost, Dict. du pat. norm.) oder dass er „sich blind macht“ (?) in Ille-et-Vilaine, wo *se bôgner* sowohl für „se couvrir les yeux“ als für „se couvrir de nuages, en parlant du ciel“ gesagt wird (Lecomte), vgl. *borgne* und *niola borgno* unter „Nebel“. Auch sagt man, dass der Himmel „Fratzen schneidet und schmollt“: *lou tèms s'engimerris* (*s'engimerris* < *s'engimerra* „se rechigner“ Mstrl. Mirèio) oder dass er „verdriesslich wird“, wenn er mit Regen droht: *el temps se rengrinne* (*„se rengrigner* se dit du ciel lorsque il s'assombrit“, Ledieu, Monographie d'un bourg pic.; altfrz. *grigner* „attrister, refl. s'assombrir, se mettre en colère“, Norm. *grigner* „être maussade“). Ein ganz gewöhnliches Bild ist, dass der Himmel „sich erzürnt“ („le temps se courrouce“), so: *lou tèms s'enmalicio* (in *malitiare, malitia > malice) bei Mstrl.

Zu dieser Gruppe gehört auch der bei Mstrl. für den „zürnenden Himmel“ belegte Ausdruck: *lou tèms s'encagno* (*s'encagno* höchstwahrscheinlich von *cagno* „Hündin“ abzuleiten; vgl. „Hundewetter“ [1]) und „Hundesuppe“ für „Regen“ unten; der Ausdruck wäre also so zu verstehen, dass der Himmel zornig wird wie ein böser Hund).

Der Himmel ist „schlechter Laune“: *le temps est en humeur* sagt man in Bourbon, wenn es blitzt und donnert (Choussy).

[1]) „Hundetage“, „jours au chien“ nennt man in Franche-Comté die ersten Tage des Juli, wo man weder sich waschen noch in den Kartoffel- und Maisfeldern arbeiten darf (Rev. des trad. pop. XIV. 443).

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Sonne.

Nach dem Volksglauben in einigen Teilen Frankreichs ist die Sonne das Werk Gottes, wogegen der Mond vom Teufel erschaffen ist [1]), ein Glaube, der sich wahrscheinlich darauf gründet, dass der Mond weniger hell ist und in der Nacht leuchtet. Diese Vorstellung kommt besonders in Haute-Bretagne vor. Viel verbreiteter ist jedoch die Ansicht, dass beide Himmelskörper von Gott erschaffen sind und dass der Mond anfangs auch eine Sonne mit demselben Glanz wie das Tagesgestirn gewesen sei, dass er aber entweder sich abgenutzt habe, wie es sich die Bauern z. B. in Rouergue vorstellen (Revue des langues rom. 1883, p. 190—191), oder dass er nur seine „Perücke", d. h. die Strahlen verloren habe (ebenda p. 191, note), wie das Volk in Nîmes glaubt. Schon seit grauen Zeiten haben die Völker der Sonne, wie auch anderen grossen Naturerscheinungen, menschliche Gestalt beigelegt. Stellten sich doch die Griechen die Sonne als den schönen Titanen Helios vor, der mit seinem feurigen Viergespann [2]) im östlichen Okeanos seine Fahrt über den Himmel beginnt und abends in den westlichen Okeanos hinabtaucht, um schlafend in goldenem Nachen zu seinem Ausgangspunkt zurückzufahren. Auch später, in neugriechischer Tradition, wird Helios als ein riesenhaftes Wesen, in Rumänien und nach serbischen

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[1]) „Dieu a fait la terre, le diable a fait l'eau pour la noyer,
Dieu a fait le soleil, le diable a fait la lune,
Dieu a fait la pluie, le diable a fait la grêle,
Dieu a fait le vent, le diable a fait la tempête."
(R d. Trad. pop. I, p. 203).

In Rumänien hat das Volk die Vorstellung, dass die Sonne Gottes Stern ist, während der Mond der heiligen Jungfrau und die Planeten den grossen Männern: Weisen, Kaisern u. a. gehören (R. d. trad. pop. XV, p. 3).

[2]) Das Viergespann der Sonne kommt auch später noch hier und da im Volksglauben vor, so z. B. in Volksliedern aus Livorno, wo es heisst: „Sole, sole vieni con quattro caval neri, con quattro caval bianchi, Sole, sole vieni avanti". (Rev. des trad. pop. 1887. p. 541).

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Volkssagen als ein riesiger „Vielfrass" vorgestellt [1]) („Les géants et les nains, d'après les traditions roumaines et balkaniques" in R. d. trad. pop. XVI, 1901, p. 295). In Frankreich stellen bisweilen im Volksglauben Sonne und Mond Eheleute vor: die Sonne ist der Mann, der Mond das Weib. So heisst es in einem merkwürdigen Werke eines Astrologen Mizauld de Montluçon „Secrets de la lune", vom Jahre 1581, der Mond sei nichts anderes als „l'épouse du soleil", „la poule argentée du coq doré". „Mann und Weib" sind diese Himmelskörper noch in Limousin und im belgischen Luxemburg. Die Sonne sollte anfangs nur vormittags scheinen, der Mond hingegen nachmittags. Als aber dieser später schon früher zu scheinen anfing, beklagte sich jene bei Gott, und es wurde bestimmt, dass der Mond von da an nur in der Nacht scheinen dürfe (R. d. trad. pop. XVII, p. 340 und 590—591).

Auf eine Personifizierung der Sonne seitens des Volkes deutet auch das Vorkommen mehrerer Beinamen hin, die eigentlich einem Manne zukommen. So z. B. nennt man die Sonne in einigen Gegenden der Schweiz „Jean Rousset": *džã rosé* (Odin). In Manche heisst sie „Pol": *V'la Pol qui se lève* (Sébillot, Légendes de la Mer, II, p. 39), in der Dauphiné „Monsieur Durand", in der Picardie „Colin" (R. d. trad. pop. VI, p. 334 u. XVII, p. 275), in Haut-Maine „Michaud", „Michot" (Montesson). Auf eine Personifizierung der Sonne weist auch folgende Redensart aus Haute-Bretagne. Wenn die Sonne

[1]) Vielleicht hat man die Sonne mit diesem Namen benannt, weil sie die Schneemassen zum Schmelzen bringt und so auch das überall bekannte Rätsel vom Manne ohne Mund, der den Vogel ohne Flügel frisst, hervorgerufen hat. Das aus dem 4. Jahrhundert stammende latein. Rätsel:

„Volavit volucer sine plumis,
Sedit in arbore sine foliis,
Venit homo absque manibus,
Conscendit illum sine pedibus,
Assavit illum sine igne,
Comedit illum sine ore."

(Mélusine, 1886—87, p. 83).

. . . scheint nämlich durch alle seine Varianten das Bild des Fressens bewahrt zu haben (vgl. Mélusine, 1886—87, pp. 83—90).

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in Wolken untergeht, sagt man an der Küste, dass „il se couche dans la chemise“ (Sébillot, Légendes de la mer, II, p. 46).

Die französischen Seeleute nennen die Sonne oft „Bourguignon“, ein Beiname, der auch in Poitou und wallonisch Belgien vorkommt (Sébillot, Légendes de la mer II, p. 39 und Bulletin de la société des parlers de France 1893—1898): „Bourguignon montre son nez hors de l'eau“, oder „V'la Bourguignon qui se lève, il a encore mauvaise figure ce matin“. Auch in den Sagen und Legenden wird die Sonne oft personifiziert. So erzählt z. B. eine Sage aus der Basse-Bretagne von einer Hirtin, die einem Jüngling begegnete, der so schimmernd schön war, dass sie ihn für die Sonne hielt. Er heiratet sie und führt sie heim in seinen kristallenen Palast, wo er sie jeden Morgen verlässt, um gegen Abend wieder heimzukehren. (Luzel, Contes de Basse-Bretagne I, p. 41—58). Ähnliche Sagen sind auch aus der Haute-Bretagne belegt (vgl. R. d. trad. pop. XVI, p. 119).

Abgesehen von diesen Personifikationen scheint das Volk sich wenig um Form, Natur und Grösse der Sonne gekümmert zu haben. Die Vorstellung von einem *arbre de lumière* (Mélusine 1886, 1877, p. 129) dürfte selten sein. Eine runde Scheibe,[1]) viel kleiner als die Erde: das ist wohl die allgemeinste Vorstellung sowohl von der Sonne als auch vom Mond. Die Sonne bewegt sich, die Erde steht stille; die Sonne legt sich im Meer zur Ruhe, um am folgenden Morgen mit neuen Kräften ihre Laufbahn von vorn anzufangen (Sébillot, Légendes de la mer II, p. 41): Vorstellungen also, die im grossen und ganzen mit denen aus dem griechischen und römischen Altertum übereinstimmen (vgl. bei Festus: occasus vel in Oceanum mersio und bei Homer Od. 1, II. 7). Auch nach germanischen Traditionen nimmt die Sonne in der Nacht ein Bad, weshalb sie sich auch so schön erhebt. Grimm (Deutsche Mythologie, Kap. XXIII) berichtet auch von slavischen Traditionen, wonach das Meer, das die Mutter der Sonne ist, diese nachts in seinen Schoss aufnimmt.

[1]) Über die Vorstellungen von der Sonne als „Rad“, die ehemals die eigentümlichen Feuerräder beim Johannisfeuer in Lothringen herbeiführten, vgl. näheres Grimm, D. M.[4] S. 515, 516 und 585, ebenda über die Vorstellungen von der Sonne als „Schild“ und „Gottes Auge“.

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Im Vergleich mit dem Monde (siehe unten) ist die Wunderkraft, die das Volk der Sonne zuschreibt, sehr gering, vielleicht aus dem einfachen Grunde, weil der helle Tag viel weniger für abergläubische Phantasien geeignet ist, als die monderleuchtete, geheimnisvolle Nacht. Nur dem Aufgang der Sonne legt man Wunderkraft bei, z. B. dass sie dann Fieber zu heilen imstande sei, wenn dabei noch eine gewisse Anzahl *Aves* gelesen werden (J. B. Thiers: Traité des superstitions, p. 367).

Gleich dem Monde, hat auch die Sonne im Volksglauben grosse Bedeutung als Wahrsagerin, besonders in Bezug auf das Wetter [1]), gehabt. Geht die Sonne rot und wolkenlos unter, so bedeutet dies schönes, warmes Wetter: eine Voraussage, die wohl überall in der Welt bekannt sein dürfte, so auch in Frankreich. [2]) Wenn die Sonne in Wolken untergeht, so bedeutet es schlechtes Wetter. [3]) Schlech-

[1]) Nur selten dürfte die Sonne sonst im täglichen Leben als Wahrsagerin Berücksichtigung gefunden haben. Doch soll sie in Lüttich und Umgegend bei Hochzeiten genau beobachtet werden: wenn z. B. bei der Trauung ein Sonnenstrahl in die Kirche fällt, so ist dies ein Zeichen des Glücks; verbirgt sich die Sonne hinter Wolken, während der Geistliche das Brautpaar segnet, so gilt dies als ein sehr verhängnisvolles Zeichen u. s. w. (R. d. trad. pop. XVII, p. 566). Auch glaubt man, die Sonne habe bei einigen grossen kirchlichen Festen Einfluss auf den Ausfall der Ernte; so meint man in Ille-et-Vilaine: „quand le soleil *raie* (luit) pendant la grand'messe, le jour de Noël, signe certain qu'il y aura des pommes" (Mélusine 1886—87, p. 179).

[2]) Vgl. diese und folg. progn. Redensarten aus Languedoc:

„Lou soulél, que se cóucho, roussèl
Lou lendemó se moustroró bèl" (Vayssier).

[3]) „Quand lou soulél s'engóurgo en se couchén, márquo que lou lendemó foró pas bèl tems" („quand le soleil se noie dans les nuages à son coucher, c'est une preuve que le lendemain il ne fera pas beau", Vayssier). Regen am folgenden Tage bedeutet es auch, wenn der Wind bei Sonnenuntergang von S.-O. weht: „Soulél que se cóucho ombè l'oltó, plèjo ol lendemó" (Vayssier). — Wenn die Sonne in Wolken untergeht, sagt man in Poitou, dass sie „eine Tonne auf dem Rücken trage": „il a le *barail* (le baril) au dos", was natürlich Regen bedeutet (Saint-Marc, Traditions, proverbes et dictons poitevins in Bullet. de la Société de statistique, sciences, lettres et arts du dép. des Deux-Sèvres, oct.—déc. 1890).

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tes Wetter verkündet am Morgen auch eine „blasse Sonne", d. h. wenn sie von Wolken verhüllt ist; es heisst nämlich: „Dièu bous garde del *soulèu pale* lou mati et d'une femo qu'o studia lou lati", womit der Bauer in Haute-Auvergne wohl ein sehr schlimmes Wetter meint, denn für ihn ist „eine Frau, die Latein studiert" fast ein Unding (R. d. trad. pop. 1886, p. 377).

Der Landmann wünscht sich die Wintermonate Januar und Februar kalt und schneeig. Man sagt deshalb in Blonay (in der Schweiz): „ẽ zăvyé la năi et le frăi ẽplõ (emplissent) le gurnăi" (Odin) und in Ille-et-Vilaine: „la neige en janvier, vaut du fumier" [1]) (Mélusine 1886—87, p. 178), in der Franche-Comté: „neige de février, vaut du fumier", und meint: „il vaut mieux voir un loup sur un fumier (d. h. in der Nähe der Wohnhäuser) que de voir un homme en chemise en février" [2]) (R. d. trad. pop. XIV, p. 100). Ganz im selben Sinne sagt man in Basse-Bretagne: „mieux vaut voir chien enragé que chaud soleil janvier" (R. d. trad. pop. I, p. 1). Warmer Sonnenschein in diesen Wintermonaten ist deshalb kein gutes Vorzeichen. Darum heisst es auch, dass die Sonne zur Zeit der Lichtmesse lange kalte Zeit (Winter) bedeute [3]). Ein alter latei-

[1]) Vgl. „La neu de Belher val un femourier" (Roux, Proverbes baslemouzis in Z. f. rom. Phil. 1882). Doch sagt man auch in der Provence: „*Plueio* de febrié à la terro vau femié, Mstrl.).

[2]) In Lavedan sagt man: „Février donne des giboulées; Si ce n'est février, c'est mars; Si mars est sans giboulées, il pleut tous les mois de l'année" (R. d. trad. pop. I, p. 29). Vgl. auch: „A Noé o piñõ, A Pak o tiğõ" (A Noël au pignon, c.-à.-d. en dehors, A Pâques au tison, c.-à.-d. près du feu) (Proverbes de Templeuve in der Festgabe für H. Suchier, 1900), oder: „A Noé al port, a Pak o twi dü fü" (au coin du feu) (ebenda).

[3]) So sagt man im Waadtland:

A Tsalande lé *musselhon* (moucherons),
A Pâques lé *lhasson* (glaçons)

(vgl. hiermit aus dem hohen Norden, dép. du Nord, arr. de Lille: „Kă tõ na dé mukro o Noé, ũ na dé poviljõ d'nèğ a Pak" c.-à.-d. quand il fait chaud à Noël, il fait froid à Pâques. (Proverbes de Templeuve par Charles Bonnier in Forschungen zur rom. Phil., Festgabe für Hermann Suchier, 1900).

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nischer Spruch besagt schon: „Sole lucente, Maria purificante, plus frigescit postea quam ante", eine Ansicht, die so ziemlich überall in Frankreich bekannt sein dürfte, obgleich das Unbestimmte im lateinischen Spruche in die bestimmtere Angabe von 6 Wochen oder 40 Tagen umgedeutet worden ist: „Nostro Damo luzerno [1]), quaranto dzour iverno" in Corrèze (Béronie) oder „Quand le soleil donne sur les cierges pendant la messe le jour de la Purification, on a de la pluie pendant 40 jours (Saint-Marc, Traditions, proverbes et dictons poitevins, in Bullet. de la Société de statistique, sciences, lettres et arts du département des Deux-Sèvres, oct.—déc. 1890), oder: „Si le soleil se montre le jour de la Chandeleur, il devra se cacher après pour six semaines" in der Franche-Comté (R. d. trad. pop. XIV, p. 104), oder: „Quand le soleil luit pendant la messe, le jour de la Chandeleur, le loup (l'ours?) creuse sa fosse pour six semaines" [2]) im Arrondissement de Lille, dép. du Nord (Proverbes de Templeuve par Charles Bonnier in Forschungen zur rom. Phil., Festgabe für Herm. Suchier). Auch sagt man in Béarn: „Quoand Mars soureye (*soureya, sourelha* „rayonner"; < *sourelh* „soleil";), Abriu e May que plabusqueye", wonach also die brennende Sonne im März Regen für April und Mai bedeuten würde (Lespy-Raym.).

Einiges noch über die Sonne im Volksglauben. In mehreren Gegenden Frankreichs glaubt man, jeden Sonnabend die Sonne sehen zu können. So in der Picardie, wo das Volk des Glaubens ist, die Sonne müsse am Sonnabend, wenn auch nur für kurze Zeit, scheinen, damit die heilige Jungfrau das Hemd Christi für den Sonntag trocken bekäme (R. d. trad. pop. XVIII, p. 101—102). Auch in Limousin und in Haute-Bretagne hält man den Sonnenschein am

[1]) *Luzerna* „se dit du soleil qui, dans un jour nébuleux, paraît par intervalles" (Béronie).

[2]) Auch im Süden (Hautes-Alpes) sagt man, dass an diesem Tage (den 2 Februar) „l'ours qui n'était sorti de tout l'hiver, avance jusqu' à la porte de son repaire à la pointe du jour. Si le ciel est couvert il se lèche la patte, fait trois sauts, et part en tournée, disant que l'hiver est fini. Si le temps est clair, il rentre tout triste dans son repaire pour 40 jours" (Rev. des trad. pop. 1913, p. 353).

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Sonnabend für nötig; in Limousin für das Hemd der heiligen Jungfrau selbst (Rev. des trad. pop. XVII, p. 340), in Haute-Bretagne für das Trocknen ihrer Wäsche (Sébillot, Coutumes de la Haute-Bretagne, p. 221).

Zuletzt eine Redensart, der so ziemlich überall und nicht nur auf französischem Boden ähnlichgeartete Vorstellungen dürften zugrunde gelegen haben. Wenn die Sonne während des Regens scheint, sagt man bald „le diable bat sa femme“ [1]), bald „le diable marie sa fille“ [2]) (in Loire-Inf., Rev. des trad. pop. XV, p. 591; in Perche, Rev. des trad. pop. XXIII, p. 275, und in Lyon, Vachet, Gloss. des Gones de Lyon). In Aveyron kommt eine Redensart vor, die sogar hinzufügt, womit der Teufel sein Weib schlägt:

Quond ploou et fo soulél,
Lou diáples bat so fénno omb'un *poustel.*

Dieses letzte Wort, das wohl auf ein *postellum zurückzuführen ist, bedeutet nach Vayssier, der diese Redensart belegt hat, *hachoir* oder „bout de planche sur laquelle on fait les hachis“. Auch sagt man hie und da: „la Sainte Vierge fait sa lessive“ (Loire-Inf., Rev. des trad. pop. XV, p. 591) oder „les sorciers tiennent conseil“ (Alpes-Maritimes, Rev. des trad. pop. IX, p. 332). Nach dem oben zitierten Werke von Vachet gebraucht man die Redensart: „le diable marie ses filles“ auch, wenn „on pleure et rit en même temps, quand il y a une noce et un enterrement“. Den beiden erstgenannten Redensarten: „le diable bat sa femme“ und „le diable marie sa fille“ für Regen und Sonnenschein zu gleicher Zeit liegt wahrscheinlich eben diese Vorstellung von Weinen und Lachen zugrunde. In den Ardennen heisst es: „le diable sa fille marie au bois de Forcy“ (Meyrac, Traditions des Ardennes, S. 139). Bei „la Sainte Vierge fait sa lessive“ hat die Vorstellung vom schönen Sonnen-

[1]) Vgl. „Jupiter und Juno streiten“ (Bergier, Origine des dieux, II. p. 189).

[2]) Ähnliche Redensarten auch in Finland bekannt: „Vanhoja piikoja naitetaan“ (d. h. alte Jungfern werden verheiratet) oder „vanhat piiat viettää häitä“ (d. h. alte J. feiern Hochzeit).

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schein ganz von selbst den Gedanken auf die heilige Jungfrau geführt. Was Wunder, dass der Regen dabei als das Wasser vorgestellt wird, dessen sie sich bedient, um ihre Wäsche zu reinigen. In Aveyron waschen auch die Feen (Vayssier), in der Provence die Hexen (Mstrl.) ihre Wäsche, in Béarn heizen sie ihren Backofen (Lespy, Proverbes de Béarn, p. 159), in Anjou (Saint-Aubin-de-Luigné) sagt man: „La Sainte Vierge qui boulange du pain pour ses anges" (Verr.-On.).[1]) Bei der Redensart „les sorciers tiennent conseil" sind vielleicht mehrere Ideenassoziationen mit im Spiele gewesen. Die Seltenheit und Sonderbarkeit dieser Naturerscheinung hat den Gedanken auf geheimnisvolle Zauberer geführt, die übrigens ihr Spiel mit allen Naturkräften treiben. Dass sie aber „Rats pflegen", könnte sich wiederum daraus erklären, dass dem Volke die Vorstellung der Unentschlossenheit vorschwebt: soll sich der Regen in Sonnenschein oder der Sonnenschein in Regen wandeln? Ein Zustand also, über den die Zauberer nicht ohne Ratschlüsse einig werden können. Vgl. hiermit: Wenn der Himmel grau ist und man nicht weiss, ob es regnen wird oder nicht, sagen die Schiffer: „le temps est au *conseil*" (France maritime, II, p. 113). Auch vom Wind sagt man: „il est au *conseil*", wenn gar kein Wind weht; eine Redensart, die vielleicht so zu erklären ist, dass die Winde ratschlagen, um zu wissen, von welcher Himmelsgegend sie wehen sollen („pour délibérer de quel côté de l'horizon ils veulent souffler", Sébillot, Légendes, croyances et superstitions, II, p. 167).

Die Sonnenfinsternis hat natürlich der abergläubischen Phantasie des Volkes reiche Anregung zu volkstümlichen Erklärungen gegeben. Im allgemeinen glaubt man, dass sie dadurch zustande

[1]) Vgl. über diese und ähnliche Redensarten bei Vayssier: „Est-ce un reste des superstitions populaires d'après lesquelles la pluie ce seraient les larmes de la femme battue ou les gouttes d'eau du linge lavé dans l'air par les fées, et le soleil le rire et la folle gaîté du battant ou la chaleur nécessaire aux fées pour sécher leur linge (oder der Heiligen Jungfrau, die das Brot backt)? ou bien serait-ce une allusion à un mari ivrogne qui, devenu diable par un excès de vin, passe d'une crise larmoyante à une gaîté compromettante pour la sécurité de sa femme?"

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komme, dass Sonne und Mond, die, wie wir schon oben gesehen, oft personifiziert worden sind, miteinander in Streit gerieten, so in Loire-Inf. (Rev. des trad. pop. VI, p. 549) und in Luxemburg (Rev. des trad. pop. XVII, p. 273). Schon im Altertum glaubte man, dass bei einer Sonnenfinsternis die Mondgöttin *Luna „laborat"* (Cic. Tusc. 1, 92), d. h. in „Not" sei und dass sie von einem Ungeheuer bedroht würde. Diese Vorstellung scheint noch hie und da in Frankreich lebendig zu sein (Rev. des trad. pop. XVII, p. 340).

Wie schon oben erwähnt ist, hat die äussere Erscheinung der Sonne auf die Phantasie des Volkes nur wenig eingewirkt. Es sieht in ihr nur eine glühendheisse Scheibe mit grellem, blendendem Licht, das wie betäubend wirkt und dem Auge nur wenig Variationen bietet. Die Sonne heisst deshalb auch immer und fast überall nur „kleine Sonne": *soleil* [1]) (die nicht deminutive Form habe ich fast nirgends [2]) in den heutigen Mundarten belegen können). Eine lichtschwache, blasse Sonne (Abendsonne?) heisst in einigen südlichen Gegenden

[1]) Im Süden: *sorey* (Andrews), *souléou, sourelh* (Meyer), *souleou* (Avril) *soureilh* (Chabr.-de Rochas), *soulel* (Vayssier), *soleu* (Calvino), *sourelh* (Lespy, Raym.). Im Westen: *sola, solèy* (Dottin), *soulei* (Montesson). Im Norden: *sola-solè* (Guerlin de Guer). Im Osten: *slàu* (Dion), *s'lo* (Labourasse), *soulo* (Richenet), *soulâ* (Guillemaut), *chuélà* (Brachet), *srèy* (Boillot). Im Innern: *solè* (Philipon), *soulai* (de Chambure). Fast alle diese Formen gehen wohl auf ein lat. soliculum zurück. (Vgl. über Formen wie *sülǫ̃, slǫ̃:* Horning, Die Mundart von Tannois, Z. f. rom. Phil. 1892; *süél, sulél:* Chute de *l* médiale dans quelques pays de la langue d'oc, in Romania 1879; *surej:* Andrews, Phonétique mentonaise, Romania 1887; *solè:* Philipon, Le patois de Saint-Genis-Les-Ollières, Rev. des pat. I-II; *sola, solaè, solè:* Guerlin de Guer, Rustica Vocab. etc.). Nur Formen wie *soleu, souleou* scheinen ein lat. *solellum vorauszusetzen (vgl. Sütterlin, Die heutige Mundart von Nizza, Rom. Forschungen 9, S. 286).

[2]) Nur Formen wie *su* (Camelat), *sû* (Garnier), *sou, sol* (Lespy-Raym.) etc. (vgl. Atl. ling.: *sū, sùl* im Süden) müssen wohl durch lat. solem direkt erklärt werden.

Die im Atl. ling. belegten Formen wie *fǫ̀* 36, *fǭ* 45, *tsō* 21, *fǫ̀dǎ* 26, *fǭdāw* 24 sind wohl alle zusammenzubringen. Befremdend ist das *d*, das an das begrifflich nahe liegende caldu denken lässt (vgl. auch *chëudë*, m. bei Const.-Désorm.).

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Frankreichs „Hasensonne", „*souleou de lèbre* (Avril, Vayssier): „Fa'n souleou de lèbre" („le soleil est faible et sans éclat", Avril). Woher dieser Name, weiss ich nicht. Vielleicht liegt hier die Blässe, also Kraftlosigkeit, als tertium comparationis vor, oder es hat, was mir glaublicher scheint, die Ähnlichkeit einer solchen glanzarmen Sonne mit dem Mond, der oft „*souleù di lèbre*" (Rev. des langues rom. 1883, p. 191) und „soleil des loups" (vgl. Rev. des trad. pop. XXIII, p. 274) genannt wird und übrigens mit vollem Recht die „Sonne der scheuen Tiere" heissen kann, den Namen „Hasensonne" herbeigeführt.

Ausser den schon oben erwähnten Beinamen, die ihren Ursprung in einer Personifikation haben, kommen nur einige mehr oder weniger zufällige Bezeichnungen für Sonne vor.

„Sonnenstrahl" für Sonne scheint in folgender prognostischen Redensart aus Aveyron gebraucht zu sein: „Lo *rájo* de l'espio ol gro Cranto jours se coucherò" (Vayssier) d. h. der Sonnenstrahl geht von (der Zeit) der Ährenbildung bis zur Reife des Korns 40 Tage unter. Auch sagt man daselbst: „Lo *rájo* ojúlho" in der Bed. „le soleil se couche", wo *ojulhá* für *osulhá* „disparaître à l'horizon" oder wohl wörtlich erklärt: „disparaître de vue" (vgl. weiter unten).

Von der Sonne hängt die Tagesarbeit des Landmannes ab, sie bestimmt die Dauer der Arbeit; sie wird deshalb die „Dauernde" genannt: „*Durand* se lèvo", „*durand* se vai coucha" (Mstrl.).

Am Morgen trocknet die Sonne den Tau. Darum heisst sie in der Dauphiné „Tauvertreiber": *casso-eigagno*, *chasso-eigagno* (Mstrl.) und *bat-egail* (Bulletin de la soc. des parlers de France, 1893 - 1898, p. 26). Auch diese Bezeichnungen hängen mit der Vorliebe des Volkes zusammen, sich die grossen Naturerscheinungen als verkörperte Geister vorzustellen. Sagt das Volk doch auch von der Sonne, dass sie „den Wind frisst": „lou soulèu *manjo lou vènt*", wenn Windstille eintritt [vgl. hiermit: „la luno manjo li nivo", s. unter Mond, und die Bezeichnungen *manjo-fangos*, *leco-fangos* „Schmutzfresser", „Schmutzlecker" für den kalten Nordwest, Mstrl., beide bei Azaïs belegt, und *folyebou* (Const.-Désorm.), *follhe-bou* (Bridel) „vent chaud"

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oder wörtlich „qui feuille les bois". Als „Lichtbringer" [1]) hat man vielleicht das von Const.-Désorm. belegte *fïlëu* für „soleil" zu deuten (< facit *solellum statt lucem?), vgl. *fèlœ* und *fèlé* in Atl. ling. (Punkte 936 u. 947).

Statt der schriftsprachlichen Bezeichnungen für den Auf- und Untergang der Sonne, die keiner besonderen Bemerkung bedürfen, mögen folgende mundartliche Ausdrücke hier kurz erwähnt werden. Eine ganz natürliche Bezeichnung für den Untergang der Sonne ist die, wenn man sagt: die Sonne „versteckt sich". So schon bei den Römern: „sol et exoriens et quum *se condet* in undas" (Verg.). Dasselbe Verbum findet sich noch in der Form *transcondere in Auvergne: *trakǫ̃dré* „se coucher, en parlant du soleil" (Dauzat, Etudes linguistiques sur la basse Auvergne). Ein „Sichverstecken", afrz. *mucier*, *mussier*, lebt auch in der Bedeutung „se coucher" (en parlant du soleil) in einigen Mundarten Süd- und Ostfrankreichs fort. So sagt man in Meuse: *ă slăw măsă* für „au soleil couchant" (Pat. de Lachaussée, Rev. des pat. gallo-rom. IV, und Rolland, Voc. du pat. du pays messin, in Romania 1873) oder *s'lo meussant* (Labourasse); im Jura: *soulo musan* (Richenet, Le pat. de Petit-Noir) oder *soulet mussant* (de Chambure), in Doubs: *lŭ srèy mésĭ* „le soleil se cache" und *mésyè* „coucher de soleil" (Pat. de Grand' Combe, Boillot); auch in Vald'Aosta kennt man den Ausdruck: *solei meussen* „soleil couchant" (Cerlogne).

Die Sonne „verschwindet aus den Augen", sagt man oder, vielleicht richtiger, hat man in Aveyron gesagt: *lo rájo ojúlho* „le soleil (hier, wie oben erwähnt, „Strahl" für Sonne) se couche" (*ojulhá*, *osulhá* „disparaître à l'horizon" < *osuèl* < *os uèl* nach Vayssier; *os uèl* < ex oculum?).

Der Sonnenauf- und Untergang ist vom Anbruch des Tages und vom Einbruch der Nacht nicht zu trennen. Tag und Nacht wurden in alten Volksvorstellungen oft personifiziert oder doch als lebende Wesen betrachtet. So geschah es auch mit der Morgenröte.

[1]) Der „Leuchtende": *luisart* hiess die aufgehende Sonne im Afrz. (Gdfr.), der Mond: *luisarde* (ibd.).

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die hier, wo von der Sonne die Rede ist, inbetracht kommt. Bei Römern und Griechen war *Aurora* und *Ἠώς* eine Göttin, die früh am Morgen ihr Lager verlässt und mit Rosenfingern in die Wolken greift (vgl. Hom. Od. 5, 1 u. Il. I, 477). Fast ebenso konkret stellte sich das Volk auch später die Morgenröte und den damit verbundenen Tagesanbruch vor. Bald verknüpft sich mit ihm die Idee eines Krachens, eines Geräusches; so findet sich afrz. *crever* in folgenden Sätzen: „li aube *creve* et li jors esclarcit" (Gar. le Loh. bei Gdfr.) und refl.: „l'aube du jour *se crieve*" (Gdfr.), prov. „can l'alba fo *crevada*" (Ferabr. 3977). Vgl. auch span. „el alva *rompe*" (bei Grimm) und deutsch „an*brechen*", engl. the *break* und *rush* of day. Ein „Krachen", onomat. *craquer*, *criquer* liegt wahrscheinlich auch dem norm. *crique du jour* statt *pique du jour* für „Morgenröte" (Lecomte) zugrunde. Bald „sticht sich" beim Morgengrauen [1]) die Sonne heraus: frz. *poindre* (span. *puntar*, *apuntar*, it. *spuntare*) und à la *pointe*, au *point* du jour oder mundartlich, pic. à l'*pikèt dû jûr* (Edmont), wall. li *pîkète* do djoû (Pirsoul), zentralfrz. *pique* du jour, *piquotte* du jour (Jaubert). Man glaubt aber die Morgenröte nicht nur zu hören oder zu sehen, sondern man hat ihr Nahen sogar „riechen" können, wie z. B. in folgender Redensart bei Jaubert: „se lever à l'*odeur* du jour".

Ein altes norm. *fillette du jour* (Moisy) ist wohl durch Ausdrücke wie „petit jour" entstanden. Die gleichfalls in der Normandie belegte Redensart „se lever *dès le pétron jacquet*" (Moisy) ist wahrscheinlich, wie Moisy es erklärt, eine volksetymologische Umbildung von „dès le *paître au Jacquet*" (*Jacquet* = Beiname des Eichhörnchens) und ist somit begrifflich analog mit einem wohl überall bekannten Ausdruck: „se lever *au chant du coq*".

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[1]) Vgl. „der Morgen *graut*", lat. lux *albescit* und rum., it., span. *alba* port. *alva*, prov. *auba*, frz. *aube*, (finn. *aamu valkenee* „der Morgen wird weiss"). Oft wird zu dem *alba* ein *prima* (*fina*) hinzugefügt: *primo âoubo* (Hombr.-Charv.) *primalbo* (Azaïs), *prim'ârbă*, *fin'ârbă* (Const.-Désorm.), woraus *prima* in der Bedeutung „aurore" allein (Puitspelu).

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Mond.

Der Mond ist dasjenige Gestirn, das im Aberglauben des französischen Volkes vielleicht die grösste Rolle gespielt hat. Dabei hat man wahrscheinlich weniger an seine Gestalt und Grösse, überhaupt seine wirkliche Natur gedacht, als vielmehr an seine phantastische Kraft, an seinen vermeintlichen Einfluss auf das Leben der Menschen. Was das Volk vom Ursprung des Mondes erzählt, davon ist schon oben (bei der Sonne) die Rede gewesen. Dass er im Volksglauben hie und da für eine ehemalige, degradierte Sonne angesehen wird, haben wir auch ebendort besprochen; diese Ansicht wird auch durch eine aus Languedoc herrührende Redensart gestützt: „La Luna era un *vielh sourel* autres cops: Quand valé pas res per lou jour, La metterou per la nioch" (Rev. des langues rom. IV, 1e sér., p. 620). Auch vom Monde hat das Altertum die Vorstellung gehabt dass er sich wie die Sonne ins Meer senke. So zitiert Sébillot (Légendes, croyances et superstitions de la mer II, p. 49) eine Stelle aus den homerischen Hymnen: „Au soir, au milieu du mois, la lune, après avoir baigné son beau corps dans l'Océan [1]), ayant attelé ses chevaux lumineux, les pousse en avant avec l'ardeur". Bald ist der Mond „der Beherrscher des Meeres" [2]) (Bartholomaeus), bald „der Voraussager von Wetter und Wind" (Alcuin), und die Egypter nannten ihn „den ersten Nachen", die Manichäer *navis vitalium aquarum* „das Schiff der lebendigen Gewässer" (Sébillot, Légendes etc., pp. 51—53).

Gleich der Sonne ist der Mond vom Volksglauben oft personifiziert worden. Er „frisst die Wolken": la luno manjo li nivo (Mstrl.) oder er „verschlingt", wie die Fischer auf Saint-Malo glau-

[1]) Eine Redensart aus Genf: *la lune baigne* (Humbert), wenn der Mond von Nebel umgeben ist, dürfte auch anderswo bekannt sein, hat aber mit dieser antiken Vorstellung nichts gemein.

[2]) Diese Vorstellung von der Herrschaft des Mondes erklärt auch eine andere, die nämlich, dass der Mond, wenn er dem Meere zürnt, es mit Nebel bedeckt, um es zu bestrafen (Sébillot, Légendes, croyences etc. II, p. 78).

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ben, sogar „das Meer“ (Sébillot, Légendes etc. II, p. 50—51). Auch sagt man in Nantes und Loire-Inférieure vom Monde, er könne „Steine fressen“ (Rev. des trad. pop. XV, p. 587). In Haute-Bretagne ist man des Glaubens, dass dieses Mondungeheuer einen Rachen habe, so gross wie die Erde, womit es, um seine Kinder ernähren zu können, alles Blut, das auf Erden vergossen wird, aufsaugt (vgl. „La lune et la guerre“ in Rev. des trad. pop. XIII).

Oft stellt man den Mond als eine Art Popanz dar, um die Kinder einzuschüchtern. „Madame la Lune“ heisst er dann gewöhnlich; sie soll die unartigen Kinder mitnehmen (Rev. des trad. pop. XVII, p. 139 und XVIII, p. 282). „Bonjour, Madame la Lune, avez-vous des enfants à nous donner?“ sang man in einem Volksspiel aus Loire-Inférieure (Rev. des trad. pop. XIII, p. 8—9). Auch persönliche Eigenschaften werden dem Monde bisweilen beigelegt, so: *kouyon kom li læn* (Monseur, Le Folk-Lore wallon, p. 59).

Die Personifizierung des Mondes hängt vielleicht zusammen mit der Vorstellung von dem Manne, der aus einem oder anderem Grunde in den Mond gekommen ist. Gewöhnlich stellt sich der Volksglaube in Frankreich den Mann im Monde, von dem übrigens der Volksglaube in der ganzen Welt wohl ähnliches zu erzählen weiss, als einen Verbrecher vor, der zur Strafe dorthin versetzt ist. Bald hat er Reisig gestohlen, und deshalb ist ihm von Gott als Strafe auferlegt worden, für ewige Zeiten mit seinem Reisigbündel auf dem Rücken im Monde zu sitzen (Rev. des trad. pop. XVII, p. 452); bald hat er die Sonntagsruhe gebrochen, weshalb ihn Gott dazu verdammt hat, sich im Monde nicht mehr ausruhen zu dürfen (Cordier, Légendes des Hautes-Pyrénées, p. 27—28 und Bladé, Contes de la Gascogne II, p. 300); bald hat er den Heiland nicht erkannt und von seinem Herd gewiesen und muss nun dafür im Monde frieren (Rev. des trad. pop. XVII, p. 139). Einigen Versionen zufolge hat der Wind den Mann in den Mond getragen (Bladé, Contes de la Gascogne II, p. 298—299), nach anderen kommt der Mond selbst vom Himmel herab und verschlingt ihn (Rev. des trad. pop. XVII, p. 587).

Nicht immer aber ist es ein Mann, der zur Strafe in den Mond

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versetzt ist. Im wallonischen Belgien ist es ein Mädchen, von dem man erzählt, dass es gegen das Verbot der Mutter über die bestimmte Zeit tanzte und dem die Mutter dann als Strafe wünschte, im Monde zu sitzen und dort in Ewigkeit zu weben. Kaum war der Wunsch ausgesprochen, als die ungehorsame Tochter wirklich in den Mond versetzt wurde (Bulletin de la soc. liégeoise de la littérature wallonne, 2e sér. XIX, p. 285).

Die grössten Sünder sind natürlich vom Volksglauben in den Mond versetzt worden. So vor allem Judas: „vois-tu Judas dans lai lunne, d'aiveu son fagot d'épingne" sagt man z. B. in Aube (Baudouin, Gloss. du patois de la Forêt de Clairvaux, p. 211). Warum auch er das Reisigbündel trägt, weiss ich nicht; vielleicht wohl deshalb, weil die meisten Legenden eben von Reisigbündeln sprechen, was wiederum seine Erklärung darin hat, dass Holz, im Vergleich mit anderer Diebesbeute, etwa Kohlköpfen, Eiern u. s. w., seiner Natur zufolge hauptsächlich in der Nacht gestohlen wird. In Marne erzählt man einfach den Kindern, Judas sei zum Mond gegangen, um sich dort zu hängen. Auch Kain trifft man im Mond, und auch er ist mit dem obligatorischen Reisigbündel beladen (Rev. des trad. pop. XVIII, p. 375).

Sehr allgemein ist die Vorstellung, dass man im Mond das Gesicht des bestraften Verbrechers sehe, das dann den ganzen Mond einnimmt. Daher wahrscheinlich die überall herrschende Sitte, den Mond als ein grosses Gesicht zu zeichnen. Daher auch der volkstümliche Name des Mondes: *Judas* (Bulletin de la Société des parlers de France 1893—1898, p. 26).

Seit alters hat man gemeint, auf allen Gebieten des Menschen- und Naturlebens dem Monde grossen Einfluss zuschreiben zu müssen, und in Frankreich ist der Volksglaube, in dieser Beziehung immer reich an vermeintlichen Erfahrungen gewesen. In dem obenerwähnten „Secrets de la lune", schreibt der Verfasser, wie gesagt, der Mond sei nichts anderes als die „Gemahlin der Sonne", weshalb er also grossen Einfluss auf jedes Wesen haben müsse: „Que toute mâture coupee quand la lune descroitz est merveilleusement bonne non seulement pour mâtures, mais pour tous les bois; de mesme que les cheveux

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coupez ou tondus[1]) aux tems que lune ne descroitz; ils croissent tardivement et rendent testes chauves; de mesme que changement de lune se ressent sur tout ce qui s'engendre sans la manifeste semence du masle avecq la femelle, comme sont souris, pusses, punaises, poux, araignées et toute vermine semblable" (Rev. des trad. pop. XVIII, p. 427—428).

Ähnliche Vorstellungen vom Einfluss des Mondes sind noch hie und da im Volksglauben vorhanden. Dabei unterscheidet man im Volksglauben zwischen „*lune pardue*" („comme perdue dans les rayons du soleil") oder Neumond, „*lune tendre*" (l. croissant; erstes Viertel), „*lune dure*" (l. décroissant; letztes Viertel) und „*lune voleuse*" („trop belle et trop claire pendant le temps des fruits, complice des maraudeurs qu'elle éclaire", Jaubert, Gloss du centre de la France) oder Vollmond. Bei Neumond soll man (nach Jaubert) nichts sähen, weil „les graines ne lèvent point". Auch in Menton und in den Alpes-Maritimes ist *la lune perdue* (le trentième jour de la lune) „impropre pour les plus importants travaux". Für die Behandlung der verschiedenen Getreidearten gibt es besondere Bestimmungen. In Savoyen sagt man: „A la canpanĭĕ é fou savê dĭên prëu d'aférĕ s'on-n ë dĭên la lnà têndră u dĭên la dură; V'z i par éxênplŏ à lavâ vtron fi, fassi-là ên lnà têndră; é fou sĕnâ l'avênă ên lnà dură, âtramên l'avênă n'balĭĕra qĕ d'palĭĕ; lô pê, lô fayou, lé tartiflĕ dëvŏn to pari sĕ plantâ ên lnà dură; sên cêtĭĕ lé tartiflĕ porêtron, lô pê é lô fayou n'vindron pâ à bë" (Const.-Désorm.). Eine andere Bestimmung, aus Perche (also im ganz entgegengesetzten Teile Frankreichs): „Lorsque la lune est en croissant, ce n'est ni l'instant d'abattre le bois, ni de semer des pois . . . On sème en

[1]) Noch jetzt hütet man sich auf dem Lande, zur Zeit des Neumonds das Haar schneiden zu lassen (Rev. des trad. pop. XVIII, p. 428). In der Picardie ist man der Ansicht, dass das während des zunehmenden Mondes (dans le croissant) geschnittene Haar besser wächst, wogegen das bei abnehmendem Monde abgeschnittene Haar nicht mehr wächst (Rev. des trad. pop. XVIII, p. 101). Dieselbe Ansicht findet sich auch in Savoyen: „S'vô voli qĕ votré flië aiêzon na lonjhe càvá (Flechte), q'lô cheveu é lôz onglŏ crêsson vitŏ, copâ-lé ên lnà têndră (Const.-Désorm.).

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croissant tout ce qui pousse en terre, comme les pommes de terre (in Perche dürfte man also zu ganz konträren Resultaten betreffs der Kartoffeln gekommen sein als in Savoyen), les carottes, les navettes etc., et en décours tout ce qui pousse en l'air, comme les haricots, les pois, la salade etc. (Rev. des trad. pop. XXIII, p. 273).

Ebenso wie die Sonne, ist auch der Mond im französischen Volksglauben „der Voraussager von Wetter und Wind". Die sogen. *lune rousse* z. B. ist von den Bauern in Bourbon sehr gefürchtet, weil sie gewöhnlich Frost mit sich bringt: „I's'ron pas tranquilles in brin, tant que la lune rousse [1]) sera encore là-haut p're nous faire jaler" (Rev. des trad. pop. XVIII, p. 429). Auch glaubt man daselbst, dass

„Rond près de la lune, loin de l'eau,
rond loin de la lune, près de l'eau",

mit anderen Worten, dass der Regen von der grösseren oder geringeren Entfernung des Ringes um den Mond abhänge.

Das Verhältnis des Mondes zu einem kleinen Stern, den die Seeleute in der Nähe von Boulogne-sur-Mer *canote* [2]) nennen, wird von ihnen als Wettervorzeichen genau beobachtet: Quand l'leune rapproce es' s'canote, bon sinne; quand l'leune embarque es' s'canote (d. h. wenn der Stern mit Wolken bedeckt ist), mauvais sinne"; „eine vilaine leune, quand elle est embrouillée" (Deseille, Glossaire du patois des matelots boulonnais).

Die uralten Vorstellungen von dem Einfluss der Gestirne auf Geburt und Schicksal des Menschen leben noch im Volksglauben, was den Mond betrifft, in voller Kraft fort. Ein junges Mädchen

[1]) Vgl. hiermit bei Sébillot (Légendes de la Mer II, p. 59): „Quannu luna è palita, chiovi; quannu è russa, fa ventu; quannu è chiara, fa serenita". Ein roter Mond bedeutet in Lüttich Hitze, ein Zeichen, das wohl ganz allgemein so gedeutet wird (Rev. des trad. pop. XVI, p. 112—113).

[2]) Die bretagnischen Seeleute nennen diesen Stern *chaloupe*, die picardischen auch *pilote*, Benennungen also, die mit den uralten Vorstellungen vom Monde als Nachen und Schiff (s. oben) zusammenzuhängen scheinen (Rev. des trad. pop. XVIII, p. 101).

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in der Bretagne hütet sich beim Verrichten seiner natürlichen Bedürfnisse, den Mond lange zu betrachten, um von ihm nicht gesegnet zu werden (Les conceptions miraculeuses, in Rev. des trad. pop. XV, p. 597).

Schon bevor das Kind geboren ist, glaubt man in einigen Gegenden aus dem Monde erschliessen zu können, welchen Geschlechts das Kleine sein wird: wenn es „dans les cornes décroissantes de la lune" zur Welt kommt, wird es ein Knabe (Haute-Marne, Rev. des trad. pop. XVIII. p. 428). In Hamoir werden die Knaben, „pendant la lune tendre", die Mädchen „au décours de la lune" geboren (ibd. p. 374).

Auch der Mondwechsel ist in dieser Hinsicht genau zu beobachten. So z. B. glaubt man in Loir-et-Cher, dass das Geschlecht des nächsten Kindes ein anderes sein wird, wenn der Mond in den neun auf die Geburt des Kindes folgenden Tagen wechselt; ist dies nicht der Fall, wird das nächste Kind desselben Geschlechts sein, wie das vorherige. In Nantes und Loire-Inférieure gilt dasselbe vom Wechsel des Geschlechts, wenn der Mond in den drei ersten Tagen nach der Geburt von einem zum anderen Viertel übergeht (Rev. des trad. pop. XV: Coutumes et superstitions du Loir-et-Cher, p. 369, und Usages et Superstitions de Nantes et de la Loire-Inférieure, p. 589).

Dem vorgeblichen Einfluss des Mondes auf den Menschen verdankt die Sprache das Adjektivum *lunatique*, das bekanntlich in seiner volkssprachlichen Gestalt im Afrz. *lunage* lautete: „et ceulx qui avoient les dyables es corps, et les *lunages* et les paraletiques il les curoit tous" (Bible hist. bei Gdfr.). „Den Mond in sich haben" bedeutet dasselbe in der Gascogne (Bladé, Proverbes de l'Armagnac, p. 92); hier ist der Mond als das Werk des Teufels für den Teufel selbst eingetreten (vgl. oben den Ursprung des Mondes als „Teufelssonne" und das eben zitierte afrz. Beispiel).

Auch auf die Liebesangelegenheiten übt der Mond im Volksglauben grossen Einfluss. „Femme nulle", heisst es in den *Evangiles des Quenouilles* aus dem 15. Jh., „ne doit homme espouser en decours de lune, pour le bon eur que la lune donne à son renou-

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vellement", und den Mond fragen die jungen Bauersfrauen oft um Rat, wen sie lieben und heiraten sollen. Wenn der zunehmende Mond sich zeigt, stellt sich z. B. das junge Bauernmädchen aus St. Malo ans Fenster, blickt zum Monde auf, begrüsst ihn und sagt: „Belle lune, beau croissant, Faites-moi voir en dormant, Qui j'aurai pour amant". Darauf legt sie den Spiegel auf ihr Kissen, geht schlafen und sieht im Traum ihren künftigen Bräutigam (Folk-Lore de l'Ille-et-Vilaine in Rev. des trad. pop. XV, p. 507). Eine ähnliche Beschreibung ganz aus dem Süden: Am Weihnachtsabend muss man um Mitternacht vom Bett aufstehen, doch so, dass der linke Fuss zuerst den Fussboden berührt, und dann, falls es heller Mondschein ist, zu einem Kreuzweg gehen und sprechen: „Lune, ô ma tant belle lune, Toi qui connais ma fortune, O! fais-moi voir en rêvant, Qui j'aurai pour mon amant". (Coutumes, croyances et superstitions de Noël. Suisse romande, Canton de Vaud, in Rev. des trad. pop. II, p. 532). In Saône-et-Loire kommen ganz ähnliche Prozeduren am letzten Februar vor, hier ist aber Mars der angerufene (Fertiault). In Poitou geht man sieben Abende nacheinander im ersten Viertel des Mondes hinaus, um ihn anzubeten (Desaivre, Prières pop. du Poitou, p. 36), in Maine findet die Anbetung im Märzneumond statt (Rev. des trad. pop. V, p. 563), und im französischen Flandern kniet sich das Mädchen vor ihr Bett hin und betet zur Mondsichel: „Croissant, croissant, fais-moi voir en rêvant etc." (Desrousseaux, Mœurs de la Flandre française II, p. 281).

Solche und ähnliche Vorstellungen vom Einfluss des Mondes auf das Lebensschicksal der Menschen könnten in Unendlichkeit fortgesetzt werden. Sie alle zeigen deutlich, wie tief dieses Gestirn mit seinem magischen Schein auf das Gemüt des unwissenden Volkes eingewirkt hat, ja, so tief, dass wohl noch Jahrhunderte vergehen werden, ehe der Mondaberglaube völlig verschwinden wird.

Gehen wir nun nach diesem kurzen Überblick über das Vorstellungsgebiet, auf das der Mond seinen Einfluss ausgeübt hat, zu der Betrachtung über, wie sich diese Vorstellungen bei der Namengebung dieser merkwürdigen Himmelserscheinung geäussert haben. Wenn man die Verschiedenheit der sich an den Mond anknüpfenden

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Vorstellungen ins Auge fasst, wäre man geneigt, auf eine grosse Mannigfalt der sprachlichen Benennungen des Mondes zu schliessen. Bevor man jedoch einen solchen Schluss zieht, muss man sich klar machen, dass die oben erwähnten verschiedenartigen Vorstellungen sich zumeist an die Wirkungskraft des Mondes anknüpfen, nicht so sehr an den Himmelskörper selbst. Wie schon anfangs hervorgehoben worden ist, hat das wahre Wesen des Mondes, wie es an und für sich betrachtet sich darstellen mag: seine Form, Grösse, Oberfläche, Entfernung das Volk so ziemlich unberührt gelassen. Er ist ihm in seinem Äussern vor allem zu gewöhnlich und zu einerlei und dazu noch zu fern und zu vage, um das im Konkreten lebende und wirkende Volk zu einer volkstümlichen Namengebung zu veranlassen, die sich zuvörderst in konkreten, ihm naheliegenden Bildern bewegt. Trotz seiner Wunderkraft ist der Mond gleichwie die Sonne, die beide fast ebenso gewöhnliche Erscheinungen sind, arm an Namen. Die vom lat. *luna* vererbte Benennung ist überall in Frankreich verbreitet und überall fast die einzige Bezeichnung für dieses Gestirn. Volkstümliche Namen sind selten.

Aus allem, was über die Vorstellungen von der Entstehung der Sonne und des Mondes (vgl. unter Sonne) gesagt ist, geht hervor, dass diese beiden Himmelskörper im Volksglauben stets neben- und miteinander gedacht worden sind (Sonne = Gottes Werk, Mond = Teufels Werk; Sonne = Mann, Mond = Weib; Mond = eine „abgenutzte Sonne" etc.). Die Sonne gehört der Arbeit und daher den Menschen, der Mond den scheuen Tieren: deswegen ist der Mond, wie schon oben unter Sonne im Vorbeigehen angedeutet worden ist, „*le souleù di lèbre*" in der Provence (Rev. des langues rom. 1883, p. 191), oder in Perche „le soleil des loups" (Rev. des trad. pop. XXIII, p. 274). In der aus Südfrankreich belegten Redensart: *fai lugano* für „il fait clair de lune" (Mstrl.) ist der Mond mit dem „Morgenstern" (lucana) identifiziert. Auf den „bleichen Mond" deutet auch die von Mstrl. zitierte Anrede: „E vous, *palido lugano* que tant lusissès en aut" etc. Die Vorstellung vom Mann im Monde hat wahrscheinlich den schon oben erwähnten Namen *Judas* hervorgerufen. Dass in der Anrede gebrauchte „*Madame la Lune*" (s. oben) hängt mit der Personifizie-

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rung des Mondes eng zusammen. Eine Benennung des Mondes, die gleichfalls mit der Personifizierung dieses Himmelskörpers in Verbindung stehen dürfte, ist das hauptsächlich aus dem Norden Frankreichs, der Picardie, bekannte *belle* [1]) (Haigneré, Corblet), *bèl*: *ĕl bĕl ă s'ĕl̥ĕ̀v* (Edmont). Nach Haigneré ist die Bezeichnung auch „rouchi et wallon". Wie ist nun dieser Name zu erklären? Hier kann schwerlich der Mond, wie bei „Madame la Lune", als eine Art Popanz aufgefasst worden sein, auch nicht als das Gesicht eines bösen Ungetüms, dessen blosses Betrachten Unheil bringt, sondern hier muss der Name einem ganz anderen Vorstellungsinhalt entsprungen sein. Schon oben, als wir den vermeinten Einfluss des Mondes bei Liebesgeschichten besprachen, haben wir gesehen, dass er nicht nur im Norden, sondern auch im Süden von den Liebenden mit dem Attribut *belle*: „belle lune" [2]), „beau croissant" angeredet wird. Diese Anrede ist doch wohl nur da möglich, wo die unheilvolle Wirkung des Mondes nicht fühlbar ist, und wo, wenn eine Personifizierung überhaupt nötig ist, an Stelle des Teufels als Schöpfers des Mondes oder an Stelle eines Verbrechers oder bösen Geistes die Vorstellung an etwas Freundliches, Wohlwollendes, z. B. an Gott oder die heilige Jungfrau, gebunden ist. Letzteres scheint eben in der Picardie der Fall gewesen zu sein, wo Volkslieder folgender Art gewöhnlich sein sollen: „C'est la lune, belle et brune, C'est le temps, bel et blanc, C'est la Vierge qui nous appelle, Pour aller dans la chapelle, Pour y chauffer les pieds du petit Jésus, Pour y boire du lait bollir (bouilli)" (vgl. Rev. des trad. pop. XVIII, p. 101).

[1]) Nach Atl. ling. kommt *bel* bei folgenden Punkten vor: in Pas-de-Calais 299, 288, 285, 276, 273, 283, in Nord 295, 272, 280, im franz. Belgien 294, 291 und in der franz. Schweiz eine Form. *bȁl*: 63.

[2]) Für Mond kommt die Zusammensetzung *ēl-lœ̃n* einmal in Pas-de Calais vor (Atl. ling.).

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Sterne.

Seit grauen Zeiten haben die Sterne eine grosse Rolle im Volksglauben gespielt; hat ja jeder Mensch, schon als er zur Welt kam, sein besonderes *sidus natalicium* gehabt, das ihm hold oder feindlich sein konnte. Allgemein verbreitet war der Glaube, dass der Mensch zeit seines Lebens unter der Einwirkung desjenigen Sterns, der ihm bei der Geburt geschienen, stand. Diese Einwirkung konnte gut oder schlecht sein; er konnte also unter einem guten, glücklichen, aber auch unter einem bösen, unheilvollen Stern geboren werden. Kein Wunder deshalb, dass man die Sterne im Altertum anbetete, eine Sitte, die auch im Mittelalter, ja sogar noch später vorgekommen sein dürfte. So heisst es z. B. auf französischem Gebiet in den aus dem 15. Jh. stammenden „Evangiles des Quenouilles“: „Qui à son couchier salueroit l'estoille pouchinière (vgl. unter den Plejaden), il ne seroit possible de perdre aucun de ses pouchins [1]) et se multiplieroient doublement“ (III, 14, glose).

Mit der Bedeutung der Sterne für das Menschenleben hängen die Vorstellungen von den Sternschnuppen, den sog. *étoiles filantes*, eng zusammen. Wenn man diese fallen sieht, meint ja der Volksglaube so ziemlich überall, dass jeder Wunsch, den man während ihres Fallens ausspricht, in Erfüllung geht. Ausserdem heisst es in Frankreich mit direktem Bezug auf Leben und Tod des Menschen, dass die *étoiles filantes* nichts anderes seien, als „les âmes du Purgatoire qui vont en Paradis“ (Bulletin de la société des parlers de France 1893—1898, p. 26; vgl. auch „Les étoiles“ bei Daudet, Lettres de mon moulin). Dieser Glaube ist alt. So heisst es schon in den eben erwähnten „Evangiles des Quenouilles“: „Quand vous veez de nuit cheoir une estoille, sachiez pour vray que c'est un de voz amis qui est trespassé, car chascune personne a une estoille au ciel pour ui, et quand il meurt, elle chiet“ (Appendice A. 16). Mit diesen

[1]) Vgl. hiermit folgendes aus der „Chemnitzer Rockenphilosophie“: „Grüsst ein Weib beim Bettgehen die Sterne am Himmel, nimmt ihr der Geier oder Habicht kein Küchlein“ (Grimm, Deusche Mythol. III, Abergl. 112).

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Vorstellungen sind dann beim Volke allerlei Gebete verknüpft, die die Zeit der Sühne und Läuterung der Seelen abkürzen oder erleichtern können. So glaubt man z. B. in den Vogesen, dass man durch das Aussprechen der Worte: „Requiescat in pace", während man die Sternschnuppe fallen sieht, eine Seele aus dem Fegefeuer retten kann, oder ganz ähnlich in dem wallonischen Belgien, wo man sagen muss: „Que les âmes du Purgatoire reposent en paix" (Monseur, Le Folk-Lore wallon, p. 61). In der Provence sagt man: „Bel ange, Dieu t'accompagne" (Mstrl.) u. ä. m. Vgl. mit diesen Vorstellungen bei Béranger: „Mon enfant, un mortel expire, son étoile tombe à l'instant", und die Idee vom Faden des Schicksals, den die göttliche Spinnerin am Himmel spinnt und der in einen Stern endet, aber beim Tode des Menschen reisst, wobei dann der Stern erbleichend niederfällt (Grimm, II, S. 602).

Was den Ursprung der Sterne, so wie ihn sich das Volk vorstellt, betrifft, so dachte man sich ihn im Norden der Edda bekanntlich so: Der Weltenraum hatte ein nördliches, nebelumhülltes Ende, von dem Dunkel und Kälte, und ein südliches, von Feuer umlodertes Ende, von dem Licht und Wärme ausgingen. Diesem südlichen Feuer, dem sog. Muspellsheim, entflogen Funken, und diese wurden dann von den Göttern als Sterne am Himmel befestigt (Grimm, II, S. 602).

Ähnliche Vorstellungen sind in Frankreich m. W. nicht zu belegen. Dagegen dachte man sich hier die Sterne als entstanden aus dem Monde. So glaubte man im Anfang des vorigen Jahrhunderts in Limousin, dass der Mond sich jeden Monat vollständig abnutzte und dass Gott aus ihm Sterne machte (Rev. des trad. pop. XVII, p. 340). Auch in dem wallonischen Belgien hat man gemeint, die Sterne seien eigentlich nur Stückchen von alten Monden (Monseur, Folk-Lore wallon, p. 61). In Côtes-du-Nord hat man geglaubt, die Sterne seien der Vereinigung der Sonne mit dem Monde entsprossen, oder man sagt, das Meer habe, als es einst aufhörte das Himmelsgewölbe zu bespülen, grosse Diamantblöcke droben zurückgelassen (Rev. des trad. pop. I, p. 203 und Sébillot, Légendes, croyances et superstitions de la mer II, p. 19 – 20).

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Diese und ähnliche Vorstellungen, die sich auf die Sterne im allgemeinen beziehen, dürften jedoch verhältnismässig selten gewesen sein. Meistens sind es nämlich nur die besonders auffallenden Sterne oder Sterngruppen, die die Volksphantasie in höherem Grade beschäftigt haben.

Dass die Einbildungskraft des Volkes den Sternen in ihrer Allgemeinheit keine grössere Beachtung geschenkt hat, scheint, ausserdem dass direkte volkskundliche Mitteilungen fehlen, auch aus der Tatsache hervorzugehen, dass dieser allgemeine Begriff so ausserordentlich arm an volkstümlichen Benennungen ist. Schon ein flüchtiger Blick auf die Karte *étoile* (Atl. ling. Fasc. 11, carte 494) zeigt uns, dass stella fast der alleinherrschende Ausdruck über ganz Frankreich geworden ist. Sonst kommt nur einerseits in Haute-Vienne ein *lŭnŭ*, m. vor, was nichts anderes sein kann als „kleiner Mond" (< lunellum) und somit gut zu der obenerwähnten Vorstellung aus Limousin passt, anderseits in Gers ein *lŭgrăn* (?); in den übrigen Fällen hat man sich, wie gesagt, mit dem Erbwort stella begnügt.

Was die einzelnen Sterne anbelangt, die, wie z. B. der Polarstern und die Venus, wahrscheinlich eine grössere Rolle im Volksleben gespielt haben, der erstere besonders für alle Seefahrer, der letztere als schöner Abend- und Morgenstern, als vesper und lucifer, so scheinen wenigstens in Frankreich die volkskundlichen Mitteilungen vollständig zu versagen [1]).

Der Polarstern heisst gewöhnlich nur *étoile polaire* (*e. du Pôle*) oder *étoile du Nord* (vgl. finn. *pohjantähti*). Auch das deutsche *mersterne* (vgl. Grimm D. M. III, S. 211), stella maris, das hauptsächlich mit der Seefahrt in Beziehung steht, hat seine Entsprechung im frz. *étoile marine*, prov. *estelo marino* (Piat). Der „hinter den Bergen" gelegene Stern, *tramontane*, afrz. *tresmontaine*, heisst der

[1]) Dasselbe gilt auch im grossen und ganzen von den germanischen Völkern („Die Überlieferung unseres Heidentums von einzelnen Gestirnen ist grösstenteils verschollen und selbst die Namen sind durch gelehrtastronomische Benennungen fast verdrängt worden", Grimm, D. M., S. 603).

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Polarstern besonders unter den Seeleuten des Mittelmeeres (Bulletin de la société des parlers de France 1893—98, p. 26), und ihn ausser Sicht verlieren: *perdre la tramontane* bedeutet ganz allgemein: sich nicht mehr zurechtfinden (HDT).

Keineswegs reicher an volkstümlichen Namen ist die Venus. Am gewöhnlichsten dürfte sie „Stern der Hirten", *étoile du berger*, vgl. Daudet, „Les étoiles" (Lettres de mon moulin), prov. *estelo del pastre* (Piat) genannt werden (*khtêle di waché*, d. h. *étoile du vacher* bei Hingre), eine Bezeichnung, die mit dem angelsächsischen *svâna steorra* „Stern der Ochsentreiber" (Grimm, D. M. II, S. 603) vollkommen übereinstimmt und seine Erklärung darin findet, dass dieser Stern bei seinem Aufgang den Hirten leuchtete, wenn sie ihre Herde austrieben, und ihnen wiederum bei seinem Untergang die Zeit für das Heimtreiben angab. In der Provence heisst sie, wohl wegen ihres prächtigen Scheines, *bello Magalouno* „qui court après Pierre de Provence (Saturne)" (Mstrl. Armana provençau, 1872. p. 42 und Daudet's „Les étoiles") oder kurzum *la belo estelo* (Piat); über die schöne Prinzessin *Magalouno* vgl. näheres bei Mstrl., Mirèio, cant proumié, 7, note, éd. Koschwitz).

Von den Sterngruppen ist wohl der grosse Bär [1]) diejenige, die am meisten die Phantasie des Volkes beschäftigt hat. Schon im höchsten Altertum wurde der grosse Bär als ein vierrädriger „Wagen" vorgestellt, bei dem die drei abseits liegenden Sterne entweder die Deichsel oder die drei Zugtiere bezeichnen sollten. Dieses Bild, das eine sehr grosse Verbreitung [2]) hat, ist auch in Frankreich sehr gewöhnlich. Der älteste Beleg ist nach G. Paris (Le petit Poucet et la grande Ourse, p. 57) folgender Vers im Roman de Rou: „Tot dreit devers Setentrion que nos *char el ciel* [3]) apelon" (Vers 98)".

[1]) Dieser Name (griech. ἄρκτος, lat. *ursa maior*) hat nach G. P. in „Le petit Poucet et la grande Ourse") nichts mit der Form des Sternbildes zu tun und beruht einfach auf einer fehlerhaften Übersetzung, wie Max Müller (Lectures on the science of language, 1864, p. 359) zeigt.

[2]) Griech. ἅμαξα, röm. *plaustrum*, ill. slav. *kola* (eigentl. „Räder"), poln. *woz*, germ. „*Wagen*" (s. unten in Zusammensetzungen), lett. *ratti* („Räder"), estn. *wankri tähed* (*wanker*, finn. *vankkuri* „Wagen" und *tähed* „Sterne").

[3]) Ahd. *wagan in himile.*

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Bald wird der grosse Bär vom Volke einfach mit „grosser Wagen" bezeichnet, wie in der Picardie: *grā-kār*, *grā kāryō* (Edmont), bald wird der „Wagen" Abraham zugeeignet: *Tchàr d'Abraham* (Monseur, Le Folk-Lore wall., p. 60), bald dem Heiligen Martinus: *char Saint Martin* (G. Paris, Le petit Poucet, p. 66), bald dem König David: *fārt du rwé Davi* (Dottin), bald endlich den Seelen: *lou car de las armos* (Mstrl,) *char des âmes* (Daudet, „Les étoiles" in Lettres de mon moulin), Namensgebungen, wie sie auch anderwärts sehr häufig beobachtet werden können [1]), und die ihren Grund darin haben, dass das auffallende Sternbild des Wagens grossen mythischen Persönlichkeiten als Ehrenplatz am Himmel zugewiesen werden sollte. [2])

Allen obenerwähnten Namen des grossen Bären liegt die Vorstellung eines Wagens zugrunde, die durch die vier im Rechteck stehenden Sterne ohne nähere Hervorhebung der drei anderen hervorgerufen worden ist. Aber auch diese letztgenannten Sterne haben zu ganz sinnlichen Vorstellungen Anlass gegeben, wie schon oben angedeutet ist. Von der Idee einer Deichsel zeugt besonders die griechische und römische Mythologie, vgl. die Domitianische Übersetzung einer Stelle des Aratos: „tres temone rotisque micant sublime quaternae" (zitiert von G. Paris in seinem obenerwähnten Werke). Dieses *temo* dürfte nach G. Paris auch als Name für das ganze Sternbild im Lat. vorkommen, so wie ein *thistl* im Angelsächsischen für den ganzen „Wagen" bezeugt ist (Grimm, D. M., p. 604).

Ein sehr hohes Alter muss aber auch der zweiten, gleichfalls schon erwähnten Vorstellung von den drei Zugtieren zugeschrieben werden, nach G. P. sogar ein höheres Alter als der oben besproche-

[1]) Vgl. bei den alten Ägyptern „Osiriswagen" *vehiculum Osiridis*, bei den Germanen *Wuotanes wagan* (Grimm. D. M., S. 125), in der Schweiz *Herrawaga* (ebd. S. 604), bei den Ungarn „Gotteswagen" *isten szekere* und *Szent Péter szekere*, d. i. „Petriwagen" (Am Urquell, 4. Bd., 1. Heft, S. 30), engl. *Charles wain*, dän. *Karlsvogn*, schwed. *Karlavagnen*.

[2]) „Ces croyances sont nées du désir de rapporter une tradition très populaire à un nom également illustre". (Revue critique, 1870, t. I.; art. 31).

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nen Idee von einer Deichsel.[1]) Wie wir oft im Laufe dieser Arbeit sehen werden, ist es charakteristisch für die Volksvorstellungen, Gegenstände und Wesen, mit denen das Volk ganz vertraut geworden war, in den Himmel zu versetzen. So wurden bei den Römern sieben Ochsen, *septem triones* — mag man nun Pflugochsen (Varro, nach G. P.) oder zum Dreschen[2]) des Korns verwendete Ochsen (Preller, Röm. Mythol. S. 290) darunter verstanden haben —, an den Himmel verlegt. Diese Vorstellung von sieben Ochsen ist m. W. in Frankreich nicht belegbar, wohl aber die von einem Wagen und seinem Führer. Diesen letzteren[3]) sieht das Volk in einem ganz kleinen Sternchen über dem mittleren der drei „Zugtiere" und knüpft an ihn eine ganze Menge von wundervollen Sagen, hinsichtlich deren ich nur auf G. Paris' oben zitiertes, interessantes Werk verweise.

Auf diesen Vorstellungen und Sagen beruht folgende im Wallon. vorkommende Bezeichnung des grossen Bären: *tchaur Pôcet* (Pirsoul), *chaur Pôcè* (Grandgagnage), eine Bezeichnung, die auch in der Schweiz belegt worden ist: *tser à Podjet* (Mélusine II, kol. 31). Hier ist der erste Teil natürlich der Wagen, *char*, der zweite Teil aber der Fuhrmann, der kleine Däumling, le petit *Poucet*[4]) (G. P.).

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[1]) „La manière de comprendre les trois étoiles comme trois bœufs, au lieu de se figurer la ligne qui les traverse comme le timon, est celle qu'on est porté à regarder comme la plus primitive" (G. P.).

[2]) Diese Vorstellung wird gestützt durch eine andere, nämlich dass sich um Mitternacht das ganze Sternbild mit grossem Geräusch umdrehe (vgl. Grimm, D. M., S. 604). Dem würde nach Preller zugrunde liegen, dass die sieben Ochsen *(teriones* < terere) sich am Himmel um eine grosse Dreschtenne herumbewegten.

[3]) Bei den Griechen ist er der „Ochsentreiber" Philomelos, der den ersten Wagen anfertigte, und zwar so schön, dass seine Mutter ihn „arantem inter sidera constituit" (G. P.); bei den Ungarn ebenfalls ihr erster Wagner namens Göntzöl, weshalb das Sternbild auch „Göntzöls, Gönczöls Wagen" heisst: *Göntzöl szekere* (Grimm, S. 605 und Am Urquell 4. Bd., 1. Heft, S. 30). In Frankreich heisst er „postillon" oder auch „cavalier" (G. P.), in Deutschland „Reiter" (G. P.), „Fuhrmann", „Knecht" (Grimm).

[4]) „*Pôcet* personnage principal d'un conte, personne de petite taille, le pouce dans le langage des enfants" (Pirsoul). Auch in germanischen Län-

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Wie das Volk dazu gekommen ist, sich gerade einen Däumling als Fuhrmann oder Ochsentreiber für die grossen Himmelsochsen vorzustellen, das erklärt in poetischer Weise G. P., wenn er sagt: „En regardant au ciel les sept bœufs éclatants qui s'y promènent en ordre, nos pères (die Römer) ont remarqué la petite étoilette placée au-dessus de celui du milieu, et il en ont fait le conducteur. Mais le bœuf est si grand et si splendide, le bouvier si petit à peine visible: c'est que c'est un nain; il dirige les énormes bêtes en leur disant à l'oreille les mots qu'elles comprennent, car il est doué d'une sagesse merveilleuse . . . Transporté sur la terre comme tous les personnages dont l'imagination primitive avait placé l'activité au ciel, le petit bouvier a gardé sa stature mignonne. Son caractère divin se révèle encore dans les récits de sa miraculeuse naissance et dans sa ruse surhumaine".

Abgesehen vom grossen Bären sind wohl der Orion und die Plejaden die in Frankreich bekanntesten Sterngruppen; in einigen Gegenden kennt man gar keine anderen: „on ne nomme guère dans la Bas-Maine que les étoiles suivantes: la planète Vénus, les Pléiades, la grande Ourse, la Voie lactée et le Baudrier d'Orion" (Dottin, Suppl.). Mehrere von den gewöhnlichsten Namen des Orion im Altertum beziehen sich auf den aus der griechischen Mythologie bekannten riesenhaften Jäger, der an den Himmel versetzt wurde und Sturm und Regen mitbringt: *nimbosus Orion* (Verg. Aen., I, 535), so lat. *jugula* (eigentl. „Gürtel" < jugum „Joch"), und *ensis* [1]): „nitidumque Orionis ensem" (Ov. Met. 13. 294), woher *ensifer* „der Schwerttragende" (Grimm. D. M., Nachtr. S. 212).

Diese Namen sind in Frankreich m. E. spurlos verschwunden und haben nicht nur hier, sondern auch anderwärts, entweder späteren, christlichen Benennungen Platz gemacht, oder man hat sie

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dern kommt der Fuhrmann unter diesem Namen „Däumling" vor, so *dümeke, dümke, „Hans Dümken"* und *„Daumesdick"* (vgl. auch Praetorius, De suspecta poli declinatione, S. 140, wo von einem *pollicari auriga* gesprochen wird, Grimm, S. 605).

[1]) Ähnliche Vorstellungen von einer Waffe liegen auch den estnisch—finnischen Namen des Orion zugrunde: finn. *„Kalevan miekka"* („Kalavas Schwert") und esthn. *„warda tähhed"* („des Speeres Sterne") (Grimm, S. 607).

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gar nicht gekannt und hat mit der kindlichen Phantasie eines ackerbau- und viehzuchttreibenden Naturvolkes dem leuchtenden Sternbilde eigene, urwüchsige Namen gegeben.

Zur erstgenannten Gruppe von Namen gehören „die drei Könige" oder „die drei Weisen" (vom Morgenlande): *lè treu rwé* (Monseur, Le Folk-Lore wall. p. 60, vgl. auch Daudet's „Les étoiles" in „Lettres de mon moulin"), *le trwe rwe maj* (Dottin, Suppl.) und „die drei Jungfrauen": *las tres Bergos* (Bladé, Contes de Gascogne, I, p. 221—22), vgl. F. Magnusen, Dagens tider S. 105: „Orionis constellatio a rusticis vocatur *baculus S. Petri* [1]), a quibusdam vero *tres Mariae*". Ein „*bâton* de Jean de Milan" in der ebenzitierten Novelle von Daudet.

Zur zweiten Gruppe muss man Vorstellungen rechnen, die von Mähergerätschaften hergenommen sind: „Rechen" [2]) *râteau* in dem Wall. und den Vogesen (Monseur, Le Folk-Lore wall., p. 60 und Rev. des trad. pop. XI, p. 577, vgl. auch Daudet's „Les étoiles"), „Rechen des Däumlings": *ristê Pôcé* (Rev. des trad. pop. XVIII, p. 282) (hier also *Poucet*, der kleine Fuhrmann, als Mäher), und „Sichelstiel" [3]) in der Provence: *lou faus margue* (falcis manica > *faus manga, marga, margua* [Körting 5883]).

Die Plejaden, ein Sternhaufen von sechs sichtbaren Sternen, die aber bei den Griechen und Römern bis zu sieben gezählt wurden („quae septem dici, sex tamen esse solent", Grimm, S. 213), verdanken ihren Namen gleich den meisten Sternen im Altertum mythologischen Vorstellungen, in unserem Falle bekanntlich den

[1]) Vgl. bei Grimm, SS. 606, 607: *Jakobsstab, Petersstab*, slav. *shtapka* „Krüche, Bischofstab".

[2]) In rheinischen Gegenden heisst der Orion auch „*Rechen*", in ahd. Glossen „*pfluoc*" (Grimm, S. 606).

[3]) Mit Vorstellungen aus dem Mäherleben hängen auch folgende Benennungen des Orion zusammen: in Oberdeutschland heissen noch jetzt die drei Sterne des Gürtels „drei *Mader*" (vgl. oben „Rechen"); mehrere slavische Völker nennen das ganze Sternbild „Sensen" (*kosi*, böhm., poln. *kosy*, sloven. *koszi*, Grimm, S. 607); auch bei den Finnen „Väinämöisen *viikate*" („Väinämöinens *Sense*").

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sieben, von Zeus in den Himmel erhobenen Töchtern [1]) der Pleïone und des Atlas. Als volkstümliche Bezeichnung habe ich *Pleïade* nirgends in Frankreich belegt gefunden, wohl aber ein paar andere Namen. Schon im Mittelalter heisst es: „Pleiades en France est appellé l'estoille *poucinière*" (HDT.) (vgl. oben S. 36, aus dem „Evangiles des Quenouilles" [1]) und diese Bezeichnung *l'estoille poucinière*, später *poucinière* allein (eigentl. zu *poucin*, nfrz. *poussin* „Küchlein", wovon *poucinière*, also die „Henne, die Küchlein hat", afrz. *geline pociniere*), scheint allgemeine Verbreitung in Frankreich gefunden zu haben. Diese Vorstellung von der „Gluckhenne mit ihren Küchlein", die über ganz Europa [2]) verbreitet zu sein scheint, hat die in Frankreich fast allein vorkommende volksprachliche Bezeichnung hervorgerufen: lothr. *poucherosse* oder *covrosse* (Mém. de la soc. des Antiquaires, T. IV, p. 376; T. IV, pp. 121, 129; zitiert von Grimm, S. 607); die letztgenannte Benennung, gleich afrz. *couveresse* (*geline couveresse*) für *couveuse*, also „Bruthenne"; in Bas-Maine *pusinyer* (Dottin), lim. *poussinieira* (Rev. des trad. pop. XVII, p. 340), gleich schriftsprachlichem *poussinière*. Zu dieser Gruppe von Vorstellungen gehört auch die in Limousin vorkommende Bezeichnung *clouca* (Rev. des trad. pop., ibd.), welches Wort wohl zu dem lautmalenden Stamm *gloc-*, *cloc-* gehört und Wörtern, wie ital. *chioccia*, ptg. *choca* „Gluckhenne" (Ktg., Meyer-Lübke, 3795), (vgl. auch die Anm. unten), angereiht werden kann, und das im Languedoc. belegte *couzigneiros* (Grimm, S. 243), vielleicht eine Kontamination von dem vorigen (prov. *closir* „glucken") und einem *poussinieiros*.

[1]) Nach einer anderen griechischen Sage: sieben „Tauben" (*πελειάς* „wilde Taube"). Bei den Spaniern sieben „Ziegen" („siete *cabrillas*") S. weiteres bei Grimm, S. 608 und Nachtrag S. 213. Über den Ursprung der Plejaden vgl. ebenda S. 608.

[2]) Von ausserfranzösischen Bezeichnungen der Plejaden, denen dieselbe Vorstellung zugrunde liegt, mögen hier folgende Erwähnung finden: deutsch *„Klucke"*, *„Kluckerin"*, *„Kluckhenne"*, *„Bruthenne mit den Hühnlein"*; dän. *aftenhöne;* engl. *hen with her chickens;* graubündn. *cluotschas;* ital. *gallinelle;* böhm. *slepice kuřátky* („Henne mit den Küchlein"); ungr. *fiastik* (vgl. näheres bei Grimm, S. 607).

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Zuletzt eine Bezeichnung der Plejaden, der eine Vorstellung zugrunde liegt, die auch ausserhalb Frankreichs vorkommt. Es ist dies die von etwas „Dichtgesätem“ [1]) oder „Feingemahlenem“ (?), eine Vorstellung, die die dem Auge ganz klein erscheinenden, dicht nebeneinander liegenden Sterne dieser Gruppe leicht haben erwecken können. So in der Gegend von Mouzon (in den Ardennen): *moulinée* (Goffart, Gloss. du Mouzonnais, in Revue de Champagne et de Brie, 2e série VII—XI), was natürlich auf ein altes *moulner* „mahlen“ zurückgeht.

Milchstrasse. [2])

Die bei weitem gewöhnlichste Vorstellung, die sich überall an diese Himmelserscheinung anknüpft, ist die eines „Weges“, einer „Strasse“. Dagegen scheint sich die Vorstellung eines „Kreises“, die dem γαλαξίας κύκλος der alten Griechen und dem circulus oder orbis lacteus der Römer zugrunde liegt, nirgends in der Volksvorstellung der christlichen Völker eingebürgert zu haben. Jedenfalls in Frankreich nicht. Hier ist die Vorstellung eines „Weges“ fast die alleinherrschende. Dabei hat dieselbe ihre sprachliche Entsprechung in verschiedenen Ausdrücken gefunden. Nehmen wir zunächst das lat. via, das ja bekanntlich bereits im Lat. in Verbindung mit lactea als Bezeichnung für die Milchstrasse verwendet wurde, eine Zusammenstellung, die mehreren Völkern bekannt ist [3]) und ihnen die

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[1]) Die „Dichtgesäten“ heissen nach Grimm (S. 608) die Plejaden im Slovenischen, eine Vorstellung, die wohl mit der lithauischen und finnischen Vorstellung von einem „Siebe“: lith. *sëtas*, esthn. *sööl* (Grimm S. 608), finn. *seula* verwandt sein dürfte.

[2]) Diese Studie stützt sich hauptsächlich auf den „Atl. ling. de la France“.

[3]) Vgl. die ausserromanischen Namen: ostfr. *melkpath*, engl. *milky way* und ung. *téjút*, das auch „*Milch*strasse“ bedeutet.

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Anregung zu einer ganzen Menge mythologischer Sagen [1]) gegeben hat. Diesen Sagen sowie der ganzen Begriffzusammenstellung liegt unzweifelhaft die Vorstellung von etwas „Weissem" im allgemeinen zugrunde. Bei dem einen Volke ruft der weisse Weg am nächtlichen Himmel die Vorstellung von Milch, bei anderen wieder Vorstellungen von anderen weissen Dingen hervor; vgl. altn. *vetrarbraut*, schwed. *vintergata* „Winterstrasse" (also die Vorstellung von weissem Schnee), westfäl. *Mühlenweg* (die Vorstelluug von weissem Mehl) und welsh. *arianrod* „Silberstrasse" (Grimm S. 296). Auch die vielen aussereuropäischen Namen der Milchstrasse, bei denen Ausdrücke für „Spreu", „Stroh" [2]), „Asche" u. a. eine Rolle spielen, sind wohl ähnlichen Eindrücken entsprungen.

In Frankreich ist nun, abgesehen vom schriftsprachlichen *voie lactée*, diese Zusammensetzung wenig verbreitet. Nur einige ganz spärliche Punkte im äussersten Osten kommen vor, so einige in der Schweiz, in Haute-Saône, Meuse etc. (vgl. näheres im Atl. ling.). Schlechthin „weisser Weg": *vwǎ blèts* wird sie einmal im Dep. Rhône (908, Atl.) genannt. Schliesslich trifft man lat. via in Verbindung mit dem heiligen Jakob als Attribut an, einem Namen, der am häu-

[1]) Am bekanntesten ist wohl die griech. Sage von Hera, die, zornig darüber, dass man ihrer Brust das kleine Herakleskind untergelegt hatte, ihre Milch über den Himmel spritzte und dadurch den weissen Streifen verursachte. — Die oben erwähnte ungarische *Milch*strasse ist mit einer ähnlichen Sage in Verbindung gebracht worden. Hier ist es der ungarische Nationalheld Arpad, der an der Brust seiner Mutter lag und von ihr träumte, wobei die Milch aus der Mutterbrust zu fliessen begann; den Weg, den die Milch am Himmel nahm, zog dann Arpad mit seinen Scharen weiter; daher der Name: „Milchstrasse" (Am Ur-Quell, Bd. IV, Heft I, S. 29).

[2]) Auch die Magyaren glauben Stroh in der Milchstrasse zu sehen. Es erzählt nämlich eine magyarische Sage: „St. Petrus hatte Stroh gestohlen und es auf Gonczöls Wagen (vgl. oben beim grossen Bären) geladen; dabei wurde er vom Feldhüter ertappt, doch suchte er seinem Verfolger durch rasches Fahren zu entkommen; auf dieser hastigen Fahrt nun verlor er Stroh vom Wagen, das man seitdem als „Milchstrasse" am Himmel sieht". („Die Sterne im Magyarischen Volksglauben, Am Ur-Quell, Bd. IV, Heft I, S. 30).

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figsten bei den französischen Benennungen der Milchstrasse herangezogen worden ist. Warum man den Himmelsweg mit dem Namen gerade dieses Heiligen in Verbindung gebracht hat, findet vielleicht seine Erklärung in der biblischen Erzählung von der Leiter Jakobs, die gleich einem Wege zum Himmel führte. Spätere Versionen haben den heiligen Jakob in diesen himmlischen Weg selbst versetzt; so ist Jakob nach der bekannten Chronik Turpins, Karl dem Grossen in der Milchstrasse erschienen und hat ihm den Weg zum heiligen Grabe in Spanien gewiesen[1]) (Honnorat, Dict. prov.). Schon im Mittelalter war *via Sancti Jacobi* (vgl. Grimm, S. 296) allgemein üblich, und noch heute ist „Jakobs Weg" die gewöhnlichste Bezeichnung der Milchstrasse im Volke, mag nun dieser Weg durch das ursprüngliche via oder durch ein anderes synonymes Wort ausgedrückt werden. Was die von lat. via (Sancti Jacobi) ausgehende Benennung betrifft, so ist sie hauptsächlich auf ital. Gebiet (Punkte 982, 992), vereinzelt auch nördlicher, anzutreffen. Weit verbreiteter, ja die allergewöhnlichste Ausdrucksform für die hier in Frage stehende Zusammensetzung ist die aus gall. camminus „Weg" entstandene. Dieser Typus: *chemin de S. Jacques*, *camin de San Giachimo* (Andrews) ist über ganz Frankreich belegt (vgl. Atl. ling.). In einigen nördlichen Gegenden wird ausserdem hinzugefügt, wohin diese „Jakobsstrasse" führt. Sie heisst da nämlich: *ʃmī d sẽ jāk ā gȁlis* (Punkt 347, 343, 251). eine Bezeichnung, die an die berühmten Pilgerfahrten nach Galicien in Spanien (vgl. span. *camino de Santiago*, und oben), die das Paradies erschlossen, anknüpft. Ähnlichen Vorstellungen von Pilgerfahrten[2]) ist wohl auch das *ʃẽmẽ d rõm*, das einmal im Dép. du Nord (Punkt 295) und ein paar Mal in der Schweiz (Punkte 959, 969) belegt ist, entsprungen, und ebenso *ʃmɪ dæ̃ pȁrȁdī* in Charente (Punkt 519).

[1]) „Chemin de Saint Jacques va de France droit sur l'Espagne. C'est Saint Jacques de Galice qui l'a tracé pour montrer sa route au brave Charlemagne lorsqu'il faisait la guerre aux Sarrasins" (Daudet, Lettres de mon moulin, „Les étoiles").

[2]) „Weg der Waller" heisst die Milchstrasse auch bei den Türken (Grimm S. 296).

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Begrifflich dem Vorigen am nächsten kommt der „Weg des lieben Gottes", womit man auch vereinzelt diese Erscheinung benennt: *tsămĭn du bŭn dĭŭ* in den Hautes-Alpes (Punkt 866); vgl. hiermit Vorstellungen von Göttern und Seelen (bei den Finnen von Vögeln: *linnun rata*), die auch anderwärts den Benennungen der Milchstrasse zugrunde liegen können (Grimm S. 296 und „Die Sterne im magyarischen Volksglauben" in „Am Ur-Quell" Bd. IV). Wohl ex analogia zur „Jakobsstrasse" heisst die Milchstrasse im äussersten Südosten und vereinzelt in der Schweiz „des heiligen Petrus Weg": *kumĭ de sĕ pèyre, pyĕr*, auch (ebenfalls im Süden) „des heiligen Johannes' Weg": *kamĕ d sĕn djyā̆* oder, ganz vereinzelt, „des heiligen Bernhard Weg": *tsămĭ sĕ bĕrnăr* (Punkt 836). Auch wird dieser Himmelsweg dem König David zugeschrieben, so einmal in dem Wallonischen: *tʃumĕ d dăvìd* (Punkt 176). Ein „Weg" schlechthin: *ʃèmĕ* findet sich einmal belegt (Punkt 270).

Vereinzelt kommen auch noch andere Ausdrücke für „Weg", als via und camminus, für unseren Begriff vor. So frz. *route: rut d sĕ jak* einmal in Allier (Junkt 901) und *passage? sĕ djāk* einmal im Wallon. (Punkt 185). Eine besondere Art Weg, nämlich „une voie assez large pour qu'une charette puisse y passer" liegt dem in Bas-Maine belegten Ausdruck für Milchstrasse: *la ʃareyer dè sĕ Jāk* (Dottin) (vgl. afrz. *charrière* < carraria „Karrenweg") zugrunde. Zuletzt gehört vielleicht zu dieser Vorstellungsgruppe eines „Weges" noch folgende Bezeichnung in Cantal: *kŏràu de sĕ tsāke*, die wohl mit „Gang" (eigentlich wohl „Laufbahn" von currere, vgl. span. *corral* „Hof", Meyer-Lübke, 2415.) des heiligen Jakob zu erklären sein dürfte.

Ausser der Vorstellung eines „Weges" verdankt die Milchstrasse noch einigen anderen Vorstellungen ihre volkstümliche Benennung. Bisweilen stellt man sich die Erscheinung ganz einfach als „weissen Streifen" oder kurzweg als „Streifen" vor, so *trẽnĕ byāʃ* einmal in Indre und *la trẽnè* in Seine-et-Marne und Nord (Atl. ling.). Etymologisch verwandt mit diesen ist auch folgender Ausdruck aus der Provence, dem die Vorstellung von einem über den Himmel „gezogenen milchfarbigen Netze" zugrunde liegt: *dralho la-*

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chenco (Piat), das aus lat. tragulum (trahere, *tragere) + einer Adjektivableitung von lacte entstanden ist.

Eine Gruppe für sich bilden die im Norden (in den Departements Somme, Pas-de-Calais, Meuse und dem wall. Gebiet) belegten: *ab du vè, abjès(s)é, ab d abrăām*, bei denen das gemeinsame *ab* unzweifelhaft auf ein deutlicheres *âbre* (arbre) zurückgeht, das in den Zusammensetzungen *ābrė d sė̆ jāk, ābre măkăbė̆* (Punkt 59, 54) als Bezeichnung für unsere Himmelserscheinung vorkommt. Wir haben es also hier mit der Vorstellung von einem „Baume" — bisweilen „Bogen" statt „Baum" (Punkt 292: *ārk ābrăām*) — zu tun, der sich mit seinen langen Zweigen über den ganzen Himmel erstreckt und der, gleich dem obigen „Weg", bald Gott oder Jesus, bald Abraham oder dem heiligen Jakob, bald endlich den Makkabäern gewidmet ist. Ganz die nämliche Vorstellung finden wir auch bei der Namengebung besonderer Wolken, wo ein *âbre macabre* (oder *âbre de Machabée*), *âbre maucabre, mâcabraî* bald mit „léger nuage **allongé**" erklärt wird, bald mit „disposition des nuages en forme d'un **éventail**", bald schliesslich mit „une **trainée** de nuages brossés par un coup de vent dans le ciel sur une grande étendue, **d'une extrémité de l'horizon à l'autre** quelquefois, et dessinant vaguement une espèce d'arbre avec son fût, ses branches et ses racines" (s. näheres unter „Wolke"). Welche von diesen Verwendungen des zum Vergleich herangezogenen „Baumes", die für Wolke oder die für die Milchstrasse, die ursprünglichere ist, lässt sich vielleicht nicht mit Bestimmtheit entscheiden; doch scheint das ungleich häufigere Vorkommen von fantastisch gestalteten Wolken, worunter sich recht oft an Bäume erinnernde Gebilde finden, — schon die verhältnismässig weit verbreitete, obengenannte, mundartliche Wolkenbezeichnung, die sogar in der Schriftsprache (vgl. HDT.) bekannt ist, spricht für ihr häufiges Erscheinen —, zu dem Schlusse zu berechtigen, dass die Wolken zuerst diese Vorstellung wachgerufen haben und erst, nachdem diese nach ihrem Vergleichungsobjekt, dem Baum, benannt worden waren, diese Benennung auf die solchen Wolken ähnliche Milchstrasse [1]) übertragen worden ist.

[1]) Findet sich ja auch für diese dann und wann die Benennung „wega

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Ist nun die Volksphantasie dahin gekommen, die Milchstrasse mit einem „Baum“ (oder richtiger mit einer baumähnlichen Wolke) zu vergleichen, so liegt es noch näher, in dieser weissen Himmelserscheinung einen blühenden „Birnbaum“ zu sehen. Ein solcher Vergleich liegt wahrscheinlich in dem *pūyrī sè jyāk* (Punkt 175) vor, das gleichfalls in unserem *arbre*-Gebiet belegt ist und also als „poirier de Saint-Jacques“ verstanden werden muss.

In der obenerwähnten „Baumgruppe“ wurde ein *ab du vè* erwähnt. Diesem „Windbaum“ liegt höchstwahrscheinlich die Vorstellung zugrunde, die Milchstrasse sei ein Vorzeichen des Windes oder, gebe die Richtung des herannahenden Windes an. Auch dieser Bezeichnung der Milchstrasse sowie einer ähnlichen in Calvados: *l pyē d vā*, also „Windfuss“, möchte ich als ursprünglichere Verwendung die für „Wolke“ zuschreiben. Erstens dürften nämlich überall in der Welt die Wolken als ganz gewöhnliche Vorzeichen von Wetter und Wind gelten, und zweitens kommen tatsächlich eben diese Bezeichnungen in mehreren Gegenden für besondere Wolken oder durch Wolkenformationen entstandene wolkenlose Flächen vor. So z. B. wendet man ein *pied d'vent* für „éclaircie dans les nuages indiquant d'où souffle le vent“ in der Sprache der Boulogner Seeleute an (Deseille) oder *pied-de-vent* für „nuage allongé et étroit dont la direction annonce celle du vent etc“ in Anjou (Verr.-On.).

Zuletzt eine Vorstellung, die, wie die obenerwähnte von einem „Netze“, unter der Fischfang treibenden Bevölkerung Südfrankreichs entstanden sein dürfte, nämlich die Vorstellung von einem „himmlischen Bache“ [1]). Auf einen derartigen Gedanken weist wohl das von Piat belegte *a(i)gal del cel* hin, das sich unter den Benennungen für „voie lactée“ bei ihm verzeichnet findet (vgl. prov. *aiga* < aqua, *aigal* „Wasserleitung“, engad. *ovél* „Bach“ bei Meyer-Lübke).

wolkòno“, ein Name, der auch ausserhalb Europas seine Entsprechungen hat (vgl. Grimm, Nachtr., S. 106).

[1]) Vgl. bei Grimm den arabischen Namen der Milchstrasse, der mit „flumen tractus“ erklärt ist.

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Wolken.

Wohl wenige von den Himmelserscheinungen, die auf das Leben und Treiben des Volkes direkten Einfluss ausüben, haben die Phantasie desselben so sehr beschäftigt und infolgedessen einen so grossen Reichtum an sprachlichen Bildern hervorgerufen, wie die Wolken. Stehen diese doch in unmittelbarer Beziehung zu Wetter und Wind, zu Erscheinungen also, die für das ganze Leben des Volkes von grösster Bedeutung sind, und bieten sie sich doch recht oft dem Auge in phantastischen, die Einbildungskraft erregenden Formen und Farben dar.

Dass die Wolken in der volkstümlichen Wetterprognostik eine grosse Rolle spielen, nicht nur in Frankreich, sondern überall in der Welt, ist zu gewöhnlich, als dass es besonders hervorgehoben zu werden braucht. Nur einige Beispiele mögen kurz erläutern, welche Kennzeichen der Wolken dabei in Frankreich hauptsächlich in Betracht kommen. Sehr gewöhnlich ist (z. B. in Basse-Bretagne) die Ansicht, dass rote Wolken bei Sonnenaufgang Wind und Regen für den beginnenden Tag bedeuten — vgl. hiermit in Savoyen: „Les nuages rouges le matin font tourner la roue des moulins“ (Brachet), und in Val d'Aosta: „Le gnoule rodze di nat làvon lo plat, le gnoule rodze di matin quintson le tsemin“ (Cerlogne), — schwarze Wolken Ungewitter: „Le ciel est noir comme le chapeau du commissionnaire, il va pleuvoir du goudron ou de l'encre“ (Sébillot, Légendes, croyances etc., p. 15). Neben der Farbe verdient auch die Richtung der Wolken genauere Aufmerksamkeit. So sagt man in der Gegend von Metz von einer weissen Wolke (*värpan'* genannt, s. unten), sie verkündige schönes Wetter, wenn sie dem Norden zugewandt ist, Regen aber, wenn sie nach Osten zu gekehrt ist (Rolland, Vocab. du pat. messin, in Romania 1876); oder in der franz. Schweiz: „Se lè niolè van d'amont, Prein *l'*aulhe (aiguille à coudre) et le tacon (cuir travaillé); Se lè niolè van d'avau, Prein le cove (lat. cos „pierre à aiguiser“) et la faux“ (Bridel), oder: „Si les nuages vont au nord-est, prends l'aiguille et le tacon, s'ils vont

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du côté du sud-ouest, prends le râteau et la faux" (Odin), eine Redensart, die auch in Italien vorkommt: „co le nuvole va al mare, to'su i bo e va arare; co le nuvole va al monte, to' su i bo e va a la corte" (Sébillot, Légendes, croyances etc. p. 17).

Auch die Form der Wolken wird vom Volk genau beobachtet. Wenn man im Südwesten die wolligen „Schäfchen zum Stalle ziehen" sieht („les moutons montent en bergerie"), so bedeutet das in Haute-Bretagne heftigen Wind (Sébillot, Légendes etc., p. 12; vgl. auch ital. „cielo pecorelo, o piova o venteselo", ebenda). In Basse-Bretagne hält man hingegen die langgestreckten Wolken für Vorläufer starken Windes (ibd.). Die leichten Cirruswolken, die gleich Fahnen grosser Federn über den Himmel zerstreut liegen und auch mit „Kehricht", *balayures*, der nach dem Auskehren („nettoyage") zurückgeblieben ist, verglichen werden, sind in der Picardie ein Vorzeichen von schönem Wetter (Le Folk-Lore de la Picardie, in Rev. des trad. pop. XXIII, p. 355). Natürlich hat auch die Schnelligkeit, mit der die Wolken ziehen, beim Vorhersagen des Wetters ihre Bedeutung. So kündigen in Haute-Bretagne die schnell fliegenden Wolken Wind, die langsam dahinziehenden aber schönes Wetter an (Sébillot, Légendes etc., p. 14). In der frz. Schweiz aber: „Les niolles qui s'élèvent lentement et en fuseaux contre les flancs du Jura annoncent la pluie"; ausserdem kommt neben ihrer Form auch noch in Betracht, die Tageszeit, wie in Anjou: „Quant la *nue dorante* passe sur le soleil de dix heures, il mouille avant 24 heures" (Verrier-On.). Vgl. näheres unter den verschiedenen Ausdrücken für Wolke.

Was die Substanz der Wolken betrifft, die auf ihre Namengebung auch einigen Einfluss hat üben können, so darf man wohl die Vorstellung von einer Ausdünstung der Erde erst einem späteren Entwickelungsstadium des Volkes zuschreiben. Bei primitiven Völkern — und auch in Franhreich finden sich Reste solcher Vorstellungen — denkt man sich lieber die Wolken von festerer Beschaffenheit, sogar wie Inseln oder Berge. So erzählen sich die Seeleute von la Manche eine Sage von jenem Schiffer, der samt seinem Schiffe durch ein von einer Wolke herabhängendes Tau aus

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den Händen von Seeräubern gerettet wurde (Rev. des trad. pop. XVII,. p. 455; vgl. auch ähnliches bei Sébillot, Légendes etc., pp. 6, 7). Oft verlegt die Volksphantasie auch Zauberer und Hexen in die Wolken, die dann von ihnen gesteuert werden (Sébillot, Légendes etc., ibd.). Auch glaubt man, gewisse Personen, vor allem Priester, könnten sich in die Wolken versetzen und dort Gewitter verursachen (Noëlas, Légendes forézíennes, p. 241 und Rev. des trad. pop. 1890, p. 382); daher die Redensart: „il va tomber des curés" (Rev. des trad. pop., ibd.).

Verbreiteter als die eben genannte Vorstellung scheint die zu sein, dass die Wolken nichts anderes seien als eine Art Säcke oder Gefässe, die sich mit Meereswasser füllen, eine Vorstellung, der vielleicht eine mehr oder minder unbewusste Personifikation der Wolke zugrunde liegt (Sébillot, Légendes etc. II, p. 8). Diese Vorstellung, die schon in dem „Dialogue des météores" von Pierre Messie aus dem 16. Jh. belegt ist, wo es unter anderem heisst: „Sçachez donc que il me dit que l'eau qui pleut est l'eaue de la mer que les nues vont tirer en icelle" (zit. von Sébillot, Légendes etc., II, p. 8—9), kommt noch in einigen Gegenden Frankreichs vor. So nach Sébillot an der Küste von la Manche und in Poitou, wo die Wolken das Meereswasser mit Schalen (*gamelles*) schöpfen (Légendes etc., II, p. 8) und in Saint-Malo: „la *pouche* (sac) est déliée", wenn es heftig regnet (Lecomte); vgl. auch oben unter „Sonne", wo die Wolken wie eine „Tonne": le *barail* (baril), auf dem Rücken der untergehenden Sonne liegen.

Schliesslich hat man sich hie und da die Wolke als grossen Vogel gedacht, was die z. B. in der Normandie belegte Sitte, mit einer silbernen Kugel nach ihr zu schiessen, erklärt (Sébillot, Légendes etc., II, p. 10).

Ausser diesen phantastischen Vorstellungen von der Substanz der Wolken hat das Volk selbstverständlich auch reellere Vorstellungen, die dem wirklichen Sachverhalt der Erscheinung näher kommen, gehabt, vor allem solche, die unter den Wolken nichts anderes als Nebel, Regen oder dgl. verstehen.

Schon von alters her hat — und das liegt ja ganz in der Natur der Sache — eine Verschwommenheit zwischen Wolke und Nebel geherrscht (vgl. griech. *νεφέλη*, das beide Bedeutungen hat), und

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diese Verschwommenheit findet sich auch in Frankreich ganz allgemein vor. Das lat. nĕbŭla, das ja bekanntlich „Nebel", daneben aber auch bisweilen „Wolke" bedeutete, hat afrz. *nieule, niele, nieuble, nible*, ergeben, welches sowohl mit „nuage" als mit „brouillard. brume" erklärt wird (Gdfr.), aprov. *neula* „Nebel" (Crescini). Auch in den neueren Mundarten kommt dieselbe Verschwommenheit vor. So ist dieser nebula-Typus die gewöhnlichste Bezeichnung für Wolke in Südfrankreich [1]) geworden, findet sich aber daselbst auf einem weiten Gebiete auch bald für „brume", bald für „brouillard" [2]). Die abgeleitete Form nebulata, die im afrz. *niulee* sowohl „nuage" als „brume" bedeutete, scheint hauptsächlich für „Wolke" gebraucht worden zu sein [3]. Andere Ableitungen von nebula bedeuten bald „Wolke", bald „Nebel" [4]).

[1]) Auf nebula gehen u. a. folgende Bezeichnungen für „Wolke" zurück: *nyôla* (Philipon), *gniola, niola* (Puitspelu), *gnoula* (Cerlogne), *nebla* (Martin), *ñola* (Fankhauser), *ṇible* (Dauzat), *nievola, nivoula* (Devaux), *nebla* (Eynaudi), *niolle* (Humbert), *niòla* (Brachet), *niola* (Bridel), *nïolâ* (Const.-Désorm.), *nebla* (Calvino, Azaïs), *ṇola* (Odin), *nyòla* (Mat. zu Gloss. des pat. d. l. Suisse rom.).

[2]) „Nebel", gewöhnlich „brouillard", seltener „brume", bedeutet nebula in folgenden Formen: *niola, gniola* (neben „nuage", s. oben, auch „brouillard", Bridel) *nielles* (Guillemaut), *ñola* („brouillard isolé", Gilliéron), *nyôla* (Byland), *nioule, nielle* (Choussy), *nyële* (Clédat), *ṇulaᵉ* (Dauzat), *nebia* (Andrews), *nêbla* (Nicollet), *gnibla* „brume", *nibla* „brouillard du matin qui se lève avant le soleil" (Puitspelu), *nèblo* (Avril), *nébla* (Sütterlin); vgl. näheres im Atl. ling. (cartes 178 und 181), wo die Bedeutung „brume", „brouillard" oft durch eine hinzugefügte Bestimmung verdeutlicht wird: *ptità ṇōla* (Punkt 50), *nĕ̀byâ bāsa* (Punkt 986, 972) für „brume" une *nèblo bāso, nedjye basè* (Punkt 982, 990) für „brouillard". Ähnliche Verdeutlichungen der Nebelbedeutung sind auch folgende aus der frz. Schweiz: *niola bluva*, eigentl. „blauer Nebel", *nyôla kovèrə* „brouillard qui enveloppe le sommet d'une montagne", *niola borna, borgnə*, eigentl. wohl „blinder Nebel", dann „brouillard épais" (Mater. zu Gloss. des pat. d. l. Suisse rom.). Diese und ähnliche Verdeutlichungen lassen uns vermuten, dass doch „Wolke" die gewöhnliche Bedeutung des Wortes ist.

[3]) Ein *nivoulado* „nuée d'orage qui donne une pluie de peu de durée: „aquò's pa qu'uno *nivoulado*" (Hombr.-Charv., Mstrl.); *ñolatâ*„ se dit des nuages qui se tiennent près de terre" (Odin).

[4]) *ñolâ* „brouillard" (Odin, Gilliéron), *nebiassa* „brume" (Andrews), *ne-*

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Die gewöhnliche lat. Bezeichnuug für eine Wolke: nūbes oder *nūba, wie es das frz. *nue* voraussetzt, scheint schon früh in der Volkssprache wegen seines schwachen Lautgehaltes Ableitungen Platz gemacht zu haben.[1]) Ausser den in der Schriftsprache und dadurch wohl so ziemlich überall bekannten *nuage-* und *nuée-* Typen[2]) kommen noch einige andere Ableitungen vor: So *nuau* im Westen (Montesson u. Verr.-On.; vgl. afrz. *nuau*, Gdfr.); dabei weicht die Bedeutung in Anjou von der ursprünglichen diminutiven „petit nuage" ab, indem das Wort von Verr.-On. mit „gros nuage noir" erklärt wird; vielleicht könnte hier ein *nūbālis (?) vorliegen; auf nubilus weisen das aprov., afrz. *nuble*, das in Béarn noch (?) vorkommende *nuble*: „petites *nubles* au miey dou gran sou" (*sou* „soleil" bei Lespy-Raym.) und *nublesse*, *nublette* (Tarbé; vgl. afrz. *nublesse*, *nublece*, *nulece*, Gdfr.). Sind die letztgenannten Benennungen veraltet, so leben einige nubilata-Formen noch im Wallonischen als gewöhnliche Wolkenbezeichnungen: so *nūlèy*, *nulé* (Mélanges wall. par Boclinville, Bovy etc.), *nülęy* (Horning, Zur Kunde des Neuwall., in Z. f. rom. Phil., 1885), *nülēy* (Niederländer, Die Mundart von Namur, Z. f. rom. Phil., 1900) und *nûlée*, sowohl „nuage" als „amas de brouillard plus ou moins épais, suspendus dans l'atmosphère" (Pirsoul); vgl. *noûlaie* (Rmcl.) und *noûlèie*, *nûlèie* (Grgg.). Ein *walèy*

blasso, „gros brouillard" (Azaïs), *ñoléta* „petit nuage" (Odin) *nyòlèta*, *nyolan* „nuage" (Mater. zu Gloss. des pat. d. l. Suisse rom.).

[1]) Einem *nivo* (Andrews, Mstrl., mehrmals in Mirèio), *nivou* (Hombr.-Charv.), *nîv-w* (Nicollet), das von den genannten Autoren bald auf nubem, bald auf griech. nephos zurückgeführt worden ist, muss wohl ein *nebūlus zugrunde gelegt werden (vgl. Meyer-Lübke, 5975, prov. *nivol*). Auch Formen wie *niue* (Contejean) und *niu* (Sütterlin), die nach S. auf nebula weisen (Rom. Forsch. IX, S. 261), könnten sich wohl aus diesem Etymon nibulus (vgl. bei Sütterlin: *niols*) entwickelt haben.

[2]) In Bas-Maine heisst eine Wolke *nüé d Navar* oder *nüé dė Kadriy*, und wenn diese Wolke vor 11 Uhr über die Sonne hinweggeht, glaubt man noch am selben Tag Regen zu bekommen (Dottin). Etwa dasselbe schreibt man unter den gleichen Bedingungen in Anjou der Wolke *nuée d'Orance* oder *nuée Laurence* zu, was nicht anders als *nuée dorante*, d. h. „goldene Wolke" (Verr.-On.), sein soll.

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„nuée" bei Marchot (Pat. de Saint-Hubert) wird von ihm *on (n)ualéy* erklärt.

Dieselbe Verschwommenheit in der Vorstellung zwischen Wolke und Nebel, die wir bei lat. nebula beobachtet haben, kann aber auch in anderen, spez. gallisch-romanischen Ausdrücken wahrgenommen werden. Die Vorstellung „Nebel" „Dunst" (oder „Staubregen") für Wolke liegt nämlich wahrscheinlich noch folgenden Bezeichnungen für Wolke zugrunde:

1. *brouillard*: „I'y ai des *brouillards* au temps" („il y a des nuages au ciel", Baudouin). Ein *bouillard* „gros nuage annonçant la pluie" (Verrier-On.), „nuage qui annonce du vent ou de la pluie" (Lalanne) ist vielleicht dasselbe Wort [1]).

2. *crâ* s. f. „gros nuage noir" (Verrier-On.). Das W. gehört in einen Ideenzusammenhang von „dicker, feuchter Luft", hier nebula crassa, wovon *crassare*, **crassinare* „befeuchten", *crassiner*, und *crachine* „Staubregen" (vgl. unter diesem Begriff). Ein „Staubregen" oder „staubregenartiger Nebel" liegt wohl der in Wallis belegten Bezeichnung *prinmè* s. f. (*li prin* pl.) für „nuage" zugrunde (vgl. *prin brular* „brouillard fin", Mat. zu Gloss. des pat. d. l. Suisse rom.).

3. *brume* „nuage" (Lespy-Raym.). Die Wolken im allgemeinen heissen in Lauraguais (Dép. Tarn) las *brumos*; doch meint man mit diesem Worte auch spez. die Cirruswolken, die, vom Winde getrie-

[1]) Nach Littré (zit. von Verrier-On.) soll das Wort aus einem afrz. *boule* „bâton terminé par un bloc, qui est la bouille" entstanden sein („comme il sert à troubler l'eau, le sens de nuage aurait pu en venir", Littré), was wohl etwas gekünstelt erscheint. In Hinblick auf die ganz gewöhnliche Vorstellungsverschiebung zwischen Wolke und Nebel könnte das Wort trotz des fehlenden *r*-Lautes doch eher als *brouillard* aufgefasst werden, falls nicht auch dieses W. zu der Gruppe von Wolkenbezeichnungen gehört, denen eine Platzregenbenennung zugrunde liegt. Für diese Annahme spräche nicht allein die wohl über ganz Frankreich verbreitete scherzhafte Bezeichnung des Platzregens: *bouillon* (vgl. näheres unter diesem Begriff), sondern auch das direkte Vorhandensein von *bouillard* in der Bedeutung „Platzregen": „il est tombé un bouillard" („pluie abondante et soudaine, giboulée", Puichaud; *bouillard* „averse", Favre).

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ben. wie über den Himmel „dahinschwimmen“: *brumos nadaïros* „nuées nageuses, sont des nuages que l'autan charrie de l'Est à l'Ouest“ (Revue des trad. pop. XVIII, p. 425—426).

4. *breugnos* s. m. „nuages très rapprochés de la terre“ (de Chambure; vgl. burg. *breugne?* „brouillard“, de Chambure), vgl. näheres unter „Nebel“.

5. *feumée* „vapeurs répandues dans l'atmosphère, nuées légères et blanchâtres qui se traînent à l'horizon: il y a beaucoup de *feumées* ce matin, nous aurons de la pluie“ (de Chambure); *fəmāyiə* „nuage mince“, *foumet* „nuage“ (Mater. zu Gloss. des pat. d. l. Suisse rom.); vgl. *fumail* und *feumâie* unter „Nebel“.

Wie schon oben erwähnt, lagen bisweilen den Wolkenbezeichnungen ganz phantastische Vorstellungen zugrunde, unter anderem die von „Säcken“, „Schalen“ u. dgl. „Taschen voll Käse“: *poutchâ de səré* (pochées de sérac) heisst im Waadtland eine Art ganz kleiner Wolken (Mat. zu Gloss. des pat. d. l. Suisse rom.). Auch sagt man in Béarn: per darrè que y-ha *braguè* (Lespy-Raym.) für „par derrière (à l'ouest) il y a amas de nuage“, wobei *braguè* hier „pis, mamelle de vache, de chèvre et de tout autre animal“ (Mstrl., Azaïs) bedeutete, und die ganze Redensart also so zu verstehen wäre, dass es im Westen Wolken gibt so voll Wasser, wie das Euter voll Milch (Lespy-Raym.). Doch scheint mir die Erklärung des in Haute-Garonne belegten *brago* (unzweifelhaft dasselbe Wort) „une barre de nuage qui se forme entre le N. et le S. dans la direction de l'O.“ (Rev. des trad. pop. XVIII, p. 425, 426) und die Zusammenstellung des Wortes mit *cinto* (cinctum „Gurt“) darauf hinzudeuten, dass man es hier eher mit einer Vorstellung von „Windeln“ zu tun gehabt hat (vgl. Meyer-Lübke, Rom. etym. Wb. braca).

Ein *zibasse* in Zentralfrankreich wird mit „nuée d'orage accompagnée de vent et souvent de grosse pluie“ (de Chambure) erklärt und wohl mit Recht mit einem *gibasse*, „giboulée de pluie, averse subite“ (daselbst) zusammengestellt. Welche von diesen Vorstellungen soll man nun als die primäre ansehen? De Chambure leitet das W. von afrz. *gibe* [1])

[1]) Dieses afrz. W. nach de Chambure auch als Stammwort für *giboulet* nicht ausgeschlossen.

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„ballot, paquet, sacoche" (Gdfr.) ab (bei DC.: giba „onus, fascis statutae qvantitatis, nostris *balot*, alias *gibe;* gr. κίββα sacculus, quod merces sacculo involvi solent"), wonach *gibasse* als eine pejorative Form von *gibe* „grosse charge ou gibe de pluie" (de Ch.) betrachtet werden müsste. Nach de Ch. wäre also die Vorstellung „Platzregen": „giboulée de pluie" die primäre, woraus sich die Bedeutung "Wolke" nach dem Muster von *chaline*, *battresse* etc. (vgl. weiter unten) entwickelt hätte. Hat aber das afrz. *gibe* wirklich die Bed. „sacoche" — die Beispiele bei Gdfr. lassen das nicht ohne weiteres feststellen —, so steht es unzweifelhaft in Zusammenhang mit afrz. *gibasse* „petite bourse de cuir" (Gdfr.) und die Vorstellung „kleiner Sack" läge damit dem obenerwähnten *zibasse* direkt zugrunde. Dass nämlich die „Wolke" auch als „Regen" aufgefasst werden kann, beweist *nuée*, *nuage* u. dgl. für „Platzregen" (vgl. diesen Begriff).

Dem in der Sprache der boulogner Seeleute belegten *ponard* s. m. „gros nuage menaçant" (Deseille) liegt vielleich die schon oben erwähnte, auch an der Nordküste vorkommende Vorstellung zugrunde, dass die Wolken „mit Schalen aus dem Meere Wasser schöpfen" (vgl. wall. *ponart*, *ponnart* s. m. „sorte de vase", Arch. Tournai. bei Gdfr.).

Allen obengenannten Wolkennamen lagen Vorstellungen zugrunde, die sich hauptsächlich auf die Substanz der Wolken bezogen. An diese reihen sich am nächsten die Bezeichnungen, die Vorstellungen von dem durch die Wolken zu erwartenden Wetter entsprungen sind. Dabei liegt es auf der Hand, dass Gewitter, Platzregen und heftiger Wind, Witterungserscheinungen also, die für das Volk und die Landwirtschaft verhängnisvoll sein können, in erster Linie in Betracht kommen. So verdankt wohl das lat. nimbus als „Sturm- oder Regenwolke" und dann „Wolke" überhaupt seinen Namen einer Kontamination von imber „Regenguss" und einem gewöhnlicheren Wolkennamen (nubes oder nebula); vgl. Walde. Als Regenbringer oder spez. „Platzregen" verkündend heisst die Wolke bald *bouron* m. („gros nuage isolé", in Broye-les-Pesmes in der Franche-Comté, Perron), bald *bourrain-na* („gros nuage annonçant la pluie", in Lyon, Villefranche), bald *bouriau* (*bourdiau?*) (de Cham-

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bure). Diesen Worten liegt wohl dasselbe *bourrar* „vollstopfen (mit Regen)" zugrunde, das ein *bourrado*, *bourrat* im Gasc.: „la plèjo toumbado à *bourrats*" [1]) (Jasmin, bei Mstrl.), ein *bourrée* „averse accompagnée d'un grand'vent et de coups de tonnerre" in Savoyen (Const.-Dés.), ein *borrô*, *bourrée* „averse" in Villefranche-sur-Saône (Déresse) herbeigeführt hat (vgl. *bouron* und *bŏrŏn d'la tēt* für „Schnupfen" bei H. Urtel, Autour du rhume, in Bulletin du gloss. des pat. d. l. Suisse rom. 1913, 1—2).

Eine von den allergewöhnlichsten Vorstellungen beim Platzregen ist das „Schlagen" (vgl. näheres unter „Platzregen"), was unter anderem ein *battr(a)esse* ergeben hat in der Bed. „forte pluie, averse" oder „pluie subite et torrentielle". Dieses *battresse* ist schon seit langem im Westen, bes. in Poitou, für Hagelregen gebraucht worden: „Le XI du mois d'aoust je fus à Maillé voir la batresse de la gresle" (Ste Croix, Arch. Vienne, 1620, zit. bei Gdfr.) und liegt dem ebendaselbst noch belegten *batteresse* für „nuage de grêle" (Favre) „nuée de grêle qui bat, détruit les récoltes" (Lalanne) zugrunde.

Als „Regenbringer" überhaupt wird die Wolke auch in Poitou vorgestellt: *remouillée* „nuage chargée de pluie" (Favre), auch bei Lalanne ebenso belegt (vgl. unter „Regen" *mouiller* besonders im Westen Frankreichs).

Dunkel ist das champ. *bouquaî*, das mit „nuage, ondée courte, passagère" erklärt wird (Goffart). In einem Satze wie dem folgenden: „C'n'est rin, c'n'est qu'in *bouquaî*" (ibd.) scheint das Wort, das hier „ondée courte" bedeutet, analog verwendet zu sein wie ein *bouquet* in „bouquet de pain, de viande", d. h. in der Bedeutung „Stück", oder in unserem Falle also etwa für eine „Handvoll" Wasser oder ähnl., was dann leicht für „Wolke" gebraucht worden sein könnte. Vgl. auch *bouquin*, *boquin*, im benachbarten Metzgebiete für „giboulée, grain de pluie" (Lorrain). Oder liegt hier einfach eine Vorstellung „kleiner Wald" (bosquet) gleich „Baum" (vgl. unten) zugrunde? Vielleicht hat man auch in *rava*(?) „nuage" in Frei-

[1]) Ein *borrat* in Forez auch „nuage d'orage" (de Chambure).

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burg (Mat. zu Gloss. des pat. d. l. Suisse rom.) ein ursprünglicheres *rapā* „forte pluie" oder „colonne de grêle", wie es in Waadt vorkommt, zu erblicken.

Die Vorstellung vom „Gewitter" hat man unzweifelhaft bei dem *chaline* „les nuages noirs qui annoncent l'approche de l'orage" in Poitou (Lalanne) vorauszusetzen. Das W., das auf prov. *calina* „Hitze beim Gewitter" (lat. calere „warm sein"), afrz. *c(h)aline* „chaleur", daneben auch „éclair de chaleur, commencement d'orage" (Gdfr.) zurückgeht, bedeutet in den jetzigen Mundarten hie und da „tonnerre" (Rousseau), auch „chaleur étouffante qui se fait sentir avant l'orage" (Moisy), und steht wahrscheinlich in nahem Zusammenhang[1]) mit dem weitverbreiteten Namen des Wetterleuchtens, masc. *calin* „éclair de chaleur" (vgl. unter „Wetterleuchten"), was aber im Afrz. „brouillard", „obscurité" bedeutet und somit aus lat. „caligine" abzuleiten ist.

„Ein bischen Gewitter": eine derartige Vorstellung etwa liegt dem in Pas-de-Calais belegten Wolkennamen *kãtyõ d'ärnũ* „gros nuage orageux" (Edmont) zugrunde (vgl. afrz. *chantel*, nfrz. *chanteau* „Stück" und *arnu*, Atl. ling., carte *orage*, und Göhri, Blitz und Donner, S. 50—51).

Speziell „Wind- oder Sturmbringer" heisst bisweilen die Wolke in Burgund: *bouffio* „nuage épais qui présage le tonnerre" (Mignard); vgl. nprov. *bufá* „blasen", *buf* „Windstoss", frz. *bouffée* „Windstoss", *bofagna* „fort souffle de vent" (Nizza, Calvino). In Anjou bedeutet *pied-de-vent* „nuage allongé et étroit, dont la direction annonce celle du vent qui règne dans les régions supérieures de

[1]) Zwar werden von Baist (Z. f. r. Ph., Bd. XXVIII, S. 108) *chalin* und *chaline* getrennt, und auch Meyer-Lübke, der in seiner Gr. d. rom. Spr. II. S. 494 *caline* nur als eine Sekundärbildung von *calin* < caligo ansah, setzt in seinem Etymolog. Wörterbuch für *chaline* ein *calina „Wärme" voraus. Mag auch diese Annahme richtig sein (vgl. Göhri, Blitz und Donner im Galloromanischen, S. 31), so scheint doch einerseits dieselbe Bedeutungsentwicklung („éclair de chaleur") der beiden Etyma und anderseits die Grundbedeutung der afrz. *chalin* und *chaline* „Dunkelheit" und „Wärme", „schwarze Wolken" und „Schwüle", entschieden für eine gegenseitige Beeinflussung zu sprechen.

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l'atmosphère" (Verr.-On.); vgl. *pied d'vent* bei den Seeleuten in der Gegend von Boulogne-sur-Mer: „éclaircie dans les nuages indiquant d'où souffle le vent" (Deseille) und *pé de la plejo*, d. h. „Regenfuss" in Lauraguais (Haute-Garonne) für „l'horizon S.-O., s'il est chargé de nuages et si ceux-ci semblent s'appuyer sur la terre" (Rev. des trad. pop. XVIII, pp. 425—426).

Ein *maringna* kommt in Wallis für „nuage, cumulus" (Mat. zu Gloss. des pat. d. l. Suisse rom.) vor. Vielleicht hat hier die Vorstellung von einem von der Meeresseite her wehenden Winde zugrunde gelegen: *marin* (lat. marinus) „vent du sud" (Avril, Mstrl., Levy), der in der Provence ganz gewöhnlich zu sein scheint und in mehreren Zusammensetzungen und Ableitungen vorliegt: *marin blanc* „vent d'Est, redouté pour les vers-à-soie" (Avril, Piat; auch in Languedoc bekannt, Hombr.-Charv.), *marinas* „grand vent de mer" (Azais), *marinado*: „une boueno *marinado* far foundre la nejho" (Avril), *marina* v. n.: „a *marina* tout lou jhour" (ibd.).

Dem „Unwetter" verdanken ihren Namen auch die sog. *tempiès*, Cirrocumulus-Wolken in Haute-Garonne (Rev. des trad. pop. XVIII, p. 425, 426).

Nur verhältnismässig wenige Wolkennamen scheinen auf Farbenvorstellungen zurückzugehen. Ähnlich wie man in der Gegend von Boulogne-sur-Mer sagt: „il fait *brun*", wenn man „il fait nuit noire" meint, und „il fait enne *brunnetée* à ne pont osoir sortir", wendet man daselbst auch ein *brunne* für „nuage épais" an: „Vlà enne *brunne* qu' a'se cueille de sus ches mers, il pluvra bétôt" (Haigneré). Vgl. hier auch die Vorstellung vom Verhältnis der Wolke zum Meere (s. oben) und ein *breunaisse* auch für „brouillard qui tombe, petite pluie fine" (unter „Staubregen").

Eine dunkle Wolke heisst auch *buraud* in Zentralfrankreich (Jaubert), eine Bezeichnung, die ebendort als Adj. in der Bed. „brunâtre" belegt ist und wohl auf ein *bure*, lat. burra „dunkelbraun" zurückgeht. Eine schwarze Wolke nennt man in Périgord *negruro*, *negrié* (Piat.).

Dass die Wolken besonders durch ihre oft recht phantastischen Formen die Einbildungskraft des Volkes in hohem Grade

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angeregt haben, liegt in der Natur der Sache selbst. Liegen doch auch bei den mehr oder weniger gelehrten lat. Bezeichnungen *cumulus*, *cirrus* und *stratus* Gedanken vor, die sich auf die Form der Wolken beziehen (vgl. Walde). Ist die Volksphantasie bei der Namengebung der atmosphärischen Erscheinungen überhaupt erfinderisch gewesen, so scheinen die Volksvorstellungen, die sich an die Form der Wolken anknüpfen, fast ins Fabelhafte gegangen zu sein (einiges ist schon unter „Himmel" erwähnt worden). Oft sind bei der Namengebung der Wolken die schon oben erwähnten Vorstellungen massgebend gewesen, oft liegen den Bezeichnungen ganz generelle, wohl überall in der Welt bekannte Vorstellungen zugrunde, aber ebenso oft bleibt man über die hierbei in Betracht kommenden ursprünglichen Gedanken völlig im Unklaren.

Wie oben bereits erwähnt, hat man sich hie und da die Wolken schon ihrer Substanz nach wie Berge vorgestellt, das um so mehr, da ja ihre Form uns recht oft an hohe Berge, Felsen und Hügel erinnert.

„Felsen" *rocs* heissen die Cumuluswolken in Tarn, „parce qu'ils présentent souvent l'aspect de montagnes rocheuses aux crêtes dentelées et munies de cols" („Les nuages en Lauraguais" in Rev. des trad. pop. XVIII, p. 425—426). Deren unterscheidet man mehrere Arten: den *roc de Sant Estapi* (Saint Stapin, Heiliger in Tarn), der sich in der Richtung nach N.-O. erstreckt und Gewitter bedeutet, besonders wenn er drei Tage hintereinander sichtbar ist oder sich mit den folgenden Wolkengebilden vereinigt; den *roc de Santounjo, de Toulouse, de Paris* etc. in nordwestlicher Richtung (ibd.).

„Hügel", „Erdhaufen", lat. grumus, soll (nach Mstrl.) einem gasc. *crum* „nuage épais et noir" (Moncaut) zugrundeliegen, wovon mehrere Zusammensetzungen in der Bed. „nuage" vorliegen, bald „nuage épais" wie *crumatèro* (Moncaut, Mstrl., Piat, Azaïs), bald „nuage léger" wie *crumèro* (ibd.), auch *crumado*: „La maresçado ven de toumba de la *crumado*" (Mstrl., Piat).

Die Vorstellungen von „Schlössern" oder „Türmen" liegen den in der Schweiz (Waadt) belegten *tsâté* und *touré* (Mat. zu Gloss.

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des pat. d. l. Suisse rom.) zugrunde. „Savoyische Schornsteine“ [1]), *la bwārna éi savoyå (bwārna* „vaste cheminée en forme de pyramide tronquée“, Odin), heisst in Blonay eine Wolke, „qui se forme sur les monts de Savoie à l'approche du mauvais temps“.

Sehr oft erweckt die Form der Wolken Vorstellungen von Tieren (Sébillot, Légendes, croyances et superstitions II, pp. 11 u. 13). Grössere Cumuluswolken rufen die Vorstellung von „Eseln“ [2]) hervor: so *anon* „nuages“ (Annemasse in Savoyen, Const.-Désorm.); dasselbe auch in Genf (Mat. zu Gloss. des pat. d. l. Suisse rom); oder sie erregen die Vorstellung von „Kamelen“: *camiau* (Berry), *chamiau* (Dép. Meuse) „cumulus, gros nuage qui annonce la pluie“ (Labourasse), *chameau* (Goffart); dasselbe auch bei Tarbé; *ʃämō* in Meuse und Marne (Atl. ling.). Von Wolkenbezeichnungen, denen Vorstellungen von „Schafen“, „Lämmern“, „Kälbern“ u. dgl. zugrunde liegen, ist schon oben (vgl. unter „Himmel“) die Rede gewesen.

Sogar Vögel und Fische dürfte sich das Volk vorgestellt haben, wenn es ihm galt, Wolken, oder vielmehr stratusartige Wolkengruppen zu benennen. So heissen eine Art Stratuswolken in der Schweiz (Waadtland und Genf) *pèson*, (*nyòlă ă pèson*), was für „poissons“ stehen muss (Mat. zu Gloss. des pat. d. l. Suisse rom.). In dem aus Saône-et-Loire belegten Ausdruck *còrniaus* für „gros nuages noirs que l'on voit avant l'orage“ (Fertiault) läge es, im Hinblick auf folgenden Satzusammenhang: „I ve faire un bigre de temps; v'là ben des *còrniaus* qui v'nont“ (ibd.), begrifflich nahe, an Krähen, corniculos, zu denken; doch müsste sprachlich wohl ein cornellus

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[1]) Obgleich ich die Richtigkeit dieser Vorstellung („la cheminée aux Savoyards“, Odin) gerade im Hinblick auf ähnlichgeartete von „Schlössern“ und „Türmen“ nicht in Abrede stellen möchte, glaube ich doch, dass man unter einem *bwārna* nichts anderes zu verstehen hat als ein *ħola bwarna*, d. h. eigentlich eine „blinde“ oder „dunkle“ Wolke (vgl. *niola borna* oder *borgnə* für „brouillard épais“ in den Materialien zu Gloss. des pat. d. l. Suisse rom., und v. Wartburg, Die Fehler des Gesichtsorgans, §. 21. und Nachtrag).

[2]) „Esel“ heissen auch zwei kleine Nebulosen, die sich, sowie eine dritte mit dem Namen „Krippe“, im Sternbilde des Krebses befinden (Sébillot, Légendes, croyances etc. II, pp. 24—25).

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aufzuweisen sein, was aus cornicem kaum möglich ist. Auf Vorstellungen von Vögeln weist dagegen entschieden ein *cel perdigalejo* in folgendem Spruch aus Haute-Garonne: „Quand lo cel *perdigalejo*, Plau o ventejo" („Les nuages en Lauraguais" in Rev. des trad. pop. XVIII, p. 425—426), wo lat. perdicalem „junges Rebhuhn" zugrunde liegt. Vogelfedern oder richtiger einen Federbusch sieht man in einer kleinen Wolke über den Bergen in Blonay, wo *plemé de ñola* oder *plematśè* eine kleine, leichte Wolke überhaupt bedeutet, und wo man z. B. sagt: „n'arè la plodzè, la dè dé boréi l-a mé sa *plematsè*", d. h. „wir bekommen Regen, die Boréespitze hat ihren Federbusch aufgesetzt" (Odin); ein *plyəmatse* im Waadtland „nuage" (Mat. zu Gloss. des pat. d. l. Suisse rom.).

An die Vorstellung von einem lebenden, fliegenden Wesen (vgl. oben die Sitte, mit einer silbernen Kugel nach der Wolke zu schiessen) knüpft auch folgendes Verschen aus Périgord an: „E lou *dragoùn voulàn*, Ke copèlo loy voilo, Enpadzo ke vedziàn Lo luno e loys estèlo" [1]) (Casse-Chaminade, Vieilles chansons patoises du Périgord in Rev. de phil. franç. et de litt., XVII, p. 194).

Erweckten die hochgetürmten Cumuluswolken Vorstellungen von Bergen, Schlössern u. dgl., so riefen die langgestreckten niedrigen Wolken, die in der Ferne gleich Mauern den Horizont versperrten, Vorstellungen von Wällen, „Sperren" hervor. So entstand die Bezeichnung *banc*, die so ziemlich über ganz Frankreich für „nuages très bas et allongés qui se montrent aux limites de l'horizon" (Haigneré), „gros nuage noir" (Verr.-On.), „amas de nuage à l'horizon": „i'ai ein gros *banc* ai soleil couché" (Baudouin) vorkommt; vgl. afrz. *banc* in der Bed. „lit de pierres": murailles traversantes appelees *bancs*" (Gdfr. suppl.). Auch heissen sie *barres*: „nuage en forme de barre" [2]) (Ledieu), „*bār*, au plur. bandes nuageuses qui se

[1]) „Und der fliegende Drache, der die Segel verhüllt, verhindert uns, den Mond und die Sterne zu sehen."

[2]) Ein *värpan'* f. „nuage blanc qui, quand il est tourné au nord, annonce le beau temps, et à l'est, la pluie" (Rolland, Pat. messin., Romania 1876) wäre der Form nach vielleicht dasselbe Wort, wie ein *wairpone*, das als *waire*, *vaire* (= *barre* „accommodé à la façon patoise") und *pone* (= cou-

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forment parfois à l'Occident quand le soleil se couche" (Edmont); vgl. oben unter „Himmel". Ein *barrofito* (b. ficta), also etwa „Grenzsperre", auch in Haute-Garonne (Rev. des trad. pop. XVIII, p. 425—426). Zu dieser Gruppe von Vorstellungen gehört wohl auch die von einem „Balken": *trå* „nuage" (< trabem) in Genf (Mat. zu Gloss. des pat. d. l. Suisse rom.).

Als ein „Gestell", ein „Bett(gestell)"?, denkt man sich in Anjou eine schwarze Wolke am Horizont, wo es heisst: „le soulé s'est couché dans in *soutre*" (Verr.-On.). Dieses *soutre* ist nach V.-O. eine Doppelform von *sôtré, sôtret, soutret* aus lat. substratum (vgl. *soustre* < *substrum, in der Bed. „litière", Mirèio, éd. Koschwitz, XI, 407).

Ein kleines „Bettchen" liegt wohl auch einem *ballin* für „nuage léger" in Zentralfrankreich (Jaubert) zugrunde. Vgl. afrz. *ballin* „petit matelas, fait avec de la balle, servant surtout aux enfants" (Gdfr.) und zentralfrz. *ballasse* „sac rempli de paille d'avoine ou de maïs pour les lits d'enfants" (Jaubert).

Mit einer schwarzen „Kruste" ist vielleicht ein „nuage épais qui se montre à l'horizon" in Doubs verglichen worden, wo der Name *greubot* s. f. (Tissot) dafür vorkommt; vgl. *engreubaï* „encrasser" (ibd.), *eingreubâ* „être enrhumé" und sav. *greubă* „croûte sur la peau", *ègroubå* etc. bei Odin (Urtel, Autour du rhume, Bullet. du gloss. des pat. d. l. Suisse rom. 1913, 1). Eine ähnliche Vorstellung liegt vielleicht dem in Südfrankreich belegten *rauzo* „nuage à l'horizon" (Piat) zugrunde (vgl. Körting: ahd. *rosâ*).

Konnten die leichten Cirruswolken Vorstellungen von „Spinngeweben" (s. oben unter „Himmel") erwecken, so liegt es ebenso nahe, sie kurzum „Fäden" zu benennen: *filanne* im Picard. „nuages blancs de forme allongée, précurseurs de l'orage: „i'n'o des *filanne*

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chant „*ouest ponant*" in Rev. des trad. pop. XVI, pp. 23, 24), also „barre du couchant", erklärt wird, eine Erklärung, die doch etwas gewaltsam erscheint. Die Bedeutung dieses *wairpone* ist aber „bande noire de nuages qui se dessine horizontalement au couchant", was mit der des *vărpan'* nicht gut übereinstimmt.

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à che soleil" (Ledieu) und *de tranmè* (des trames) „nuages légers" (Mat. zu Gloss. des pat. d. l. Suisse rom.).

Oder die Fäden werden mit „weissen Haaren" verglichen, und so entstehen wieder neue Bilder: *barbo-blanc* in Haute-Garonne (Rev. des trad. pop. XVIII, p. 425—426) und *barbes de chat* in Haute-Bretagne (Sébillot, Légendes, croyances et superstitions de la mer II, p. 12), *barbo de cat* in den Cevennen (Piat).

Recht bezeichnend für die leichten, wolligen Wolken ist, dass sie wie ausgefranste „Hobelspäne" aussehen. Dieser Vorstellung ist ein *coipiau* „nuage orageux, effiloché comme un copeau" (Thibault) auf dem linken Loire-Ufer entsprungen.

Grosse Anhäufungen von derartigen Wolken erwecken auch leicht solche Vergleichungspunkte wie „Schaum" oder „geronnene Buttermilch"; so heissen „les petits nuages moutonnés qui laissent entre eux apercevoir le ciel" in Blonay *brétse dé séré* (Odin), wo *brétsè* eigentlich „caillot" (Odin) oder „écume grosse sur le petit lait bouilli" (Thevenin, *brëtse*; *brëtsi* „se transformer, cailler") bedeutet.

Von den leichten „Wetterblumen", *flœr d'ŏrăj*, *fleur d'hernu*, die Gewitter voraussagen, ist schon oben unter „Himmel" die Rede gewesen. Der rote Mohn ist eine der allergewöhnlichsten Blumen auf den Feldern in Frankreich. Hat man vielleicht in dem südfrz. *papalino* „léger nuage" (Piat) eine ähnliche „Wetterblume" [nebula papa(ve)rina?] zu erblicken? Vgl. hiermit *fleur di tonoire* im Norden für „coquelicot", „pavot rouge" (Pirsoul, Grandgagnage).

Als kleine „Platten" überhaupt sind vielleicht die kleinen Wolken, die *plakèryáo* in Bierné (Mayenne, n. Dottin) heissen (ein postverbales Subst. von *plaquer?*), zu verstehen.

Eine ganz allgemeine Vorstellung, die die leichten Stratus- oder langgestreckten Cirruswolken besonders im Osten, aber auch anderswo in Frankreich hervorrufen, ist die von einem grossen, weitverzweigten „Baume" (so auch im Deutschen „Wetterbaum"), der gewöhnlich, und besonders dann, wenn sein „Fuss im Wasser steht", d. h. wenn sich die Wolke in der Richtung eines Flusses erstreckt, Regen bedeutet. Dieser Wolkenbaum heisst gewöhnlich „Makkabäerbaum" (vgl. *arbre des Macchabées* bei HDT.), so in Meuse: *âbre*

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de Machabée, âbre Macabre[1]) „disposition des nuages en forme d'un éventail dont la partie étroite est à l'horizon, dans la direction du vent" (Labourasse), in den Vogesen: *airbe mâcabraî* „léger nuage allongé vaguement en forme d'arbre horizontal" (Vautherin), auch *méquébé*, eine Wolke, die in der Vorstellung der vogesischen Bergleute einem riesigen Farnkraut gleicht (Sauvé, Le Folk-Lore des Hautes-Vosges, p. 136—137), in der Champagne: *âbre maucabré* „traînée de nuages brossés par un coup de vent dans le ciel — — et dessinant vaguement une espèce d'arbre avec son fût, ses branches et même ses racines" (Baudouin) und in der franz. Schweiz: *ẽbr d'Makabẽ* im Berner Jura (Mat. zu Gloss. des pat. d. l. Suisse rom.); bisweilen heisst die Wolkenbildung auch spez. „Birnbaum der Makkabäer", so in Meuse: *poéri Machabé* (Rev. des trad. pop. XVI, p. 22; vgl. auch diese Vorstellung unter „Milchstrasse"). Auch in Anjou kommen ähnliche Vorstellungen vor, hier aber heisst ein solches Wolkengebilde „Montsabrans(?) Eiche": *chêne de Montsabran* (Revue de l'Anjou, IX, p. 200); im Wallon.: *arbre d'Abraham* oder *arbre Saint Barnabé* (Monseur, Le Folk-Lore wall., p. 62), vgl. oben unter „Milchstrasse". Auch ist ein *arbre de saint Jacques* (Mélusine 1886, 1887, p. 129) in der Bedeutung „nuage ramifié" belegt und wird meist als Vorzeichen von schönem Wetter betrachtet.

Zuletzt noch einige Wolkennamen, die mehr oder weniger dunkel sind:

berge in Zentralfr. „nuée flottante dans le ciel, amas de nuage" (de Chambure) könnte, so glaubt de Ch., auf ein *barca*, *barge* „barque" zurückgeführt werden; er verweist dabei auf ein *navas* „Schiff" in den Veden. Obgleich nun eine solche Vorstellung an und für sich ganz natürlich wäre, so scheint sie mir doch im Gebirge von Morvan etwas gesucht. Viel wahrscheinlicher halte ich die Vorstellung von einem Heuschober, da diese unzweifelhaft auch im Gebirge

[1]) Diese und ähnliche Formen sind wohl nur als ein durch Assimilation von *be* zu *br* unter Einwirkung von *br* in *âbre* volksetymologisch entstandenes *âbre Machabée* zu erklären; so wohl auch ein *âbrecâbre* für „groupe de nuages légers qui paraissent à l'horizon" in Blois (Thibault), wo aber diese Wolkengruppen nicht Regen, sondern nach Th.: „la continuation de beau temps", bedeuten, und ein arbre de *Mont-carré* in Berry (Labourasse).

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eine ganz gewöhnliche Erscheinung ist (afrz. *barge* „meule de foin", Gdfr.); vgl. Vorstellungen von „Felsen", „Hügeln" etc.

ban f. in Bas-Maine: „nuage noir que l'on voit au coucher du soleil" (Dottin) und *bane* „gros nuage noir, nimbus" in Anjou (Verr.-On.); wohl zu benna (Meyer-Lübke)?

estarañó „nuage errant" (Piat); ob ursprünglich „fremd" < (nebula) exterranea? Ein *tarañino* (ibd.) gehört wohl hierher.

masco „nuage d'orage" (Piat). Vielleicht mit „Hexe", germ. *maska*, in Zusammenhang (vgl. oben S. 53).

càbrèy' f. „nuage qui annonce le beau temps" (Rolland, Pat. messin, Romania 1876) dürfte wohl ein camerata (camerare „wölben") voraussetzen. Eine „gewölbte", „hohle" Wolke bedeutete dann dasselbe wie eine leere Wolke, d. h. eine ohne Regen oder Unwetter, oder anders ausgedrückt, eine Wolke, die schönes Wetter verkündet.

Regenbogen.

Als eine der prachtvollsten und zugleich verhältnismässig seltensten Himmelserscheinungen, hat der Regenbogen immer und überall eine ganze Menge Vorstellungen in der Phantasie des Volkes wachgerufen. Wie er entsteht und woraus er besteht, darum scheint sich der Volksglaube in Frankreich weniger gekümmert zu haben. Nur ist er, wie alles Schöne, ein Werk Gottes; so in Baume-les-Dames, wenn man zwei übereinanderliegende Regenbogen sieht: „le plus lumineux, le mieux fait est celui du bon Dieu, l'autre est celui du diable" (Roussey).

Nach einer sehr alten Vorstellung glaubt man in Frankreich, dass, wenn der Regenbogen mit seinem einen Ende aus dem Wasser zu steigen scheint, er dann trinkt [1]). Diese Vorstellung, die auch anderswo,

[1]) Derselbe Glaube auch bei den Römern: „cras pluet, *arcus bibit*", „*bibit arcus*, pluet hodie" (Plautus), „purpureus pluvias cur *bibit arcus* aquas?" (Propertius; Vergil, Georgica).

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z. B. in Portugal und Spanien (Sébillot, Légendes, croyances et superstitions de la mer, p. 65), und sogar bei uns in Finland bekannt ist, kommt besonders an der Westküste Frankreichs vor. In Haute- und Basse-Bretagne heisst es: „l'arc-en-ciel va boire à la mer" (Sébillot, ibd.). Die Seeleute an der Küste von la Manche meinen sogar, dass ein Schiff, das zu der Zeit, wo der Regenbogen „trinkt", durch dessen Ende ginge, von ihm aufgesogen werden könnte. Diese Auffassung hängt vielleicht mit der Vorstellung von einer riesigen Schlange zusammen, womit man den Regenbogen in dieser Gegend vergleicht. Das Meer ist dann wie eine „grosse Tasse", „la grande tasse", wie es die Seeleute an der Nordküste nennen (Deseille, Gloss. du patois des matelots boulonnais). In Ille-et-Vilaine ist der Regenbogen ein sicheres Regenzeichen: „le ciel envoie l'arc-en-ciel pomper l'eau des rivières — — — et l'eau bouillonne à l'endroit où il l'aspire" (Rev. des trad. pop. XVIII, p. 505).

Der Regenbogen spielt im Aberglauben des Volks eine grosse Rolle. Alt ist die Vorstellung, dass der Mensch sein Geschlecht wechsle, wenn er unter dem Regenbogen hindurchginge. Dieser Glaube lebt noch in Haute-Loire (Mélusine II, Kol. 17); vgl. auch ähnliches aus Serbien (Grimm, D. M., S. 611). Auch die Vorstellung, dass man dort, wo der Regenbogen die Erde berührt, Gold und Schätze finden könnte, was ja auch anderswo [1]) geglaubt wird, findet sich noch hie und da in Frankreich, so in den Vogesen (Sauvé, Le Folk-Lore des Hautes-Vosges, p. 140) und in Auvergne (Dauzat, Rev. des trad. pop. XV, p. 620). Grossen Schaden richtet der Regenbogen an, wenn sein Ende im Walde steht, denn dann verkümmern dort die Bäume (Rev. des trad. pop. IX, p. 218); ebenso zerstört er die Ernte (Mélusine II, Kol. 43). Diese Vorstellung von der schädlichen Einwirkung des Regenbogens auf die Gewächse dürfte so ziemlich über ganz Frankreich bekannt sein. Auch kennt das Volk besondere Formeln, womit es den Regenbogen beschwören

[1]) Die deutsche Mythologie weiss an der Stelle, wo sich der Regenbogen erhebt, von einer goldenen Schüssel oder von einem Schatze zu erzählen. Auch können Goldmünzen aus dem Regenbogen niederfallen (Grimm, D. M., S. 611).

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oder, wie es heisst, ihn „abschneiden“: „*couper*“ zu können meint. So sagt man z. B. in Anjou (in Fuilet): „Arc-en-ciel du matin, Si tu passes par mon jardin, j'te coupe la queue: pan!“, wobei man zu gleicher Zeit mit der rechten Hand den auf die flache linke Hand praktizierten Speichel auseinander schlägt (bildl. schneidet) (Verrier-On., Folk-Lore, II, p. 441) [1]). Vielleicht liegt auch dieser Beschwörung die obenerwähnte Vorstellung von einer Riesenschlange zugrunde, die durch diese Kreuzbewegung der Hand, wie durch eine Bekreuzung vor dem Bösen, verscheucht werden könnte. In der Nähe von Lüttich glaubt man, dass der Regenbogen über einem Hause den Tod des Eigentümers zu bedeuten habe (Rev. des trad. pop. XVII, p. 573).

Als prognostisches Wahrzeichen ist der Regenbogen wichtig. Regenbogen am Morgen bedeutet gewöhnlich Regen, am Abend hingegen trockenes Wetter: „l'arc-en-ciel du soir fait sécher la boue, celui du matin met de l'eau sur les moulins“ in Savoyen (Const.-Désorm.); „arc-en-ciel du matin fait aller les moulins, arc-en-ciel du soir fait ébarouir les toits“ in Baume-les-Dames (Roussey); „l'arkow di matyi la plèya ès i tsami, „l'arkow di sēra, li bwō tèā espēra“ in Haute-Loire (Guerlin de Guer); „tonnerre du matin engorge le moulin; arc-en-ciel du soir fait sécher la mauvaise herbe dans les blés“ in Béarn (Lespy-Raym.); „l'arc-en-ciel du matin met le bouvier en le chemin, l'arc-en-ciel du soir met le bouvier en le loisir“ in Lot (Rev. des pat. gallo-rom. I, 1887, Textes variés), was im Gegensatz zu den vorhergehenden Redensarten zu sagen scheint, dass Regenbogen am Morgen trockenes und am Abend regnerisches Wetter bedeute.

Befindet sich das Ende des Regenbogens nahe am Meere, so bedeutet das in Haute-Bretagne schlechtes Wetter (Sébillot, Légendes, croyances et superstitions II, p. 66); vgl. hiermit den italienischen Spruch: „arco in mare, bon tempo ha da fare; arco in terra, piova e nevera“ (ibd.).

Hat sich der Volksglaube nicht viel mit der Entstehung und der wahren Beschaffenheit des Regenbogens befasst, so ist die Phan-

[1]) Dieselbe Prozedur auch in Auvergne (Rev. des trad. pop. XII, p. 553).

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tasie des Volkes um so reicher gewesen, wenn es sich um das äussere Wesen dieser Himmelserscheinung gehandelt hat. Von der Auffassung des Regenbogens als Riesenschlange war schon oben die Rede. Diese Vorstellung hat aber meines Wissens keinen einzigen Regenbogennamen hervorgebracht.

Am gewöhnlichsten ist die Vorstellung von einem „Bogen". Dabei hat man wohl kaum an den Bogen als Waffe gedacht, obwohl dies und jenes darauf hinzudeuten scheint[1]), sondern es ist wahrscheinlich nur die äussere Form massgebend gewesen. Das lat. arcus (coelestis, pluvius) liegt auch der Regenbogenbezeichnung zugrunde, die die grösste Verbreitung über ganz Frankreich erlangt hat. Dabei kommt es aber selten als einfaches Wort vor.

Hier mögen nur die deutlichsten Ableitungen Erwähnung finden: arc(us) + ata > *ărcà̤do, ărket* (Atl. ling.), *arqué* (Hombr.-Charv.); arc(us) + ana > *arcane* (Jaubert, Centre) *ărkà̤no, ŏrkà̤no* (Rev. des pat. gallo-rom. 1887, textes variés: Lot; Atl. ling.); arc(us) + ione > *achon, ouechon* (Vautherin); arcul(us) + ana

[1]) Zwar spricht der Roman de la Rose von den personifizierten Wolken, die den himmlischen Bogen zur Hand nahmen, als sie auf die Jagd zogen:

„Ausinc cum por aler chacier,
un arc en leur poing prendre seulent
ou deux ou trois, quand eles veulent,
qui sont apelés arc celestes — — —"

(zit. in Rev. des trad. pop. XVI, p. 566) und zwar wird der Regenbogen auch sonst in den neueren Mundarten bald mit diesem, bald mit jenem Gegenstand (Krone, Sichel u. s. w.) verglichen. Doch scheint mir die Vorstellung von einem *bogenförmigen* Weg (vgl. unten Brücke und den Begriff „Milchstrasse") am wahrscheinlichsten zu sein, eine Vorstellung, wie sie auch in den skandinavischen Ländern und Deutschland vorkommt und wonach, „Quand le dernier jour viendra, Alors les étoiles tomberont sur la terre. Le bon Dieu arrivera Sur son bel arc-en-ciel" (Rev. des trad. pop. XVI, p. 385, 386). Auch findet sich meines Wissens nirgends in neueren Traditionen die Vorstellung vom Regenbogen als Waffe, und übrigens wäre es ungereimt, all den Heiligen (s. u.), die in den mundartlichen Regenbogennamen auf arcs vorkommen, einen Bogen in die Hand zu geben.

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> *ǎrkŭlan(o)* (Atl. ling.), gasc. *arcoulan* (Azaïs), *rĭkl̥ăno, rḗkl̥ḕno* (Atl. ling.), *rĕkl̥ḕnŏ̀* (Fourgeaud, Patois de Puybarraud in Rev. des pat. gallo-rom. II, 1888), *regliano* (Granger) wohl dasselbe Wort; hierher gehört vielleicht auch das bei Levy belegte *alclan:* „Pueys aparra *l'alclas* el cel E si aura color de fel" (hier läge vielleicht eine Assimilation des r vor); arcul(us) + ata > *arcoulet*: „Tounnerre del matii Qu'engourgue et moulii, Er *arcoulet* del brèspe Que hè seca ra jèspe" (Lespy-Raym., vgl. Übersetzung oben).

Von den Zusammensetzungen aus arcus scheint das schriftsprachl. *arc-en-ciel* [1]) die volkssprachlichen Benennungen überall zu verdrängen; es ist über ganz Frankreich verbreitet (vgl. Atl. ling.).

Bei den Benennungen dieses Himmelsbogens spielen die Namen der Heiligen eine grosse Rolle. Dabei hat man wohl (wie schon oben angedeutet) an den himmlischen Weg gedacht, den die Heiligen oder ihre Seelen zum Himmel genommen haben, eine Vorstellung, die auch den germanischen Völkern bekannt ist (Grimm, D. M. II, S. 612). Ganz im Süden (Basses-Pyrén. und Pyrén.-Or.) heisst der Regenbogen des „heiligen Martin Bogen": *arc-de-Saint Martin* (Azaïs, Atl. ling.), einfach *Saint Martin* auch im Jura (Atl. ling. 938) und in der Schweiz (Atl. ling. 969; Waadt, Wallis, Genf und Freiburg n. Mat. zu Gloss. des pat. d. l. Suisse rom.). Des „heiligen Michael Bogen" nennt man ihn im Norden, in Pas-de-Calais: *arc-de-Saint Michez* (Haigneré), *ǎrk ḗd sē mí∫ḗ* (Edmont; nach ihm nur von den alten Leuten so benannt; Atl. ling.). Des „heiligen Johannes Bogen" ist spez. picardisch: *arc-de-Saint-Jean* (Haigneré, Corblet, Atl. ing. 279). „Bogen des heiligen Del (?)" heisst der Regenbogen in der Gegend von Belfort: *çon-dé, chondé, achondé* (Vautherin), *o(ua)chon de Sèn Dé* in Doubs (Nédey), Formen, die auf arcione (vgl. oben) zurückgehen. Die drei erstgenannten könnten vielleicht auch auf arcione deu (vgl. unten arcum deu) zurückgeführt werden; doch scheint das letztere, das deutlich mit jenen zusammenhängt, dieses Etymon auszuschliessen. Poulet belegt das Wort auch, schreibt aber *ochon-dais* und leitet *dais* von discus (!) ab.

[1]) Ein *arc du temps* kommt im Picard. vor (Corblet), wo *temps* „Himmel" bedeutet (vgl. oben unter „Himmel").

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Der Regenbogen ist vor allem „Gottes Bogen". Diese Vorstellung hat sich vielleicht direkt aus der des alten Testamentes entwickelt, wonach Gott nach der Sündflut den Menschen den Regenbogen zum Zeichen seines Bundes gegeben hat. Diese Benennung hat der Regenbogen in einigen wallonischen Orten, wo eine Bezeichnung *ẹ̄rdyẹ* (Niederländer, Die Mundart von Namur, in Z. f. rom. Phil. 1900), *ẹ̄rdyẹ* (Zéliqzon, Gloss. über die Mundart von Malmedy, in Z. f. rom. Phil. 1894) (vgl. Atl. ling. Punkte 196, 197), die wohl alle auf ein arcum deu zurückgeführt werden müssen. Das *airdiet*, das von Rmcl. mit „arc-en-ciel" erklärt wird, ist wohl nur als eine ungenaue Schreibart aufzufassen.

Den Namen „Bogen aus Seide": *arc-de-sedo* (Azaïs, Piat) verdankt der Regenbogen vielleicht seiner vielfältigen Farbenpracht, die man mit farbenschillernder Seide verglichen hat. „Der blitzende Bogen": *arch-balenn* (Andrews), *ărk bălē(n)* (Atl. ling., Punkte 990, 899), heisst er in den Alpes-Marit. an der Grenze Italiens als eine direkte Entlehnung aus dem ital. *arcobaleno*.

Zuletzt einige Regenbogenbenennungen, wo der erste Teil wohl arcus ist, der zweite Teil aber problematisch: *arlitton, erlitton*, (Bridel), *ạ̈rdŏlitŏ* (Atl. ling. 988), *arliton, aliton, litron, l.ton* (Mat. zu Gloss. des pat. d. l. Suisse rom.). Bridel sieht in diesen Wörtern neben *arc* ein *lith*(?), das er mit „humidité" erklärt. Viel wahrscheinlicher erscheint mir auch nicht die Annahme, dass allen diesen Formen ein *èr de leitron* zugrunde läge, das neben den vier letztgenannten in der erwähnten Materialiensammlung für „arc-en-ciel" belegt wird. Was wäre näml. dies *leitron?* Schwerlich lässt sich wohl die Bezeichnung „Löwenzahnbogen" (vgl. Odin *léitrŏ* „pissenlit") für unsere Himmelserscheinung rechtfertigen.

Eine zweite dunkle Zusammensetzung mit *arc* findet sich in Doubs, nämlich *arboi* (Vautherin). *airboi* (Nédey), was unzweifelhaft das gleiche Wort ist, wie das in der Schweiz belegte *èrboua* (Mat. zu Gloss. des pat. d. l. Suisse rom.), *arbwẹ̈itœ* (Atl. ling. Punkt 978), *arboë* (Bridel; B. erklärt das Wort mit „l'arc qui boit").

Ein *ăr du brẹ̀spẹ́* (Atl. ling. Hautes-Pyrén. 687) ist ohne Zweifel als Abendbogen (*arc du vespre*) aufzufassen.

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Eine zweite Vorstellung, die neben „Bogen“ ebenfalls weite Verbreitung bei der Namengebung des Regenbogens gefunden hat und womöglich noch enger mit dem Namen der Heiligen zusammenhängt, ist die von einem „Heiligenschein“. Dabei kommen vor allem lat. corona, afrz. *corone* „tonsure“ in betracht; so hauptsächlich auf lothringischem Gebiet und in Côte-d'Or, wo der Regenbogen des „heiligen Bernhard Krone“ heisst: *couroune de Saint Barnâ* oder *Bernâ* (Labourasse), *coronne de St. Bernâ* (Lorrain), vgl. Atl. ling. (Punkte 163, 170, 173, 17, 24). Die etwas südlicher, in der Franche-Comté, belegten *coinote de St. Boinaî, quônôte de St. Bouanâ, coènate de St. Boinaî, couonote de St. Bouanâ* (Vautherin; vgl. Atl. ling., Punkte 74, 75: *kwénŏt sẽ bwénè*) sollen eine Verkürzung von *coronate* sein (Vautherin). Eine „Krone“ (statt einer „Säule“?) hat man vielleicht auch in dem gleichfalls aus der Franche-Comté belegten *coulònòte de Sèn Bouona* (Nédey), *culònòt dè Sè Byanā* (Grammont) zu sehen [1]) (vgl. Nédey: „*coulònòte* est sans doute pour *courònòte*“); die begriffliche Seite spricht entschieden dafür; vgl. einen Konsonantenübergang in entgegengesetzter Richtung daselbst: für *almanach* ein *àrmounè*, für *soleil* ein *souoroye* etc.

In der Gegend von Belfort heisst der Regenbogen auch des „heiligen Dionysius Krone“: *coironne de St.-Déni* (Vautherin; vgl. Atl. ling. 65), in der frz. Schweiz „des heiligen Martinus Krone“: *kŭrõn dè sẽ martè* (Atl. ling. und Mat. zu Gloss. des pat d. l. Suisse rom.), in den Vogesen die „Krone der heiligen Luna“: *couronne de Saint Lu(n)a* (Haillant) oder die des „heiligen Leonhard“: *kurõn de sẽ linā* (Atl. ling. 78. 86, 87, 89), in Meuse die „Krone des heiligen Corcasse“: *couroune de Saint-Corcasse* (Labourasse) oder die des „heiligen Giracque“: *coronne de St. Giracque* (Lorrain), die des „heiligen Girard“: *kŭron d sẽ jĭrą̄* (Atl. ling. 140) und im Südwallonischen die des „heiligen Johannes“: *kŭrõn sẽ djyā* (Atl. ling. 176, 183). Vereinzelt kommt auch *couronne* allein vor, so in Meurthe-et-Mos. (Atl. ling. 171).

[1]) Ein *kùlònòt* wird auch ohne den Heiligennamen für Regenbogen verwendet, so in Baume-les-Dames, wo es heisst: „*kulònòt* dï metĭ, fā olā lé mli, kūlónòt dï swè fā égróli lé twè“ (Roussey; s. Übers. oben); vgl. Atl. ling., Punkt 55.

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Mit der Vorstellung vom „Heiligenschein" hängt vielleicht die vom „Rad" oder „Ring" der Heiligen zusammen. Dieser Vorstellung ist wahrscheinlich das aus dem Lyon. belegte *roa de Sant-Bernôr* (Puitspelu: „*roue de St. B.*") entsprungen, *rwą̆* (*rouet?*) *d sə̆ bə̀rnū*, *rwą̀ d sə̆ bə̆rnə̀bə̨́* (Atl. ling.).

Gleichfalls in engem Zusammenhang mit dem „Heiligenschein" steht die Vorstellung von einem „Strahl", (den der Heilige auf seinem Wege hinter sich zurückgelassen hat?). Sie liegt folgenden Regenbogenbenennungen zugrunde: *raissi de St. Bernard* [vfr. *rai(s)* < radius] im Lyon. (Puitspelu), *rə̨̄si* (*dė*) *sə̆ bə̀rna(r)* [1]) in Drôme und Isère (Atl. ling.) *rə̨́ya de sə̆ Martə̆* (*rə̨́ya* < radia) in Dompierre in der frz. Schweiz (Gauchat), (*râyə de*) *sin Martin* in Freiburg in der Schweiz (Mat. zu Gloss. des pat. d. l. Suisse rom.), *raye* (*raie*) *de St.-Matchin* im Jura (Thevenin), *râ* (*raie*) *de Sèn Martèn* in Doubs (Nédey), *rə̨̄y də̆ sə̆ mą̆rtə̆* in der Schweiz (Atl. ling. 60, 70) und *rə̨̄y di sə̆ djyą̆* im Wallonischen (Atl. ling. 192).

Ebenso nahe wie die Vorstellung von einem „Strahl", liegt die Vorstellung von einem „Lichtstreif". Eine solche liegt dem lothringischen Ausdruck *barre de Saint-Nicolas* zugrunde (Labourasse).

Zu den Regenbogennamen, bei denen ein mit einem Heiligen in Verbindung stehender Gegenstand die Benennung veranlasst hat, können, so gewagt der Vergleich auch scheint, auch die gerechnet werden, bei denen man an das „Kreuz" eines Heiligen gedacht hat. Es sind das die Bezeichnungen *krwə́ d sə̆ lnąr* in Zentralfrankreich (Nièvre, Saône-et-Loire) und *krwēy sə̆ jà* auf wallonischem Gebiet (Atl. ling.). Hierher das ganz sonderbare *rą̆zivèr* in Puy-de-Dôme (Atl. ling.).

Auch der „Gürtel" [2]) der Heiligen hat, obgleich in viel geringerem Grade als der „Heiligenschein", als Regenbogenbenennung ge-

[1]) Wenn der Regenbogen sich zeigt, sagt man in Saint-Maurice-de-l'Exil (Isère): „Resse, resse de Sint Bernor, Que verdeye per loù pro, Que rougeye per le vigne" (Quelques dictons et proverbes in Rev. des langues rom. 1902).

[2]) Als Gürtel stellt man sich auch anderswo den Regenbogen vor, so in Litthauen, wo er mit dem Namen „Gürtel der Lauma (Laima)", einer guten Fee, benannt worden ist (Grimm, D. M., S. 611).

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dient; so „des heiligen Martin Gürtel“ in der Normandie: *cheinture S. Martin* (Moisy) und in der Schweiz: *chintur de chin martin* (Materialien zu Gloss. d. pat. d. l. Suisse rom.), der „Gürtel des heiligen Markus“ in Zentralfrankreich: *coureau* (d. h. *courroie*) *de S. Marc* (de Chambure) und der „des heiligen Leonhard“ in den Vogesen: *courroie de S. Léonard* (de Chambure) (*corraie* im Jura, Nédey). „Des guten Gottes Gürtel“ heisst der Regenbogen in Haute-Loire und Drôme: *sẽntù̯rŏ do bwõ dĭŭ* (Atl. ling. 847, 857, 813—815) und schliesslich einfach „Gürtel“: *sĩnt* f. (Atl. ling., Punkt. 653), lat. cincta.

Eine Vorstellungsgruppe für sich bilden die Vorstellungen von einem grossen „Ring“ oder von einer grossen „Brücke“, die das ganze Weltall umspannt. Diese Vorstellung findet sich z. B. in der alten skandinavischen Mythologie, wo von einem „himmlischen Ring“ [1]) oder von einer „Brücke“, der *Âsbro*, gesprochen wird, auf der die Götter vom Himmel zur Erde niedersteigen und an der Himinbiörg liegt, wo Heimdallr, Odins Sohn, als Wächter der Brücke wohnt (Grimm, D. M., S. 610, 300). Ähnliche Vorstellungen müssen auch in Frankreich entstanden sein. Dafür sprechen auch folgende Regenbogenbenennungen aus dem Süden des Landes, in denen sowohl „Ring, Kreis“ als „Brücke“ vertreten sind. In Basses-Pyrén., Landes und Lot-et-Gar. kommt nach Atl. ling. ein *sĕrk*, *sērk* und *sĕrk dŭ sẹ̀u* vor, was wohl nichts anderes als „Kreis, Ring“ und „Himmelskreis“ (lat. circum) sein kann; in Hérault wieder ein *sà̤uklĕ dẹ̆ sẹ̆ mà̤rtĭ, sẹ̆ŭklẹ̆ de sẹ̆ marti* (Atl. ling.), *ceukle de Sant Martin* (Piat), d. i. eigentlich „Reif des heiligen Martinus“ (circulus, prov. *cercle, celcle, ceucle, sciarcle* in Bourb. [Choussy]); das letztere vielleicht doch besser in Verbindung zu setzen mit dem „Heiligenschein“ und dem „Rad“ (s. oben).

„Brücke“ als Benennung des Regenbogens kommt nur ein paarmal vor; auch diese Belege stammen aus dem Süden. Einmal in Vaucluse (Atl. ling., 874) als „Abendbrücke“: *pwõ„ dẹ̆ sẹ̆́rṍ* (vgl. oben *ăr*

[1]) In Bayern nennt das Volk den Regenbogen „Himmelring“ oder „Sonnenring“.

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du brèspè) und einmal in Ardèche (Atl. ling. 824) als „des heiligen Petrus Brücke“: *pwõ de sã pyèrĕ*; auch „Brücke aus Seide“: *pont de sedo* (Piat).

Der Rundbogen dieser Erscheinung hat wahrscheinlich solche Namen hervorgerufen, wie *ẽy dė bẽf* in Maine-et-Loire (Atl. ling. 435).

Mit der Idee eines „trinkenden“ Regenbogens hängt wohl die Vorstellung von einem „Wasserkrug“ zusammen, wie wahrscheinlich das von Edmont belegte *kãn ã l'yõ$_w$* zu erklären ist (vgl. Atl. ling. 284: *fĕl kãn ã l'yõ$_w$*).

Trotz der Farbenpracht des Regenbogens scheinen Vorstellungen, die eben dieser Eigenschaft ihren Ursprung verdankt hätten, verhältnismässig selten zu sein. Da, wo man wirklich bei der Namengebung des Regenbogens das Hauptgewicht auf das Farbige der Naturerscheinung gelegt hat, hat man einerseits über die verschiedenen Farben gar nicht reflektiert und das Ganze nur als etwas „Schönes“ aufgefasst. So entstand z. B. in Rouergue kurzum der Name *bel* für den Regenbogen (Piat). Anderseits erscheint das Schöne als etwas Buntgefärbtes und dieses findet seine Verkörperung in dem Gegenstand, der dem patriotisch gesinnten Bauern als der Inbegriff alles Schönen erscheinen muss, in der Standarte des Landes. So nennt man den Regenbogen in Zentralfrankreich, in Nièvre, *ėtãdãr* (Atl. ling.; *étendart* Jaubert), ein Name, der auch westlicher vorzukommen scheint, aber hier als „Gottes Standarte“: *étendardt do Bon Diu* (Favre; nach Labourasse heisst er *étendard* auch in Berry). Auch im Nordosten kennt man diesen Vergleich, so in Meuse, wo der Regenbogen *bagnîre* heisst und wo man, wenn er am Himmel sichtbar ist, die Redensart hört: „*La bagnîre ost ton'due*“ (eigentl. „la bannière est tenduc“, Labourasse).

Dunkel erscheinen mir folgende Bezeichnungen:

1. *galanfér* sm. „arc-en-ciel“ in Savoyen (Const.-Désorm). und *ãrgãlãfi*, *ãrglãfi*, *ãlãfi* etc. daselbst (Atl. ling.); *arglianchi* daselbst (Const.-Désorm.). Ein *argalanchi* (ibd.), welches wohl mit dem letztgenannten identisch ist, hat man vielleicht mit den oben erwähnten *ãrkŭlan(o)*, *regliano* in Zusammenhang zu setzen; über ein *chi* für „ciel“ vgl. *chi*, *cheu*, *cîl* in dieser Bed. in der Schweiz, im Dep.

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Doubs etc. (Bridel, Tissot, Nédey). Demnach wäre *argl'anchi* spez. der „Bogen am Himmel". Eine Zusammenstellung von den im Atl. ling. belegten *ȁrgȁlą̄fi*, *ȁrgą̄fi* einerseits mit *argalanchi* und *argliănchi* und anderseits mit *galanfér* oben würde für die Annahme eines „Höllenbogens" sprechen. Vgl. den Regenbogen als „Teufelsbogen" (S. 62).

2. *kwizū́n a sē bȁrnȁbḗ* in Ain (Atl. ling.); wohl gleich *kwǣ́zṓn* (daselbst) eine Ableitung aus dem benachbarten *krwḗ* (s. oben).

3. *tʃāmbḕl̥ȍ dṓ bō dyœ̆* (*tsāmbȁyŏ rṷ̀dzo*) in Puy-de-Dôme (Atl. ling.).

4. *rḕgōsyą̄ó* (Atl. ling., Punkt 315).

Donner, Blitz und Wetterleuchten.

Richtige Vorstellungen vom Wesen dieser Himmelserscheinungen gehören einer neueren Zeit an, die sich mit der Elektrizität vertraut gemacht hat. In früherer Zeit stellte man sich das Gewitter als Spiel der Götter und geheimer Geister vor, und dieselben Vorstellungen kamen natürlich auch bei dem unwissenden Volke in Frankreich auf (vgl. oben S. 2.). Der Donner, meinten Griechen und Römer, entstehe durch das Rollen des Wagens, in dem der Göttervater über den Himmel fahre; vgl. bei Horaz die bekannte Strophe: „Tu gravi *curru* quaties Olympum" (Ode XII, Liber I). Diese Vorstellung von einem dahinrollenden Gotteswagen scheint sehr verbreitet zu sein (Grimm I., S. 138, II., S. 62) und lebt noch in Schweden und Finland fort (schwed. „gofar åker", finn. „ukko ajaa vankkureillaan"). Auch denkt man sich gern den Donner durch Gottes Zorn hervorgerufen (vgl. folgende Redensarten: „use hergot kift" in Westfalen, „draussen ist Gott, der zankt" in Franken u. ähnl. bei Grimm I, S. 139). Bei den Esten setzt der zornige Gott dem Teufel nach, holt ihn ein und schmettert ihn nieder, was den Donnerschlag erklärt (Aberglaube der Esten bei Grimm III., S. 490). In Frankreich sind diese Vorstellungen seltener, nur auf wallonischem Gebiete sagt man, der Zorn Gottes rufe den Donner hervor (Bulletin de folklore, II., p. 1). Gewöhnlicher sind hier

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Vorstellungen ganz naiver, gemütlicher Art. So sagt man in Bigorre, wenn es donnert: „Gott schiebt Kegel“ [1]) (Rev. des trad. pop. XVIII, p. 373); in Bourgogne mutet man dasselbe den Engeln zu (ibd.). In Freiburg in der Schweiz heisst es: „Les apôtres jouent aux quilles“ (Mat. zu Gloss. des pat. d. l. Suisse rom.). Auch die häuslichen, wirtschaftlichen Beschäftigungen auf dem Lande werden bisweilen zum Vergleich herangezogen. So sagt man in Poitou: „Der liebe Gott rührt Erbsen um“ (Pineau, Le Folk-Lore du Poitou, p. 521), in Auvergne tut der Teufel dasselbe mit seinen Dekalitern Roggen (Rev. des trad. pop. V, p. 536) und schliesslich macht man die Kinder in Morvan mit den Worten aufmerksam: „Tiens, écoute ton grand-père qui remue et te choisit des sabots!“ (Rev. des trad. pop. 1897, Superstitions et coutumes de l'Auxois). In den Alpes-Maritimes ist der Urheber des Donners keine höhere Macht, als ein gewisser „Baraban qui jette sa femme par la fenêtre“ (Rev. des trad. pop. 1894, p. 332), daher das Krachen.

Auch der Blitz giebt zu ähnlichen phantastischen Vorstellungen Anlass, die sich, je nachdem man an das Einschlagen oder an das Aufleuchten denkt, verschieden gestalten. Wie z. B. die tela Jovis bei den Römern als Bezeichnungen der Blitze bekannt waren, so hat das Volk überall in der Welt von „Pfeilen“ (vgl. ital. *sajetta, saetta*, sic. *saitta*, rum. *săet* u. a. m., die auf *sagitta* zurückgehen, s. Göhri, S. 43), auch wohl von „Peitschen“, gesprochen, womit die himmlischen Mächte ihre Kämpfe geführt oder die Riesen verfolgt hätten [2]).

Beim Blitz, als rein optische Erscheinung betrachtet, dürfte im Volksglauben die Vorstellung von einem himmlischen Feuer, „Gottesfeuer“ (vgl. Grimm III, S. 66), recht oft vorkommen, eine Vorstellung, die auch dem lat. ignes trisulci zugrunde liegt.

[1]) Vgl. für „Donnern“ auch folgende Redensarten aus Deutschland: „uns herr speelt kegeln“ und: „die Engel kegeln“ (Grimm III, S. 62).

[2]) Vgl. bei den Esten die „glühende Eisenrute“, *raudwits*, womit der im Blitz erscheinende, strafende Gott züchtigt, in der preussischen Mythologie die Sage von „der blauen Peitsche“, womit der Teufel oder die Riesen im Himmel verfolgt werden, und den schwed. Thor, der die „Trolle schlägt“ (Grimm I, S. 148 und III, S. 65—68).

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Dieses Himmelsfeuer „feu du ciel“ oder „feu du temps“, wie es in Zentralfrankreich und einigen Gegenden der Schweiz [1]) (Jaubert, de Chambure, Chabert und Mat. zu Gloss. des pat. d. l. Suisse rom.) heisst, stellt sich das Volk verschieden vor. Es können Funken oder Flammen sein, die den Waffen der Götter entspringen (vgl. Grimm I, S. 149, III, S. 66), oder, wie es im Wallonischen der Fall ist, Lichtstrahlen aus dem Paradiese, die beim Gewitter durch die Himmelsöffnung hindurchleuchten (Bullet. de Folk-Lore, III, p. 8). Auch sagt man scherzhaft in Hainaut: „Le bon dieu allume sa pipe“ (Rev. des trad. pop. VIII, p. 266).

Wie aus den erwähnten Vorstellungen hervorgeht, wird der Donner vom Volke meist als eine ungefährliche Erscheinung angesehen. Der Blitz aber, mag er auch aus dem Paradiese kommen — in welchem Falle er unbedingt blendet (Bullet. de Folk-Lore t. III, ibd.) —, ist überall gefürchtet.

Hieran knüpfen sich allerlei abergläubische Sitten, wobei die sogenannten Donnersteine eine wichtige Rolle spielen [2]. Diese Steine (Äxte, Hammer), mit denen Bräute und Leichen geweiht und Häuser vor dem Einschlagen geschützt wurden (vgl. Grimm I, S. 149—150), galten, auch in der Tasche getragen, als schützende Amulette (Mensignac, Superstition de la Gironde, p. 99), besonders wenn dazu noch Gebete gesprochen wurden (vgl. folgendes Gebet aus Pléchâtel in Ille-et Vilaine: „sètè Bàrb é sètè Flœr pàr là krwà dè mô Sóvœr kã lè tũnèr tũnèrà sètè Bàrb mè gàrdèrà“, Dottin-Langouët). Neben Sainte Barbe und Sainte Fleure wurden eine ganze Menge andere Heilige angebetet, so in Languedoc Santa Helena und Santa Maria Madalena (Rev. des langues rom. t. IV, p. 586). Ausser Gebeten kommen in einem katholischen Lande natürlich auch Besprengungen mit Weihwasser und Bekreuzigungen bei jedem Blitz als bewährte Mittel gegen das Einschlagen vor (Béronie).

[1]) In der Schweiz auch „feu du tonnerre“ (Mat. zu Gloss. des pat. d. l. Suisse rom.).

[2]) Gefährlich ist es, einen solchen *pèiro de tron*, wie der Donnerstein in der Provence heisst, in der Erde zu lassen; er kann sich nämlich wieder in die Wolken erheben und von neuem als Blitz herabzucken (Mstrl.).

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Abgesehen von der Gefahr, die mit dem Gewitter verbunden ist, gilt der Donner für die Landwirtschaft als bewährtes Wahrzeichen. Da der Donner gewöhnlich nur in der warmen Jahreszeit vorzukommen pflegt, stimmt es nicht mit dem regelrechten Gang der Natur überein, wenn man ihn auch in der kalten Jahreszeit wahrnimmt. Deshalb bedeutet Donner im Winter Kälte und schlechte Ernte für den Sommer: „Se toune su le boû nu, Vein de la nei su le boû follhu" (Bridel), d. h.: „Quand il tonne sur le bois nu, il neige sur le bois feuillu" (Odin), wie es in der Schweiz heisst. Ebenda: „Quand il tonne au mois de février, il faut porter les tonneaux au grenier" (Odin). Denselben Gedanken, hier aber mit speziellem Bezug auf das Öl, finden wir auch in folgendem Spruch aus dem Dep. Aveyron: „Quond trouóno dins lou mes de febrié, Tout l'houóli claous dins un culiè" (Vayssier), d. h. die ganze Ölernte schrumpft zu einem Löffel zusammen. Noch im März will der Landmann nicht gern Donner hören: „Quand il tonne en mars, le fermier enrage" heisst es deshalb in der Franche-Comté (Rev. des trad. pop. XIV, p. 179) und: „Quand il tonne au mois de mars, petits et grands doivent pleurer" in der Schweiz (Odin, Bridel). Wohl etwas verächtlich drückt man es in Maine aus: Donner im März sei nur für Ochsen und Priester gut: „Quand il tonne en mars, Bœufs et curés gras" (Rev. des trad. pop. XXII, p. 111). In Ain (Commune Juyurieux) heisst es: „Kan é tonnè du ma de Mâ, on da kerâ éla (doit crier hélas); kan é tonnè d'Avrî se fô rèzoyî". Auch aus Béarn habe ich einige Redensarten belegt, die nach derselben Richtung gehen: „Quand il tonne en Mars, le bonhomme dit: hélas!", denn der Donner im März ist besonders für die Weinlese verhängnisvoll. Man sagt nämlich daselbst: „Quoand *pete* Martii, tremblatz tau bii" (Lespy-Raym.), was etwa bedeutet: „wenn März kracht, zittert für den Wein". Vgl. *petar*, *peta* „faire un pet, éclater avec bruit" (Azaïs), béarn. *pet de trou*, gasc. *pet de perigle* „coup de tonnerre" (Lespy-Raym.), *pétéla* „tonner" (Granger) und *pet* nebst Zusammensetzungen für „Donner" bei Göhri, Blitz und Donner im Galloroman., S. 52. (Auszug aus Revue de dialectologie romane IV.). Erst im April hört man den Donner gern: „Quand il tonne au mois d'avril,

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petits et grands doivent se réjouir", sagt man gleich dem oben erwähnten Beleg in Ain, auch in der Schweiz (Odin, Bridel), oder: „Quand il tonne en avril, le bonhomme se réjouit" in Béarn (Lespy-Raym.), und Gutes, besonders für die Weinlese, bedeutet Aprilgewitter auch in der Normandie: „Tonnerre en Avri Emplit le bari" (Rev. des trad. pop. IV., p. 370—371).

Wie aus diesen und ähnlichen Redensarten erhellt, ist die Rolle, die diese Naturerscheinungen im Volksglauben spielen, keineswegs gering. Welche Vorstellungen sind es nun, die bei der Namengebung von Blitz und Donner massgebend gewesen sind? Die obenerwähnten Vorstellungen von dem, was diese Erscheinungen eigentlich sind, beschäftigen zwar die Phantasie des Volkes, das über ihren Grund nachzusinnen geneigt ist. Bei der Namengebung sind sie aber meistens, abgesehen von „Feuer" als Blitz, allzu kompliziert, undeutlich und unbestimmt. Sind deshalb die Vorstellungen von dem, was diese Erscheinungen ihrem Wesen nach sind, für ihre Bezeichnung ungeeignet gewesen, so muss es näher liegen, die Vorstellungen von dem, wie sie erscheinen, bei ihrer Benennung heranzuziehen.

Wie auch im Lat. dem fulgur, fulmen wahrscheinlich die Vorstellung von „flammen", „strahlen", „funkeln" (vgl. bei Walde unter flagrare) zugrunde liegt, so ist auch im Gallo-Romanischen bei der Namengebung des Blitzes als optischer Erscheinung das „Leuchten" desselben massgebend gewesen: daher bald *éclair*, bald Formen, die auf einen Stamm luc zurückgehen, bald solche, denen wahrscheinlich griech. λαμπάς zugrunde liegt, bald Ableitungen von *allumer*, bald schliesslich ein dunkler *belet*-Typus (vgl. näheres bei Göhri, Blitz und Donner im Gallorom.). Charakteristisch für die Erscheinung des Blitzes ist auch das plötzliche Hervorbrechen oder das Zerspalten der Wolken, worauf Bezeichnungen wie *espart* und *eklit* (ex-partir und afrz. *esclier* > germ. slitan „spalten") hinzuweisen scheinen (vgl. Göhri).

Der Blitz als einschlagende Erscheinung ist im Gegensatze zum leuchtenden Blitz und krachenden Donner, wie Göhri richtig bemerkt, weniger sinnfällig. Man hört den Donner und sieht das Leuchten, das Einschlagen aber nimmt man erst an dem ange-

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stifteten Schaden wahr. Kein Wunder deshalb, dass der einschlagende Blitz keine selbständige Bezeichnungen hat, sondern mit Namen benannt wird, denen bald Licht-, bald Krachvorstellungen zugrunde liegen. Der erstgenannten Vorstellung ist bekanntlich das über ganz Frankreich verbreitete *foudre*, afrz. *foildre* (lat. fulgere pro fulgur) entsprungen, das mit dem lateinischen „blitzen" = „schimmern", „leuchten", in Verbindung steht. Die Krachvorstellungen wiederum haben Bezeichnungen hervorgerufen, wie *trou*, *pet* u. a. m. (vgl. näheres bei Göhri, S. 41), die sich eigentlich auf den Donner beziehen. Der einzige selbständige Ausdruck für spez. den „schlagenden" Blitz ist vielleicht ein *lànci*, *làncis* bei Mstrl., das auf ein Verbum lanceare zurückgeht (vgl. oben tela Jovis).

Der Donner erscheint „krachend", „brummend", „klopfend" oder ähnlich und hat diesbezügliche Bezeichnungen hervorgerufen. Oder er wird mit „Gewitter" identifiziert (vgl. den Typus *harnu*, *hernu*, dessen Ursprung jedoch dunkel bleibt). Des einschlagenden Blitzes wegen ist das Gewitter, wie wir oben sahen, auch sehr gefürchtet: der Donner kann demnach gleichbedeutend sein mit „Gefahr" (vgl. oben *pet de perigle*).

Über die Bezeichnungen von Blitz und Donner vgl. sonst näheres bei Göhri; hier noch einiges über das Wetterleuchten.

Die lat. Bezeichnungen dieser Lichterscheinung: fulgur, fulgor, fulguratio und fulgetrum, denen wahrscheinlich, wie schon angedeutet, ein „Flammen", „Schimmern" zugrunde liegt, sind im Gallo-Rom. nicht zu belegen. Vielleicht ist der Grund darin zu suchen, dass schon frühzeitig der Übergang von Lichterscheinung zu Schlagerscheinung stattgefunden hat, d. h. dass ein *fuildre foldre* schon früh ausschliesslich für „Schlagblitz" angewandt wurde (vgl. schon im Rolandslied: „*Chiedent i fuildre* et menut et suvent", zit. von Göhri). Auch dürfte zu diesem Sachverhalt beigetragen haben, dass das Verbum fulgere „schimmern", „leuchten" sich in den rom. Sprachen nicht beibehalten hat und somit die ursprüngliche Bedeutung nicht hat stützen können.

Bei der Neuschöpfung von Bezeichnungen für diese Erscheinung scheint das Volk in Frankreich sehr arm an charakteristischen

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Vorstellungen gewesen zu sein [1]). Das Wetterleuchten ist ihm kurzweg der (leuchtende) Blitz, was ja auch das deutsche, volksetymologisch entstandene „Wetterleuchten", mhd. *weterleich* (eig. „Wetterspiel") bedeutet. Einfach als „Blitz" ist das in Saône-et-Loire belegte *élide* („*y èlide*", „i fait des *élides*, mai i ne toune pas"), das sowohl Fertiault als Guillemant mit „éclair de chaleur" erklären, zu verstehen. Vgl. *élid* für „Blitz" in Saône-et-Loire, Côte-d'Or und Jura (Atl. ling.). welches Göhri als eine Monophthongierung von *élœid* aus **esluidier* statt afrz. *esloidier* „faire des éclairs" ableitet. und afrz. *elider* neben *esloider* (Gdfr.). Kurzum „Blitz" bedeutet es auch, wenn man (n. Azaïs) ein *lampa. lampeiha* anwendet für „faire des éclairs. pendant les nuits d'été lorsqu'il ne tonne pas" (Azaïs); vgl. oben unter „Blitz" griech. *λαμπάς*.

Auf ein früheres afrz. *espart, espairt* für „éclair" (Gdfr.) aus *espartir* geht ein nfrz. *épart* „éclair de chaleur intermittent" (HDT.) zurück. welches auch mundartlich an der Vendée-Küste anzutreffen ist (Atl. ling.). Ein *epar* „éclair sans tonnerre, éclair de chaleur" in Ille-et-Vilaine (Lecomte) ist wohl dasselbe Wort.

Ein *ablet* „éclair de chaleur dans les beaux jours de septembre" in Marne" (Tarbé) könnte vielleicht mit Formen wie *ebelet, embelet*. die im Süden „éclair" bedeuten (Azaïs, Mstrl.). in Zusammenhang stehen.

Ausser diesen der Vorstellung vom Blitz als leuchtender Erscheinung entlehnten Ausdrücken dürften die folgenden als mehr selbständig entstandene Bezeichnungen speziell des Wetterleuchtens anzusehen sein. Dieselbe Vorstellung von „erhellen". die dem *éclair* und den obenerwähnten Benennungen mit Ausnahme von *épart* zugrunde liegt, findet sich auch hier als Grundvorstellung. Sagt man doch auch hie und da: „der Himmel erhellt sich": „L'temps éclaire", wenn „il se produit des éclairs sans bruit" (Labourasse). Auf eine Ableitung von exclariare, etwa ein *exclariciare, geht das im

[1]) „Einen prägnanten Ausdruck für das „Wetterleuchten" besitzt das frz. Vokabular nicht" (Göhri, S. 44, Anm. 11). Über das Wetterleuchten als „Blüten" auf dem Himmel vgl. oben S. 12.

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Süden belegte *esclarsiado*, *esclarziado*, „jet de lumière à travers les nuages, échappée de soleil; éclair de chaleur pendant la nuit“ (Mstrl.), „éclat de lumière subit et fréquent qui se montre assez souvent en été, la nuit pendant les grandes chaleurs“ (Avril), zurück.

Vielleicht ein „brennen, anzünden“, mhd. lünden, hat man in dem in Meuse belegten *élunde* „éclair très éloigné, non suivi de bruit à raison de la distance“ (Labourasse) und dem V. *élunder* (*eslundare gleich es-clariare, es-partir, es-lucidare) zu sehen; vgl. *bernēr* „Lichtblitz“ in la Poutroi vom deutschen „Brenner“, welches W. nach dem Schweiz. Idiotikon V, 634 in der Bedeutung „Wetterleuchten“ in der Schweiz bekannt sein soll (Göhri, SS. 35—36, Anm.).

Das Wetterleuchten ist gewöhnlich nur bei grosser Hitze sichtbar, was ja auch in dem schriftspr. éclair de chaleur und ital. „lampo di calore“ seinen Ausdruck gefunden hat [1]). Diese Vorstellung von grosser Wärme liegt unzweifelhaft folgender Bezeichnung des Wetterleuchtens zugrunde, die sowohl auf spez. frz. als auch auf franko-prov. Gebiete weite Verbreitung gefunden zu haben scheint. Im Norden (Normandie) *calin* „éclair de chaleur“ (Joret), „se dit particulièrement des éclairs qui en temps d'orage, se succèdent à l'horizon, sans tonnerre“ (Moisy), „éclairs sans tonnerre qui se produisent après une journée très chaude“ (Verger), und das Verbum *caliner* „faire des éclairs de chaleur“ (Moisy, Verger). Nach Gdfr. in Bessin und Aunis *chalin* auch „éclairs sans tonnerre“, bei Favre „éclair annonçant l'orage“. In der Vendée *chalèn* „éclair phosphorescent“ (Simonneau). In der Schweiz: *tsalē* „éclair non accompagné de tonnerre“ und *tsalenà* „faire des éclairs sans tonnerre“ (Odin), *tsalin, etsalin, tsalon, tsalonayə* „éclair de chaleur“ und *tsalənā, etsalənā* (Mat. zu Gloss. des pat. d. l. Suisse rom.).

Diese Formen gehen wohl auf lat. caligine (*tsalon, tsalonayə* vielleicht unter Einwirkung von lumen) zurück (s. oben S. 60), welches afrz. *chalin, calin* "obscurité“ ergeben hat. Schon früh muss

[1]) Kurzum mit „Hitz“ bezeichnet man das Wetterleuchten in der Ostschweiz (Schweiz. Id. II, n. Göhri, S. 30, Anm. 3.).

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jedoch, wie oben angedeutet worden, zwischen diesem W. und afrz. *chaline*, *caline* „chaleur" eine Kontamination stattgefunden haben, was um so leichter geschehen konnte, da ja einerseits Dunkel und Schwüle beim Gewitter zusammen aufzutreten pflegen; vgl. auch folgenden afrz. Beleg für *chalin*: „Le tenps d'estee est chaud et les fyms sont chauldz et le sabloun est chaud, et qant les III *chalyns* vignent ensemble, pur le grant chalour, si enflestrent les bleez apres la Saint Johan" (XIII s^e^, bei Gdfr.). Anderseits kommt *chaline* (< calina, dessen Zusammenhang mit calere klar liegt) auch für „Wetterleuchten" vor, — der älteste Beleg stammt nach Gdfr. vom Jahre 1588; nach Favre *chalines* in Zentralfr. „éclairs que l'on voit à l'horizon, sans qu'il y ait apparence d'orage" — und beide, *chaline* wie *chalin*, werden auch für „tonnerre" gebraucht (vgl. Göhri, S. 30, Anm. 2), alles Umstände, die darauf hindeuten, dass beide Formen einander beeinflusst haben müssen, und zwar fiel bei der Namengebung des Wetterleuchtens das Übergewicht auf *chaline*, dessen Grundbedeutung „chaleur" dem Wetterleuchten doch näher stand als „brouillard" und „obscurité". Dass auf die obenerwähnten Formen *tsalin*, *tsalmā* aus der Schweiz die Vorstellung „Hitze" bedeutend hat einwirken müssen, wäre man geneigt, auch daraus zu schliessen, dass für „heisses Wetter" Ausdrücke zu belegen sind, die der Form nach den obengenannten gleichkommen (Mat. zu Gloss. des pat. d. l. Suisse rom.).

Dunkel erscheinen mir *splaner* „faire des éclairs sans qu'il tonne" in Malmédy (Grgg.) und *ə nioaydzo* „il fait des éclairs de chaleur" in Châble (Göhri, S. 13., Anm. 1.). Eine Redensart „eul temps *aioute*" (*ai-oute*) für „der Himmel wetterleuchtet" „dans les soirées de juillet et surtout d'août" in Forêt-de-Clairvaux (Baudouin) ist vielleicht einfach als „le temps s'aoûte" etwa „der Himmel reift", (vgl. oben „der Himmel blüht") zu verstehen.

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QUELLENVERZEICHNIS.

Folkloristisches.*)

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Revue des traditions populaires. — Mélusine. Recueil de mythologie, littérature populaire, traditions et usages. — Bulletin de Folk-Lore. — Grimm: Deutsche Mythologie. — „Am Ur-Quell." Monatsschrift für Volkskunde. — P. Sébillot: Légendes, croyences et superstitions de la mer, II. 1886. — G. Paris: Le petit poucet et la grande Ourse, 1875.

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*) Ganz gelegentliche, im Laufe der Arbeit ausführlich angeführte Werke sind hier nicht verzeichnet.

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Béronie: Diction. du patois du Bas-Limousin (Corrèze) et plus particulièrement des environs de Tulle.

B. Franko-provenzalische Mundarten:

1. **Isère:**

Champollion-Figeac: Nouvelles recherches sur les patois ou idiomes vulgaires de la France et en particulier sur ceux du dép de l'Isère.

2. **Lyon:**

N. Puitspelu: Un conte en patois lyonnais du commencement du siècle. (Rev. des patois, 1. 1887). — N. Puitspelu: Dictionnaire étymologique du patois lyonnais. Lyon 1887—90. — Sainéan: Etymologies lyonnaises (Rev. de phil. fr. et de litt. 22. 1908). — A. Vachet: Glossaire des Gones de Lyon. Lyon 1907. — J. M. Villefranche: Essai de grammaire du pat. lyonnais. Bourg 1891. — Chabert: Patois de la Commune de Létra (Rev. des patois, 1888). Edouard Philipon: Patois de la commune de Jujurieux (département de l'Ain). Paris 1892. — Philipon: Le patois de Saint-Genis-Les-Ollières et le dial. lyonnais (Rev. des pat., I—II). — A. Déresse: Dictionnaire étymologique du patois Beaujolais (Bullet. de la Société des Sciences et Arts du Beaujolais. Villefranche 1907. — A. Déresse: Vocabulaire du patois de Villefranche-sur-Saône (Rev. de phil. fr. et de litt., XXV).

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